REPORT

ON THE

CENSUS OF THE PANJÁB

TAKEN ON THE

17TH OF FEBRUARY 1881.

BY

DENZIL CHARLES JELF IBBETSON,

OF HER MAJESTY'S BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

VOLUME I.

TEXT; AND APPENDICES C AND D.

(SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES AND INSTRUCTIONS.)

FINAL TABLES IN VOLUMES II AND III.

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PREFACE.

IN writing the accompanying report on the Panjáb Census of 1881, I have steadily kept two main objects before me. *Firstly*, I have attempted to produce a work which shall be useful to District officers as a handbook of reference on all the subjects dealt with in the Census Schedules, and which shall stand with regard to such subjects in a position somewhat similar to that occupied by the modern Settlement Report in respect of revenue matters. *Secondly*, I have endeavoured to record in some detail the experience gained at this Census, for guidance on the occasion of future enumerations. My pursuance of each of these objects has helped to swell the size of the report.

It would have been easy to write a short notice of some of the more obvious conclusions to be drawn from the Census totals of the Province as a whole; and such a notice would doubtless have technically sufficed as a report to Government upon the operations which I had superintended. But it would have been of small use for future reference, and would have served no purpose beyond that of furnishing the text for a Government resolution. A Census report is not meant merely for the information of the Secretariat; it is intended to be constantly referred to in every office of the Province. The mere results would ill serve this end in the absence of an interpreter. It is of but small advantage to cast voluminous tables of naked figures at the heads of District officers, without at the same time explaining what they represent, which can be done by no one but him who compiled them, and drawing from them the more important conclusions to which they lead, which few will draw but he whose special business it is to do so[1].

In the ordinary routine of district work, information is constantly needed regarding some feature or other of the society which we govern. That information often exists in print; but in India libraries are few and books scarce; while where the latter are available, they are often too detailed or too learned for the practical purposes of the District officer. It has been my endeavour to furnish such a sketch of the salient features of native society in the Panjáb as will often supply the immediate need, and at the same time to indicate where, if anywhere, further details may be found. A Census report is not light reading; and men take it up, not to read it through, but to obtain from it information on some definite point. It is therefore more important that it should be complete than that it should be brief; and so long as its arrangement directs the student at once to the place where he will find what he wants, without compelling him to wade through irrelevant matter, the fuller the information which he there finds on the subject, the more valuable will the report be to him. I have therefore omitted nothing relevant that seemed to me to be interesting or useful, simply because it occupied space.

The difficulty of an Indian Census springs mainly from two sources; the infinite diversity of the material to be dealt with, and our own infinite ignorance of that material. The present Census was, as regards the Panjáb and in respect of its minuteness and accuracy of detail, practically a first experiment; and one of its most valuable results has been to show us where our chief difficulties lie, and how and why we have on this occasion frequently failed to overcome them. If the present Census had been one for all time, nothing more would have been needed than such a brief account of the operations as would have explained to the student of the results how those results had been obtained. If, on the other hand, a Census were of annual recurrence, an "office," with its permanent staff and traditions, would have taken the place of the record of the experience which I have attempted

[1] Much of the length of the report is due to the exceptionally large number of the administrative units for which the separate figures had to be discussed. (See section 929, page 468.) The Native States took great pains with the Census; and, apart from the intrinsic value of the results, it would have been ungracious to discuss their figures less fully than our own.

to frame. But the operations will be repeated after intervals of ten years. It has therefore been my endeavour to record the experience now gained in such detail as may enable us to avoid past errors on a future occasion, to point out every defect that the test of actual practice disclosed in the scheme, and to put forth every suggestion that my experience led me to think could be of use to my successor in 1891.

Till now nothing of the sort has been attempted in the Panjáb. The meagre report on the Census of 1868 affords no record of the experience of the past or suggestions for guidance in the future; while though Settlement reports and similar publications contain a vast mass of invaluable information regarding the people, it is scattered and fragmentary, and needed to be collected, compared, and consolidated. A Census recurs only after considerable intervals, and it will not be necessary on each subsequent occasion to rewrite the whole of the present report. Much will be added; more will be corrected; the new figures will be examined and compared with the present ones; the old conclusions will be modified, and new ones drawn. But the main groundwork of the report will stand unaltered.

I have not absolutely confined myself in the following pages to facts and figures which will be immediately useful for the actual purposes of administration. I have not hesitated to enter occasionally into general discussions on certain subjects, such as religion and caste, and to express my own views on the matter. I venture to think that these digressions are not the least interesting portions of the volume; and in a report which must of necessity consist for the most part of a dry discussion of figures, any passage of general interest is welcome, if only as a relief. But my chief object in entering upon these discussions has been, to draw the attention of my readers to the extraordinary interest of the material which lies in such abundance ready to the hand of all Indian officials, and which would, if collected and recorded, be of such immense value to students of sociology. Our ignorance of the customs and beliefs of the people among whom we dwell is surely in some respects a reproach to us; for not only does that ignorance deprive European science of material which it greatly needs, but it also involves a distinct loss of administrative power to ourselves. And if aught that I have written in this report should incline any from among my readers to a study of the social and religious phænomena by which they are surrounded, I at any rate shall be amply repaid for my labour.

Moreover, Indian official literature is gradually gaining for itself students from beyond the limits of India, and European scholars are turning to it for the facts of which they find themselves in need. In his *Village Communities* (pages 34-5) Sir Henry Maine writes of Indian Settlement reports: "They constitute a whole literature of very great extent and "variety, and of the utmost value and instructiveness. I am afraid I must add that the "English reader, whose attention is not called to it by official duty, not unusually finds it "very unattractive or even repulsive. But the reason I believe to be, that the elementary "knowledge which is the key to it has for the most part never been reduced to writing at "all." I see no reason why an Indian report should of necessity be repulsive or unintelligible; and I have ventured, here and there, to add at the expense of brevity matter which would perhaps be superfluous if addressed exclusively to Indian officials.

The more we learn of the people and their ways, the more profoundly must we become impressed with the vastness of the field and with the immense diversity which it presents. Not only is our knowledge of the facts as nothing compared with our ignorance; but the facts themselves vary so greatly from one part of the Panjáb to another, that it is almost impossible to make any general statement whatever concerning them which shall be true for the whole Province. I have not always stopped to say so; and I have not unfrequently made assertions, as it were *ex cathedrâ infallibili*. But I would always be understood to mean, in writing of the people, that while I have taken pains to obtain the best and most trustworthy information available, I only present it for what it is worth, and that it will almost certainly be inapplicable

to some parts at least of the Panjáb. Yet I do not think that the uncertain value which attaches to the information that I have recorded renders that information less worthy of record. In matters such as are discussed in this report, the next best thing to having them put rightly is to have them put wrongly, if only the wrongness be an intelligent wrongness; for so we stimulate inquiry and provoke criticism; and it is only by patient and wide-spread inquiry and incessant and minute criticism, that we can hope to arrive on these subjects at accurate information and sound generalisations. Nothing would be so welcome to me as to find the officers of the Province setting to work to correct and supplement the information given in my report; for the more holes they will pick and the more publicly they will pick them, the faster shall we extend and improve our knowledge of the matters discussed [1].

I need not apologise for the many and palpable defects of the report, so far as they are due to the haste with which all official publications have to be prepared. Pages which have been written against time in the first instance, which have been sent to press often without even the most cursory revision, and which, when once in type, the writer has not felt at liberty to improve save by the most trifling corrections, must not be judged by any literary standard. But I must, in justice to myself, be allowed to make one explanation which will account for much hurried and slovenly work that is only too apparent in the following pages. On the 13th of January 1883, I received orders from the Panjáb Government to the effect that the report must be finished without fail by the end of the following February. When these orders reached me, I had completed only Chapters I, II, and IV, and the first two Parts of Chapter III; while Part II of Chapter VI which deals with Patháns and Biloches, and the greater portion of Chapters XI and XII and of the first two Parts of Chapter XIII, were written in the rough, though exceedingly incomplete. Thus I had six weeks allowed me within which to fill in the *lacunæ* in these last sections, to discuss increase and decrease of population, language, caste with the exception of Patháns and Biloches, age, sex, and civil condition, occupations, education, and infirmities, and to summarise the results of our Census experience. The portion of the report which was wholly written within these six weeks comprises some 260 pages of print. It is hardly to be wondered that my treatment of these subjects is hasty and imperfect. My own feeling on looking back, is one of surprise that I accomplished the task after any fashion whatever. But on the 26th of February the MS. of my report was completely ready for press, and has not been touched since then. The press has been kept fully supplied with copy from the end of October 1882; and the subsequent delay is wholly due to the difficulty experienced in getting the report printed and published.

I need hardly say how largely I am indebted to others for both facts and ideas. The greater part of the information contained in the report has been either taken from scattered publications and from district Settlement or Census Reports, or furnished me by correspondents. I owe much to Mr. Wilson's Code of Tribal Custom in Sirsa and to Mr. Barkley's notes on the Jálandhar district, both of which the writers placed in my hands in MS., and to Mr. Tupper's work on Panjáb Customary Law; while every chapter of the report attests my obligations to Mr. Alex. Anderson for the prompt and complete manner in which he answered my numerous inquiries about the peculiar and interesting tract of which he was in charge. In one respect I was singularly ill fitted for the task entrusted to me; for practically speaking my whole Indian service had been confined to a single district (Karnál), which does not even lie in the Panjáb proper. Thus I have been throughout in the greatest danger of wrongly extending to the Province as a whole, knowledge acquired in a small and very special portion of it. I can hardly hope that I have altogether escaped this pitfall; but that I have not fallen into it more frequently, is wholly due to the invaluable assistance rendered me by Messrs. Alex. Anderson, Coldstream, Douie, O'Brien, Steedman, Thomson, and Wilson. These gentlemen have carefully read the proofs of the report as they issued from the press; and their criticisms have enabled me to correct many faults and errors, and to add much that is valuable. I cannot express too

[1] I would suggest the pages of *Panjáb Notes and Queries*, a small periodical just started under the Editorship of Captain Temple of Ambála, as a convenient medium for discussion.

strongly my obligation to them for undertaking and carrying through in their hardly-earned leisure, so tedious and uninteresting a task. My warmest thanks are also due to Messrs. Cunningham, Douie, and Merk for valuable help unsparingly given on all points relating to the frontier tribes; to Major Plowden for his careful examination of the sections on the Patháns and their language; to Mr. Christie for his copious and suggestive annotation of my discussion of the vagrant and criminal classes; to Mr. Tupper for much valuable help given in the earlier stages of the operations; and to Dr. Dickson and the Rev. Mr. Wherry for the personal attention they most kindly bestowed on the Census printing, without which I should scarcely have succeeded in getting the work done. But these are only a few among the many who have helped me. I applied for assistance to many Officers of many Departments, and to none in vain; and it is to the help thus received by me, that whatever value my report may be found to possess is mainly due.

My warmest acknowledgments are due to Mr. W. C. Plowden, Commissioner of Census, for his ever ready help and counsel, for the patient consideration with which he listened to my difficulties and suggestions, and for the kind anxiety which he evinced from first to last to do anything and everything that might make matters easier for me, so far as the unity of the Imperial scheme permitted.

Finally, I would express my grateful sense of the courtesy and consideration which I experienced at the hands of district officers throughout the operations. My position as Superintendent of the Census was one of some delicacy; for it obliged me to inspect, criticise, and report on the work of officers much senior to myself. That my relations with those officers were throughout of the most pleasant and cordial nature, is due to a good-feeling on their part for which I am indebted to them.

DENZIL IBBETSON.

SIMLA;
The 30th August 1883.

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BOOK I.

THE RESULTS OF THE CENSUS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

PART I.—BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE.

1. Historical and Political Importance of the Punjab.—The Panjáb with its Feudatory States[1] covers an area of 142,449 square miles and includes a population of 22,712,120 souls, or one-tenth of the whole area and one-eleventh of the total population of the Indian Empire. It numbers among its inhabitants one-fourth of the Musalmán, one-twentieth of the Hindu, and eleven-twelfths of the Sikh subjects of the Queen. Occupying the angle where the Himálayas which shut in the peninsula to the north meet the Sulemáns which bound it on the west, and lying between Hindustán and the passes by which alone access from the great Asian Continent is possible, it is in a very special sense the frontier Province of India, and guards the gateway of that Empire of which it was the last portion to be won. The great Aryan and Scythian swarms which in successive waves of migration left their arid plateaus for the fruitful plains of India, the conquering armies of Alexander, the peaceful Chinese pilgrims in search of the sacred scriptures of their faith, the Musalmán invaders who came, driven by lust of territory and pride of creed, to found one of the greatest Mahomedan Empires the world has ever seen, the devastating hordes led successively by Kultugh, Taimúr, Nádir Sháh, and Ahmad Sháh, the armies of Bábar and of Humáyún,—all alike entered India across the wide plains of the five rivers from which the Province takes its name. The great central watershed which constitutes the eastern portion of the Panjáb has ever been the battle-field of India. It was in prehistoric times the scene of that conflict which, described in the Mahábhárat, forms the main incident of one of the oldest epics in existence; while in later days it witnessed the struggles which first gave India to the Mahomedans, which in turn transferred the Empire of Hindustán from the Lodi to the Mughal dynasty and from the Mughals to the Mahrattas, which shook the power of the Mahrattas at Pánípat, which finally crushed it at Dehli and made us masters of Northern India, and which saved our Empire in the terrible outbreak of 1857. Within the limits of the Panjáb the Hindu religion had its birth and the most ancient sacred literature in the world was written; and of the two great quietist movements which had their rise in the intolerable nature of the burden laid by the Bráhmans upon men's shoulders, Sikhism was born, developed into a military and political organisation, and is now growing old within the Province, while if the followers of Buddha are now represented in the Panjáb only by a few thousands of ignorant hill-men, it was from the Panjáb that sprang the founder of the Gupta dynasty, under whose grandson Asoka the Buddhist religion attained, there as elsewhere, a supremacy such as it never enjoyed either before or since in India.

2. Interest of the Punjab to the Ethnologist.—And if the Panjáb is historically one of the most important parts of that great Eastern Empire which has fallen in so strange a manner into the hands of a Western race, it yields to no other Province in present interest and variety. Consisting for the most part of the great plains of the five rivers and including some of the most and some of the least fertile tracts of our Indian territories, it stretches up to and beyond the peaks of the Central Himálayas and embraces the Tibetan valleys of Láhul and Spití; and while on the east it includes the Mughal capital of Dehli and the western borders of Hindustán and on the south encroaches on the great desert of Rájpútána, on the west it embraces, in its trans-Jahlam territory, a tract which except in respect of geographical position can hardly be said to belong to India. Nor are its inhabitants less diverse than its physical aspects. It does not indeed contain any of the aboriginal tribes of India, at least in their primitive barbarism; and its people, in common with those of neighbouring Provinces, include the peaceful descendants of the old Rájpút rulers of the country, the sturdy Jat peasantry which forms the backbone of the village population of north-western India, and the various races which are allied to them. But the nomad and still semi-civilised tribes of its great central grazing grounds, the Patháns and Biloches of its frontier, so distinct from all Indian races, the Khatris, Aroras, Súds, Bhábras and Parāchas who conduct its commerce, and the Dogras, the Kanets, the Thakars and Ghirats of its hills, are almost peculiar to the Province; while the Gakkhars, the Awáns, the Kharrals, Káthias, Khattars and many other tribes of the Ráwalpindí and Multán divisions, present a series of problems sufficiently intricate to satisfy the most ardent ethnologist. Within the confines of the Province three distinct varieties of the great Hindí family of languages are to be found, two of them peculiar to the Panjáb; while Pashtu, Bilochi, Kashmírí, and many of those curious hill dialects which are often not separate languages only because each is confined to the valleys of a single stream, have their homes within its borders, and Tibetan is spoken in the far mountains of Spití.

[1] Kashmir, which is controlled through the Panjáb Government, did not fall within the scope of the present Census, and is excluded from consideration throughout the Report.

Part I.—Brief Description of the Province.

3. Interest of the Punjab to the Sociologist.—To the student of religion and sociology the Province presents features of peculiar interest. In the earliest days of Hinduism the people of the Panjáb Proper were a byeword in the mouths of the worshippers of Brahma, and Brahminism has always been weaker there than perhaps in any other part of India. Neither Islám nor the Hindu religion has ever been able to expel from the lives of the people the customs and superstitions which they brought with them from the homes of their ancestors; and the worship of godlings unknown to the Hindu pantheon, the social customs which still survive in full force among the majority of the nominal adherents of either religion, and the peculiar cults of the inferior and outcast races, offer for investigation an almost virgin field full of the richest promise. In the hills the Hindu religion and the caste-system to which it gave birth are to be found free in a very unusual degree from alteration by external influences, though doubtless much deteriorated by decay from within. Sikhism must be studied in the Panjáb if at all, and among the Bishnois of Hariána is to be found a curious offshoot from the national religion which is peculiar to them alone. For the inquiry into primitive institutions and the early growth of property in land the Panjáb affords material of singular completeness and importance. Tribal organisation and tenures are to be found nowhere in India in such primitive integrity as on the western frontier of the Province, while in its eastern plains the village communities are typically perfect in their development. Between the two extremes every step in the gradation from one form to the other is exemplified, while in the hills of Kángra and Simla community of rights, whether based on the tribe or on the village, is unknown.

The Panjáb can show no vast cities to rival Calcutta and Bombay, no great factories, no varied mineral wealth; but the occupations of its people are still not without an interest of their own. The husbandmen of the Panjáb furnish to the English market supplies of wheat already considerable and yearly increasing in magnitude. The pursuits of the nomad pastoral tribes of the western *doábs* and of the river populations of the Indus and Satluj, the *Pawindah* traffic of the Deraját, and the salt mines of Jahlam are all well worthy of investigation and description; while the silk and *pashm* fabrics and embroideries of Dehli, Peshávar, Lúdhiánah and Amritsar, the enamels of Multán, the damascening of Siálkot and Gújrát, the pottery of Peshávar and Multán, and the beautiful jewellery and miniature painting of Dehli, have acquired a fame extending far beyond the limits of the Province.

4. Boundaries and Administrative Divisions.—The Panjáb Proper, together with Kashmír which lies to its north, occupies the extreme north-western corner of India. Along its northern borders run the Himálayas which divide it from Kashmír. To its west and north-west lies Afghánistán, from which it is separated on the west by the Súlemán Mountains, and on the north-west by the ranges which run from the eastern extremity of the Safed Koh north-east to join the Himálayas and south-west to meet the Sulemáns. To the south lies the great Rájpútána desert, in which indeed is included a large part of Baháwalpur; while to the east the river Jamna divides the Panjáb from the North-West Provinces.

In shape the Province is something between a dice-box and an hour-glass, the axes crossing at Lahore and the longer axis running nearly E. by S. The constriction in the middle is due to the fact that the northern boundary runs up into the hills of Chamba and Kúlu in the east and of Hazára in the west, while to the south the Province stretches down the fertile banks of the Jamna to the east and the Indus to the west, between which two rivers the arid desert of Rájpútána extends northward to within a hundred miles of Lahore.

5. The Panjáb includes two classes of territory: that belonging to the British Crown, and that in the possession of the thirty-six feudatory chiefs of the Province, almost all of whom pay tribute in some form or other, and all of whom are subject to a more or less stringent control exercised by the Local Government. The area of British territory is 106,632 square miles and its population 18,850,437; the corresponding figures for the collective Native States, excluding Kashmír of which no census has been taken on the present occasion, are 35,817 and 3,861,683. British territory is divided into thirty-two districts which are grouped under ten divisions, and each of which except the sanitarium of Simla comprises as large an area and population as can conveniently be controlled from its head-quarters. The dominions of the thirty-six native chiefs vary in size from the principalities of Patiála and Baháwalpur, with areas of 6,000 and 15,000 square miles and populations of 1,500,000 and 600,000 respectively and ruled over by chiefs subject only to the most general supervision, to the tiny state of Dádhí with an area of one square mile and a total population of 170 souls whose ruler is independent in little more than the name.

6. The Himalayan Tract.—Along the eastern portion of our northern border, and within the great net-work of mountain ranges which fringe the central system of the Himálayas, are situated the states of Chamba, Mandi, and Suket, together with Náhan, Bashahr, and the twenty smaller states which are under the charge of the Superintendent of Hill States at Simla; while among them lie the hill station of Simla and the great Kángra District, the latter including the Kúlu valley which stretches up to the mighty range of the mid-Himálayas, and the cantons of Láhul and Spití which, situated beyond the mid-Himálayas, belong geographically to Ladákh and Tibet rather than to India. This mountainous tract includes an area of some 19,840 square miles much of which is wholly uninhabited, and a scanty population of about 1,539,000 souls living scattered about the remaining area in tiny hamlets perched on the hill-sides or nestling in the valleys, each surrounded by its small patches of terraced cultivation, irrigated from the streams which run down every gulley or fertilised by the abundant rainfall of the hills.

The people chiefly consist of hill Rájpúts, including Thakars, Ráthís, and Ráwats, and of Kanets, Ghirats, Bráhmans, and the Dágis or menials of the hills. They are, either by origin or by long isolation from their neighbours of the plains, very distinct from the latter in most respects; and they speak dialects peculiar to the hills, though belonging to the Hindi group except in the trans-Himálayan cantons where Tibetan is spoken. They are almost exclusively Hindus, but curiously strict as regards some and lax as regards others of the ordinances of their religion. The nature of the country prevents the growth of large towns, trade is confined to the little that crosses the high passes which lead into Tibet, and the people are almost wholly rural, supplementing the yield of their fields by the produce of numerous flocks of sheep and goats, and by rude home manufactures with which they occupy themselves during the long

Part I.—Brief Description of the Province.

winter evenings. They keep very much to themselves, migration being almost confined to the neighbouring mountains and low hills.

7. From the borders of Chamba, the westernmost portion of the tract, to the River Jahlam, the frontier between Kashmír and the Panjáb lies immediately at the foot of the mountains, which are wholly included in the former; and the tract just described is the only mountainous portion of the Province with the exception of the country beyond the Salt Range.

8. **The Sub-Montane Tract.**—Skirting the base of the hills, and including the low outlying range of the Siwáliks, runs a narrow sub-montane zone which includes the four northern *tahsíls* of Ambála with the Kalsia State, the whole of the Hushyárpur District, the three northern *tahsíls* of Gurdáspur, *tahsíls* Zaffarwál and Siálkot of the Siálkot District, and the northern portion of Gujrát. This sub-montane tract, secure in an ample rainfall and traversed by streams from the neighbouring hills, comprises some 6,680 square miles of the most fertile and thickly-peopled portions of the province, and is inhabited by a population of about 2,998,000 souls who differ little in race, religion, or language from their neighbours of the plains proper described below in §§ 14 to 16. The tract has only one town, Siálkot, of more than 22,000 inhabitants, its trade and manufactures are insignificant, and its population is almost entirely agricultural, and in the low hills pastoral.

9. **The Eastern Plains.**—The remainder of the Panjáb, with the exception of the tract cut off by the Salt Range which I shall describe presently, consists of one vast plain, unbroken save by the wide eroded valleys within which the great Panjáb rivers ever shift their beds, and by the insignificant spur of the Aravalli mountain-system which runs through the Gurgáon district and the south of Dehli and re-appears in the low hills of Chiniot and Kerána in Jhang. A meridian through the city of Lahore divides this wide expanse into two very dissimilar tracts which I shall distinguish as the Eastern and the Western Plains. To the east of Lahore the rainfall is everywhere so far sufficient that cultivation is possible without irrigation in fairly favourable seasons; but over the greater portion of the area the margin is so slight that, save where the crops are protected by artificial irrigation, any material reduction in the supply entails distress if not actual famine; and while the Eastern Plains, comprising only a quarter of the area of the Province, include half its cultivation, nearly half its population, and almost all its most fertile portions, they also include all those parts which, by very virtue of the possibility of unirrigated cultivation, are peculiarly liable to disastrous failure of crops.

10. **Physical Divisions of the Eastern Plains.**—A broad strip parallel to the sub-montane zone partakes in a lower degree of its ample rainfall. It is traversed by the Upper Satluj, the Beás, the Rávi, the Bári Doáb Canal, and many smaller streams which bring down with them and deposit fertilising loam from the lower hills, irrigation from wells is everywhere easy, and the tract is even superior in fertility, security of produce, and populousness, to the sub-montane zone itself. It includes the two southern *tahsíls* of Ambála, the northern portions of Patiála and Nábha, the whole of the Lúdhiána, Jálandhar, and Amritsar districts and of the Kapúrthala State, and so much of the Gurdáspur and Siálkot districts as is not included in the sub-montane zone. Its area is some 8,600 square miles and the population about 4,035,000.

11. The next most fertile strip is that running along the eastern border of the Province parallel to the River Jamna. It enjoys a fair average rainfall, it includes the low riverain tract along the Jamna itself where well irrigation is easy, the Saruswati and its tributaries inundate a considerable area, and much of it is watered by the Agra and Western Jamna Canals, so that it is for the most part well protected against famine. It comprises the whole of the Dehli division with the exception of the Kaithal and Rewári *tahsils* of Karnál and Gurgáon, together with the small state of Pataudi and the Gohána and Sámpla *tahsíls* of the Rohtak district; its area is about 4,870 square miles, and its population some 1,848,000 souls.

12. Along the southern border of the tract run the Hissár and Sirsa districts with the small states of Dujána and Loháru, the Muktsar *tahsíl* of Fírozpur, the Rohtak and Jhajjar *tahsils* of the Rohtak district, the Rewári *tahsil* of Gurgáon, and some outlying portions of Patiála, Jínd, and Nábha. This is the most unfertile portion of the tract. A large part of it skirts the great Rájpútána desert, the soil is often inferior, the rainfall always scanty and precarious, while except in the south-eastern corner, where alone wells can be profitably worked, irrigation is almost unknown save where the Western Jamna Canal enters Hissár and the Satluj borders the Sirsa district[1]. The area is about 11,570 square miles, and the population about 1,665,000. This and the central portion next to be described are the parts of the Panjáb where famine is most to be dreaded[2].

13. The remaining or great central portion of the tract includes the greater part of the states of Patiála, Nábha and Jínd, the Kaithal *tahsil* of Karnál, the three northern *tahsils* of Fírozpur, the two eastern *tahsils* of Lahore, and the states of Farídkot and Málerkotla. Its area is some 9,980 square miles and its population about 2,810,000. It occupies an intermediate position in respect of fertility between the two preceding tracts, the rainfall generally being highest and the soil best to the east, west, and north, in the direction of the Jamna, the Satluj, and the hills, and lowest and worst in the centre and south, while to the north-east the Ghaggar system of hill streams inundates a certain area, and well irrigation is practised along the Satluj and the northern border.

14. **Ethnography of the Eastern Plains.**—The plains east of Lahore have thus been split up into zones of varying fertility by lines running for the most part parallel to the hills. But the boundaries which separate religion, race, and language are somewhat different from these. A meridian through the town of Sarhind, nearly due north of Patiála and once the capital of a Mughal shire, but razed to the ground by the victorious Sikhs in 1763 in revenge for the assassination of the children of Guru Govind Singh which had taken place there some sixty years before, roughly divides, as the name of the town implies (*Sar* head and *Hind* Hindustán), the Panjáb Proper from Hindustán and the Panjábi from the

[1] A certain area is also inundated by the precarious floods of the lower Ghaggar.
[2] But the Sarhind Canal which has just been opened will protect a large part of the central and some portion of the southern tract.

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Hindi language, and forms the eastern boundary of the Sikh religion. So much of the Panjáb plains as lies east of that line, namely the Dehli Division, the Ambála and Rohtak districts, and the states of Kalsia, Jínd and Pataudi, differs little if at all in the character of its population from the western districts of the North-Western Provinces. Except in the Rohtak district, Jats form a smaller and Rájpúts a larger proportion of the population than in the tract immediately to the west; while Kambohs, Rors, and Gújars are numerous in Ambála and Karnál, Tagas in Karnál and Dehli, Ahírs in Rohtak, Dehli and Gurgáon, and Meos and Khánzádahs in Gurgáon.

15. The Hissár district to the south of the tract differs from the districts just mentioned chiefly in that, lying as it does on the confines of Bíkáner, the dialect and people are more akin to those of Rájpútána than to those of Hindustán, Rájpúts being very numerous, and there being a considerable Ahír population. The religion is still Hindu, with a certain admixture of a curious sect called Bishnoi. The Sirsa district which forms the western portion of the southern border of the tract was all but uninhabited till it came under English rule; and it has drawn its settlers pretty equally from Hindu and Hindi-speaking Hissár and Rájpútána and from the Sikh and Panjábi-speaking Jat state of Patiála, while its western portion is occupied by Mahomedan immigrants from the lower Satluj.

16. In all the remainder of the tract Panjábi is the language of the people. Immediately below the hills Sikhism has obtained but little hold, and the Hindu element, strong in Hushyárpur, gradually gives way to the Musalmán as we pass westwards through Gurdáspur till it fades into comparative insignificance in Siálkot. But all the centre of the tract, the great Phúlkián states of Patiála, Jínd and Nábha, the states of Farídkot and Malerkotla, and the districts of Lúdhiánah, Fírozpur, Lahore and Amritsar, and in a less degree of Jálandhar and Kapúrthala, form the very centre and stronghold of the Panjáb Sikhs. Even here however a very large proportion of the population is Musalmán, a proportion constantly increasing from east to west; and it is the Hindu element alone which is displaced by the Sikh. In the matter of race the population of this portion of the tract is very uniform, Rájpúts, Jats, Gújars, and their allied tribes forming the staple of the agricultural population, largely supplemented by their attendant menials. Among the Siwáliks and immediately under the hills Jats are few and Rájpúts and Ghirats numerous, while somewhat further south the proportion of Jats increases and Gújars, Sainis and Arains, and in Kapúrthala Kambohs, Mahtams, and Dogars, become important elements in the population. In the Lahore Division, Farídkot, and the Phúlkián states the mass of the population is Jat; though in Lahore, Fírozpur, and Farídkot, Kambohs and Mahtams, and in Fírozpur Dogars hold large areas, while in Patiála, Jínd and Nábha there is a considerable admixture of Ahírs. The Changars and Sánsis of Amritsar and the surrounding districts, the Báwarias of the Upper Satluj, the Ráwals of the northern districts and Lahore, and the Aheris of the Hissár division are curious outcast tribes, some of them probably aboriginal; and as we pass westwards and northwards from Hindustán and Rájpútána into the Province, the Banya of the Dehli Territory gives place to the Khatri of the central, the Súd of the northern, and the Arora of the western Panjáb.

17. The tract includes all the most fertile, wealthy, and populous portions of the Province, and may be called the granary of the Panjáb. Within it lie the three great cities of Dehli, Amritsar, and Lahore, besides a very large proportion of the larger towns; and the population is by comparison with that of the western Panjáb largely urban. Trade and manufactures flourish, while with the exception of the south-westward portions where flocks and herds pasture in extensive jungles, the greater part of the culturable area is under the plough.

18. The Western Plains.—The great plains lying to the west of the Lahore meridian present a striking contrast to those to the east of that line. They form the common terminus of the two Indian monsoons, which have exhausted themselves of their vapour before they reach their goal; and the rainfall, heaviest in the north and east and decreasing towards the west and south, is everywhere so scanty that cultivation without irrigation is absolutely impossible. But in this very circumstance they find their security against famine or distress from drought; for their cultivation is almost independent of rain, a failure of which means little worse than a scarcity of grass, in itself a sufficiently serious calamity[1]. In many parts, indeed, more danger is to be anticipated from excessive floods than from deficient rainfall. The tract is traversed throughout its length by five great rivers, the Satluj, Rávi, Chanáb, Jahlam, and Indus; and along either side of each of these runs at a distance of a few miles a more or less distinctly marked bank, which defines the excursions of the river within recent times as it has shifted from side to side in its course. These banks include between them strips of low-lying land which are periodically inundated by the rising floods as the winter snows of the Himálayas melt under the summer sun, or in which the nearness of the subsoil water makes well-irrigation easy. All outside these narrow boundaries is a high arid plain. Beyond the Indus, and between the Satluj and the Jahlam and its continuation in the Chanáb, it consists of soil which, wherever water is available, is sufficiently fertile save where north of the Satluj that saline efflorescence which has so puzzled geologists clothes the surface for miles together like a recent fall of snow. But between the Indus and the Jahlam-Chanáb and south of the Satluj it is covered by great parallel lines of rolling sand separated by narrow hollows in which the original soil is exposed.

19. The Gújránwálá and Wazírábád *tahsils* of the Gújránwálá district[2] secure a fair amount of rain by their vicinity to the hills. Numerous streams, for the most part of intermittent flow, which run down from the Sulemán Mountains to join the Indus, and innumerable small inundation canals carried out from the Satluj, the lower Chanáb, the upper Jahlam, and the lower Indus across the zone of well-irrigation into the edges of the central steppes render cultivation possible along their courses; while wells sunk in the long hollows of the *thal* or sandy desert and the drainage of the *bár* or stiff loam uplands collected in

[1] Rain, of course, is needed, here as elsewhere. But its absence means only a diminished yield, and not none at all; and so little is sufficient if the fall comes at the right time, and absolute drought occurs so seldom, that the crops may be said never to fail from this cause.

[2] See note [1] on next page.

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local depressions perform a similar office. But though some of the finest wheat in the world is grown on the wells of the western *thal*, the proportion of the area thus brought under the plough is wholly insignificant. The remainder of the tract is covered by low stunted bush and salsolaceous plants and with short grass in good seasons. Over this range great herds of camels which thrive on the saline herbage, and of cattle, sheep, and goats. They are tended by a nomad population which moves with its flocks from place to place as the grass is consumed and the scanty supply of water afforded by the local hollows exhausted, or in search of that change of diet which camels love and the varying local floras afford. The tract includes the whole of the Multán division and of Baháwalpur, the two Derahs, the districts of Sháhpur and Gújránwálá, the greater part of Gújrát, and the two western *tahsíls* of Lahore[1]. Its area is some 60,870 square miles or more than two-fifths of that of the whole province, while its Population, numbering about 4,885,000 souls, includes little more than one-fifth of the people of the Panjáb, and it comprises not one quarter of the total cultivated area.

20. Natural Divisions of the Western Panjáb.—It is the fashion to describe the Panjáb Proper as marked off by its rivers into six great *doábs* which constitute the natural divisions of the Province. This description is true in a sense; but the sense in which it is true possesses but little significance, and its chief merit seems to be that it can easily be verified by reference to a map. To the east of the Lahore meridian such rivers as there are lie close together, the whole of the country between and beyond them is comparatively populous, and there are no natural boundaries of any great importance. But west of that meridian, or throughout the greater portion of the Panjáb Proper, the real obstacles to inter-communication, the real barriers which separate the peoples one from another are, not the rivers easily crossed at any time and often fordable in the cold weather, but the great arid steppes which lie between those rivers. The advance of the agricultural tribes has followed almost invariably the courses of the great rivers, the new comers having crept along both banks of the streams and driven the nomads from either side into the intermediate *doábs*, where they have occupied the portions nearest the river lands from which they had been ejected, leaving the median area of greatest aridity as an intangible but very effectual line of separation.

21. Ethnography of the Western Plains.—Between the Sulemáns and the great sandy deserts of Baháwalpur and the Sindh-Ságar *doáb*[2] the dominant race is Biloch, save in the northern part of Derah Ismáíl where Patháns take their place. Both these races have descended from the hills and overcome a miscellaneous collection of tribes which, still forming a very large proportion of the population, have been included by their conquerors under the semi-contemptuous term of Jat—here an occupational as much as an ethnological designation—till they have themselves almost forgotten their original races. In the remainder of the tract the divisions of the people are rather tribal than racial, the great majority of them being Jats and Rájpúts, or belonging to races, perhaps in some cases of aboriginal origin, which can now no longer be distinguished from them. In Gújrát the importance of the Gújar element is indicated by the name of the district, while Saiyads are numerous to the south-west. The number of clans into which the people of these great plains are divided is enormous. The Dáúdpotra, Joya, Wattu, Dogar and Mahtam of the Satluj, the Kharral and Káthia of the Rávi, the Siyál and Khokhar of the Chanáb, and the Khokhar and Tiwána of the Jahlam, are some of the most important. The curious river-tribes of the Satluj and Indus, the Jhabel, Kehal and Kutána also present many interesting features. The trans-Indus Patháns and a certain proportion of the Biloches speak their natural Pashtu and Bilochi. The remaining population of Derah Ghází, Muzaffargarh, Multán and Baháwalpur speak Jatki, a language holding an intermediate position between Panjábi and Sindhi. Panjábi is the speech of the remainder of the tract. The population is essentially Musalmán, the proportion being largest on the frontier and smallest to the east and south. Multán is the only town of more than 23,000 inhabitants, and the population is very markedly rural. There is no manufacture of importance, and the important *pawindah* traffic between India and the countries to the west only passes through the tract on its way to the commercial centres of Hindustán. Pastoral pursuits occupy a more important position than in the rest of the Panjáb, agricultural produce being largely supplemented by clarified butter, wool, hides and barilla.

22. The Salt Range Tract.—There still remains to be described the north-western corner of the Panjáb, situated in the angle where the Safed Koh from the west and the Sulemáns from the south meet the Himálayas from the east, and separated from the rest of the Province by the Salt Range and the Upper Jahlam. It includes the Pesháwar Division and the districts of Ráwalpindí, Jahlam, and Bannu. It presents in almost every respect the strongest possible contrast with the Panjáb Proper, and indeed, as I have already remarked, can hardly be said to belong to India save by mere geographical position. The outer Himálayas, crossing the Jahlam, run up the eastern boundary of the Ráwalpindí district and cut off the Murree and part of the Kahúta *tahsíl*. There they and the Mid-Himálaya meet on the banks of the Indus in a confused mass of mountains, among which the Hazára district lies and stretches out the Kágán valley like a huge arm to where the Indus pierces the western Himálayan range at the foot of Nanga Parbat. The curved ranges which connect the extremities of the Mid-Himálayas with the Safed Koh enclose to the north the plain which constitutes the Pesháwar district, while the northern continuation of the Sulemáns runs up the western border of Bannu and Kohát to meet the Safed Koh and throws out eastwards a series of parallel spurs which cover the whole of the Kohát district. The circuit is completed by the Salt Range which, starting from opposite the point where the Mid-Himálayas abut upon the Jahlam, runs along the right bank of the river through the south of the Jahlam and the north of the Sháhpur district, crosses the Indus in the north of the Miánwáli *tahsíl*, and turning down the right bank of the Indus through the Bannu district, follows the boundary between Bannu and Derah Ismáíl till it joins the Sulemáns. Rising abruptly from the river and the great desert which lie to the south of it, the Salt Range of Jahlam and Sháhpur falls away imperceptibly to the north into a great table-land enclosed by the range itself, the Hazára hills, and the river Indus, crossed in every direction by chains of low hills, and cut up by the streams which issue from them into innumerable ravines. It is this table-land which constitutes the districts of Jahlam and Ráwalpindí.

[1] In physical characteristics parts of Gújránwálá, Gújrát, and Lahore belong rather to the northern portion of the eastern plains; but as they lie west of the Lahore meridian and their area is small, they have been included in this tract of which they form the north-eastern corner.

[2] The Sindh-Sagar *doáb* lies between the Indus and the Jahlam and Chanáb.

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23. The tract is physically speaking so broken and confused that it is impossible without going into great detail to separate it into parts each of which shall be even approximately homogeneous. The mountainous tracts of Hazára and of the Murree and Kahúta *tahsils* of the Pindi district with their ample rainfall, and of the less favoured district of Kohát, cover an area of 6,520 square miles and contain a population of some 715,000 souls. Both Hazára and Kohát include large domains held by the semi-independent Nawábs of Tanáwal and Teri, who manage their own revenue and enjoy considerable powers of police and criminal jurisdiction, and with whom the Panjáb Government interferes but little, parts of their territories having never been visited by a European. The remainder of the tract has an area of about 14,500 square miles, and a population of some 2,209,000 souls. Except immediately under the hills, the rainfall, while quite sufficient in ordinary years, leaves little margin as protection against distress in unfavourable seasons; while save in Pesháwar and the riverain portions of Bannu irrigation is almost unknown.

24. **Ethnography of the Salt Range Tract.**—The population of the whole tract is almost entirely Musalmán, many of the very traders being Mahomedans in Pesháwar. The language is Pashtu in the trans-Indus and dialects of Panjábi in the cis-Indus portions of the tract. The people are chiefly Patháns in Pesháwar and Kohát, with a large admixture of menial classes of Hindu ancestry who, though now Musalmáns, are known under the generic name of Hindki. In Bannu the mass of the people consist of Patháns and the so-called Jats described above in § 21. The term Jat is little used beyond the Salt Range. In Hazára the Pathán villages are few, and confined to the bank of the Indus; but the centre and north of the tract are occupied by curious tribes, probably of Indian origin, but now by long association closely assimilated to the Afghán race, the principal of which are known as Jadún, Swáti and Tanáoli, and by Saiyads. In the south and south-west of Hazára and in the hills of Murree and Kahúta are found the Kahúts, Dhúnds, Sattis and Ketwáls, all claiming to be hill Rájpúts, together with Awáns, Karráls, Gakkhars, and numerous Gújars. The Salt Range is almost entirely in the possession of a tribe of mysterious origin called Awán, which has wrested the greater part of it from its original holders the Janjúha Rájpúts, and spread into Ráwalpindí, Hazárá, Pesháwar and Kohát, and in a less degree into Siálkot and Jahlam, and which, like all other non-Patháns, is merged in the comprehensive name of Jat as soon as the range crosses the Indus. In the less hilly portions of Ráwalpindi and Jahlam, Rájpúts, or tribes which claim Rájpút origin, with Awáns, Gakkhars, Khattars, and a few Gújars constitute the greater part of the population. Saiyads are numerous throughout the tract. In the city of Peshávar itself is to be found a most extraordinarily cosmopolitan population, including representatives of almost every Mahomedan country east of Arabia.

25. With the exception of Peshávar and Ráwalpindí, the tract includes no town of more than 20,000 inhabitants. But the whole trade with Central Asia and Kábul except the *pawindah* traffic of Derah Ismáil passes through Peshávar, and the Salt Range supplies almost the whole of the salt used in the Panjáb. The silk and cotton fabrics of Peshávar are the only manufactures of importance, and the mass of the population follows agricultural, and in the mountain ranges pastoral pursuits.

26. **Summary of the above.**—It will be convenient here to collect some figures regarding the tracts just described and to summarise their salient characters. The statistics given below in columns 6 to 11 are only approximate, as I have no figures for Native States, while those I have are for districts only and not for *tahsils*.

Abstract No. 1, *showing some leading* **Statistics** *for the* **natural divisions** *of the* **Province.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
					APPROXIMATE FIGURES.						PERCENTAGES OF AREA AND POPULATION OF PROVINCE CONTAINED IN EACH TRACT.					
Serial No. of Tract.	NAME OF TRACT.	Area in square miles.	Total Population.	Population per square mile.	RAIN-FALL IN INCHES.			PERCENTAGES OF AREA FOR EACH TRACT.							Serial No. of Tract.	NAME OF TRACT.
					Highest.	Average.	Lowest.	Cultivated on total.	Culturable on total.	Dry on cultivated.	Total area.	Population.	Cultivated area.	Culturable area.		
I	**Himalayan Tract**	19,840	1,539,000	78	126	80	40	10	14	82	14·0	6·8	4·3	3·2	I	**Himalayan Tract**
II	**Sub-montane Tract**	6,680	2,998,000	449	54	37	30	64	71	78	4·7	13·2	9·6	5·4	II	**Sub-montane Tract**
	EASTERN PLAINS—															EASTERN PLAINS—
III	Northern Zone	8,600	4,035,000	469	35	27	23	73	87	67	6·1	17·8	13·9	8·6	III	Northern Zone
IV	Eastern or Jamna Zone.	4,870	1,848,000	379	34	28	19	71	83	55	3·4	8·1	7·8	4·6	IV	Eastern or Jamna Zone
V	Central Block	9,980	2,810,000	282	27	19	17	57	89	42	7·0	12·4	12·6	10·2	V	Central Block
VI	Southern or Bhattiána Zone.	11,570	1,665,000	144	20	16	13	55	92	80	8·1	7·3	14·2	12·1	VI	Southern or Bhattiána Zone
	Total Eastern Plains.	35,020	10,358,000	296	35	21	13	62	89	62	24·6	45·6	48·5	35·5		**Total Eastern Plains**
VII	**Western Plains**	59,890	4,885,000	82	20	6	1	18	67	6	42 0	21·5	24·1	45·7	VII	**Western Plains**
	SALT RANGE TRACT—															SALT RANGE TRACT—
VIII	Mountain Tract	6,520	715,000	110	62	41	20	15	24	73	4·6	3·2	2·2	1·8	VIII	Mountain Tract
IX	Table-Lands	14,500	2,209,000	152	32	17	10	35	51	85	10·1	9·7	11·3	8·4	IX	Table-Lands
	Total Salt Range Tract.	21,020	2,924,000	139	62	24	10	29	42	83	14·7	12·9	13·5	10·2		**Total Salt Range Tract**
	TOTAL PANJAB	142,450	22,704,000	159	126	24	1	31	61	60	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0		TOTAL PANJAB
	Troops of the Khaibar Pass.	...	8,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		Troops of the Khaibar Pass

Part I.—Brief Description of the Province.

NOTES TO ABSTRACT No. 1.

Tract I.—Himálayan.—The mountain tract of Kángra and the Hill States; with large rainfall and irrigation from hill-streams. Cultivation scattered and inferior. Population of rustic Hindu hillmen, chiefly Rájpúts and allied races, living in tiny hamlets; agricultural and pastoral. Language, hill dialects of Hindi. No large towns; trade and manufactures insignificant. Secure from famine.

Tract II.—Sub-montane.—Zone along the foot of the Himálayas. Ample rainfall and fertile soil. Large rural and agricultural population and no large towns. Secure from famine.

Tract III.—Eastern Plains (Northern).—Zone parallel to and south of Tract II. Considerable rainfall and fertilising hill streams. Soil fruitful and well-irrigation ample. Very populous and several large towns. Almost secure from famine.

Tract IV.—Eastern Plains (Eastern).—Zone along the Jamna. Rainfall fair, irrigated area large, and soil fertile. Large population and several large towns. For the most part in but little danger from famine.

Tract V.—Eastern Plains (Central).—Occupying the centre of the Eastern Plains. Soil and rainfall fairly good, and irrigation possible to north, east, and west; inferior and impossible in south. Population of average density; agricultural and in the south pastoral. Several large towns; liable to famine.

Tract VI.—Eastern Plains (Southern).—Bordering Bíkáner desert. Rainfall deficient; soil inferior; irrigation impossible. Scanty agricultural and pastoral population. Few large towns; very liable to famine.

Eastern Plains.—Tracts III, IV, V, VI.—Population chiefly Jats, Rájpúts, and allied races with menials. Religion Hindu in north, east, and south; Musalmán in north-west and south-west; Sikh in centre and to west. Language Hindi to east and south-east, Rájpútána dialects to south-west, Panjábi in the remainder. Includes all the largest towns; and trade and manufactures flourish.

Tract VII.—Western Plains.—Comprises the mass of the Western Panjáb. Rainfall wholly inadequate. Cultivation chiefly confined to the immediate precincts of the rivers. Between them great grazing grounds, in parts covered with sand, and occasionally saline. Population scanty, largely pastoral, and partly nomad. Patháns and Biloches on the frontier; elsewhere Jat, Rájpút, and allied tribes. Religion Musalmán. Language Pashtu and Bilochi across the Indus; Jatki to south-west; elsewhere Panjábi. Few large towns; little trade or manufacture. No famine possible, beyond distress from failure of grass.

Tract VIII.—Salt Range (Mountain).—Mountains of Hazára and Kohát, and the east of Ráwalpindí. Rainfall ample; cultivation inferior. Scanty agricultural and pastoral population of Patháns and curious allied races, hill-Rájpúts, Awáns, and Gújars. Religion Musalmán. Language Pashtu in Kohát; Panjábi dialects in Hazára. No large towns. For the most part secure from famine.

Tract IX.—Salt Range (Table-land).—Peshúwar valley, Salt Range, and Table-lands of Bannu, Pindi, and Jahlam. Rainfall somewhat scanty. Irrigation hardly practised. Somewhat thinly peopled by Patháns on the west, Awáns to the south, and Rájpúts, Gakkhars, and Khattars in the remainder. Language, cis-Indus Panjábi, trans-Indus Pashtu. Religion Musalmán. Few large towns. Trade and salt mining extensive. Liable to famine.

PART II.—SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE CENSUS OPERATIONS.

27. Previous enumerations of the people.—The present is the third Census that has been taken of the population of British Territory in the Panjáb, the people having been numbered on the 1st January 1855[1], on the 10th January 1868, and now on the 17th February 1881. In the Native States, on the other hand, nothing further than a more or less rough estimate of the population had ever been attempted before the present Census. I believe I am safe in saying that the present enumeration is more accurate than either of those which preceded it; and it is at least certain that the directions issued, the system followed, and the supervision exercised, were far more elaborate and descended to much greater minuteness of detail on the present than on any previous occasion. In 1855 no preliminary record was prepared, the enumeration being begun and ended on the night of the Census itself; while neither in 1855 nor in 1868 was any attempt made to record particulars separately for each person enumerated. On both these occasions the enumerator merely ascertained from the head of the house how many children, youths, and adults of each sex were sleeping under his roof, whether as members of the family or as visitors, the numbers thus ascertained were entered in the appropriate columns, and all members of the same family were assumed to have the same religion, caste, and occupation. It needs but small acquaintance with the people of the country to be able to appreciate the additional accuracy which has been attained by making a separate entry with name and full details for each individual. Moreover, at the present Census many particulars have been recorded to ascertain which no attempt had previously been made; and especially age, tribal sub-divisions, and occupations have been stated in much more minute detail than ever before. The classification of entries of caste and occupation was, in 1868, made in the district offices in accordance with brief instructions of a very general nature; and it is hardly possible that this work, which in the present Census I have found to be by far the most difficult and delicate part of the operations, should have been performed with as much uniformity as has attended the present classification.

28. General outline of the scheme of operations.—The scheme of operations of the present Census was based upon the recommendations of a Committee appointed by the Government of India in 1877-78 to consider the subject, largely modified in details by both the Imperial and the Local Government. The successive steps in the operations may be summarised as follows:—

(*a*) Division of the country into blocks, or units of enumeration.
(*b*) Preparation of lists of houses and families, and numbering of houses.
(*c*) Selection of agency.
(*d*) Preparation of a preliminary record of the population.
(*e*) The Census itself; or the correction of the preliminary record so as to bring it into accordance with facts as they stood on the Census night.
(*f*) The abstracting of the entries in the Census Schedules.
(*g*) The tabulation in detail of the figures thus abstracted.
(*h*) The compilation of the final Census tables from the figures thus tabulated in detail.

These various operations are described and discussed in detail in Book II of the present Report, and the exact meaning of each of the several units employed for Census purposes, such as the house, the family, the village, and the town, is there precisely defined. There too will be found a description of the difficulties we encountered with suggestions for their avoidance or abatement at a future Census, a discussion of the degree of accuracy which the results may be held to possess, and detailed information as to the attitude of the people towards the operations. It will be sufficient to give in this place such a general outline of the method of Census as may enable the reader to understand how the results presently to be discussed were arrived at.

29. Demarcation of Census blocks.—The first thing done was to split up the Province into blocks of such a size that a single man could conveniently visit all people living within any one of them on the Census night. In the hill tracts indeed this was impossible, nor was it necessary to divide off the uninhabited and inaccessible sides of Himálayan Mountains. In such places it sufficed to allot to each enumerator so many of the small scattered hamlets and isolated homesteads in which the hillmen live as he was able to deal with. So again, in the great arid pasture lands of the Western Plains men were told off to visit the camps of the nomad population, the exact position of which was ascertained from the tribal headmen a few days beforehand. But throughout the remaining portion of the Panjáb plains the whole area was divided off into blocks, and a separate enumerator made responsible for the enumeration of all persons found within the area of each on the night of the Census.

30. Numbering of houses.—The next step was to make rough sketch maps of the towns, villages, and hamlets, to prepare a list of the houses in each block and of the families in each house, and to paint up on the walls of the houses the serial numbers which distinguished them on the maps and in the lists. To any one unacquainted with Indian town and village life, and with the feeling of the people regarding privacy and the seclusion of women, it will be impossible to realise the difficulty experienced in answering the question—what is a house? In the hills and in parts of the western Panjáb the peasant often lives with his family in a separate house or hut built among his fields or by his well, or in one of a small group of such separate houses which lie close together and constitute a hamlet. In such cases the matter is simple enough. But the ground-plan of an ordinary Panjáb village in the plains is often not unlike one of those mazes with which the ingenuous English youth who believes in Fair Rosamond is wont to delight himself. It is surrounded by a ditch and mud wall, and entered by one, two, or three gates

[1] The corresponding Census of the Dehli Territory, namely Dehli, Gurgáon, part of Karnál, Hissár, and Rohtak, was taken under the North-Western Provinces Government on 1st January 1853; while the Census of Bhattiána or Sirsa was a settlement Census, taken village by village between 1852 and 1863.

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leading to main streets which do not always communicate with each other. From these ramify in every direction numerous blind alleys; and from these again doorways lead into great courtyards, round each of which are ranged the rooms or buildings respectively occupied by one to a dozen families closely related to each other in the male line. Beyond the ditch live the outcasts and menials, each in their separate quarter, which often consists of a large space surrounded by a high wall with a single doorway, and closely dotted over with numerous hovels inhabited indifferently by the people or their cattle.

31. In the towns not only is the joint courtyard, often complicated in the poorer quarters by the admission of casual tenants who come and go like flies, a common feature; but a whole section of the community will sometimes inhabit a ward accessible by only one gateway, and consisting of a confused mass of houses, yards, and small caravanserais intermingled in the most puzzling manner. Along the main bazaar the houses will often be built in flats with separate entrances, or even with entrances leading front and back into separate streets, in order to preserve the tenants of the upper and ground floors from contact with the ladies of easy virtue who so often occupy the first story; while in quarters once fashionable but now no longer so—for there is fashion in India as well as in England—a little house will have been built in the courtyard of a big one or a big one will have been divided off into separate tenements, till all structural individuality is lost in a chaos of walls of diverse origin and age. The rule laid down was, to treat the courtyard and the buildings it might contain as a single house wherever it was not too unwieldy; but the house-numbering was practically useful only as a guide to and a check upon the enumerator, and the "house" unit in the Census tables possesses little or no statistical value. With houses of such uncertain size it may be conceived that it was necessary to make careful lists of all the families living in each; and here no difficulty was experienced, for the unit to be dealt with was a social and not a structural one, and is perfectly familiar to the native mind as including all who eat food cooked at one common hearth.

32. Selection of agency.—Meanwhile the District Officers had been selecting the agency for the actual enumeration; for the preliminary work described above was, save in cities, chiefly executed by the village accountants and other revenue functionaries who, under the land-revenue system of Northern India, are scattered broadcast over the country. The Legislature had empowered the officers of Government to call upon all and every man to assist in the enumeration, and the one thing needful was to find men of sufficient intelligence to understand what was to be recorded, of sufficient education to record it, and in sufficient numbers to cope with the population to be enumerated in a single night. But herein lay what always has been, and must continue to be for many generations, the one great difficulty of an Indian Census. In cities the matter was easy enough. Men of sufficient education were numerous, and it was only necessary to teach them their duties and to see that they performed them efficiently. Indeed here the great difficulty was that the agents were too highly educated for our purpose, at least in their own opinion. A little knowledge is nowhere a more dangerous thing than in a Census enumerator. He who is possessed of it is perhaps content to take the word of the persons to be enumerated as to their name, sex, and a few other simple facts of a like nature. But he knows far better than they do to what religion and caste they belong, what language is their mother-tongue, and how their means of livelihood should be described. The result is that the original entries in the schedules filled in by such men too often represented, till corrected by the supervisors, not what the people held themselves to be, which was all that we wanted to know, but what the particular creed and caste of the individual enumerator, together with such mythic lore as he might have acquired at the hands of the learned, led him to conceive that they should be, must be, and were.

33. In the villages the case was very different. The village population of Panjáb British Territory is about 16½ millions, is scattered over an area of some 106,600 square miles, and inhabits 34,000 villages without counting hamlets. Of these not quite 300,000 can read and write, while about one-third as many are still under instruction. Now the phrase "able to read and write" has several shades of significance in the Panjáb. There are at least seven different characters current in the Province of which only three can be said to possess much certainty in their cursive form, while the ordinary clerk or man of education can seldom read any of them except the Persian, and occasionally the Nágri or Gurmukhi. The others are confined either to the trading classes or to very limited areas; and the village shop-keeper who is "able to read and write" is too often unable to read to-morrow what he wrote to-day, while what has been written by one is deciphered by another much as General Cunningham would decipher a rock inscription of the time of Asoka.

34. But such material as was available had to be made the best of, and every soul who had the requisite qualifications, and many who had not, were pressed into the service. All Government servants in any measure under the district officers, with the exception of the police constable who was not to be employed on Census work, together with many lent by other departments, pensioners, candidates for employment, petition-writers, stamp-vendors, holders of licenses of sorts, in a word, all who had anything to hope for or to fear from Government were called upon to assist. Honorary Magistrates, rural notables, assignees of land revenue, merchants and the like swelled the ranks of the superior agency; while village headmen, shop-keepers, and priests, *pandits, maulvis,* small landowners, and the senior pupils of the upper schools helped in the enumeration, the last especially looking upon the whole proceedings as a solemn function in which they were privileged to assist, learning off the directions by heart, and taking the greatest pride in their temporary association in the business of the Empire. The enumerators were chosen as far as possible from among the residents of the place to be enumerated; but where no capable person was forthcoming an intelligent but illiterate villager was often made responsible for the work, and a schoolboy sent out from the nearest town to act as his amanuensis.

35. In this manner was organised, in British territory alone, a staff of 1,758 superintendents, 6,399 supervisors, and 52,983 enumerators, or 61,140 in all; a staff amply sufficient in total number for the work to be done, but so distributed that while in some few favoured regions men and to spare were available, in the more thinly-peopled and backward tracts far larger areas were perforce assigned to enumerators than would have been given to one man had more adequate agency been forthcoming. Of

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these 61,140 people no fewer than 45,682 were non-officials, of whom only 431 received payment. The remainder performed the duties assigned to them, often extending over a considerable period and always of an irksome and uninteresting nature, without compensation of any kind, or hope of reward beyond the presentation of a printed letter of thanks and the good-will of the authorities[1]. The cheerful readiness and interest with which the work was almost without exception undertaken and carried through by this unpaid agency, speak most strongly for the good and willing feeling of the people.

36. The Preliminary Record.—Having mapped out the work before them, selected the agency, and put the enumerators through a short course of practical instruction, the officers in charge began with the new year the preparation of the preliminary record which was, after such few corrections as subsequent births, deaths, and movements of the people might render necessary on the Census night, to represent the result of the whole operations. This record might in fact almost be called the Census itself. The village population is essentially a stationary one, the alterations made in the entries on the night of the Census were comparatively unimportant, and on the care and accuracy with which the preliminary record was filled in practically depended the whole value of the results. It was made and corrected at leisure during January 1881; and during the greater part of that month the Census staff was busily employed in its preparation, the enumerators going round their blocks from house to house recording the required particulars for each person, and the superior officers riding about from village to village and from block to block, inspecting, testing, correcting and encouraging. Much patient care was required of them. The details to be recorded were numerous, and the instructions of necessity often failed to meet local peculiarities; while the habitual inaccuracy natural to uninstructed minds, the tendency of the inferior castes to extenuate their present status by claiming an origin of fabulous glory, and the conviction so rooted in the native breast that if the Government asks him what is his sect, or otherwise, it is his business to have a sect, or otherwise, or, if he has hitherto been unaware that he possesses one, to invent one on the spot for the satisfaction of his superiors,—all tended to make the attainment of a really accurate record dependent upon the exercise of tact, patience and perseverance. Add to this the hopeless imbecility of some of the enumerators, the utter illegibility of their handwriting, and the impossibility of finding better men, and it is not to be wondered at that in many instances the preliminary record was practically prepared by the supervisor rather than by the enumerator.

37. Where, as was often the case, the supervisor was the village accountant, this was far the best course that could possibly be followed; and I am inclined to recommend, for reasons fully stated in a subsequent chapter, that at a future Census the preliminary record of the villages be wholly prepared by these men. I have already noticed the danger of enumeration by men of a certain degree of education, and the supervising staff were not wholly exempt from the same defect. Many even who should have known better did much harm by what they called "aiming at uniformity." Now the only uniformity that exists among the people of the Panjáb is the uniform absence of uniformity. In this way a Master-of-Arts of the Calcutta University spoiled the language returns for the tract under his charge by entering as the mother-tongue of the people, not what *they* called their languages, but what *he* called them; justifying his action by a learned exposition of the affinities of the local dialects, which would have been very useful had he merely based it upon the entries made by the people, instead of altering those entries to suit his theories. So an English officer of high standing took upon himself to omit a portion of the information called for, because it was in his opinion unimportant. At the same time, it is very difficult to draw the line between blindly recording whatever the people choose to state and pragmatically refusing to accept their statements because they conflict with a preconceived theory. Of the two the former is by far the smaller evil. But in some cases it is impossible to accept the statements made. When a lusty male in the prime of manhood tells you that he is 15 years old, or a tottering elder that his winters number "20 or 30," it is necessary to exercise your own judgment in the matter. So, when an oilman says that he is a Mughal or a Rájpút he may be so in reality, and it is most unsafe to assume that *because* he is an oilman he therefore cannot be telling the truth. But if he is one of a community of Telis (the ordinary oilman caste) and marries among Telis, and is and always has been known to his neighbours as a Teli, his assertion is but vain-glorying and must be rejected. And this is the chief reason why I think that the preliminary record, which is the very backbone of the Census, should be prepared as far as possible by the village accountants who live among the people, and know every man, woman and child in the village.

38. The completion of the preliminary record was followed by a pause, which was employed in making arrangements for the enumeration of prisoners, dispensary patients, gangs of workmen, travellers by boat, rail and road, and other similar floating populations.

39. The Census itself.—A couple of days before the 17th of February, the supervisors visited their blocks to assure themselves that all the enumerators were at their posts with the completely tested record in readiness, and to distribute the red ink which has to be used for alterations and additions made on the Census night. Proclamations were issued to the people requesting them as far as possible to stay at home after nightfall on the 17th, not to go to bed till the enumerator had visited them, and till then to keep a lamp burning. During the day time of the 17th the nomad grazing camps of the Western Plains were visited, and the Census was taken in some of the more mountainous tracts where the snow and the difficult nature of the country made a night visitation impossible. But the great mass of the population was enumerated by moonlight. Evening brought the husbandmen and cowherds home from the field and pastures; and as soon as night fell and the lamps were lit, the enumerators, accompanied by the village headmen and by men carrying torches, started on their rounds. As a rule they found the head of the family waiting at the door with a lamp in his hand to receive them. They read out to him the entries in the schedules, cut out such persons as had died or gone away, entered those who had been born or come to the house in the interval, and passed on to the next house. In the Kúlu hills Mr. Anderson ingeniously numbered his houses down hill; and the enumerator, climbing at painful leisure to the top of his block during the day, quietly gravitated to the bottom after nightfall, calling at each house on his way. About 6 o'clock next morning

[1] In some cases a small sum was given, generally to those who were sent to a distance from their homes, to cover actual expenses; but it was paid from Local Funds and not by Government.

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all trains were stopped and the passengers in them enumerated, those who had alighted during the night having already been counted at the stations. Next day the supervisors started on their rounds for the last time, examined and checked the entries in red ink, and collected the enumerators' books; and, save in the snow-bound valleys of Láhul and Spití where operations were necessarily postponed till spring should open the passes, the Census of 1881 was over.

40. The attitude of the people.—The attitude of the people was admirable throughout. Occasionally an ill-conditioned *faqír* or sulky shopkeeper or a nasty-tempered old woman would resent the inquiries made of them, and use exceedingly improper language to the enumerator who was questioning them. And on the Census night itself I was appealed to by an enumerator in difficulties, and spent half an hour in listening to abuse of the English Government in general and myself in particular from a sleepy Banya who, roused from his warm bed which he had sought too early, sat shivering on the doorstep and discussing each question before he answered it at most unnecessary length. But on the whole the people looked on with amused curiosity at the trouble and fuss that Government was making about the filling up of a set of useless forms. Of course there were the usual rumours current among the lower and more ignorant classes and in the more backward tracts. The Government inquired for the first time into the number of families, and was therefore about to revive the obsolete hearth-tax; and some of the Hushyárpur Gújars went so far as to break up their hearths on the day before the Census. It recorded sex and age, and so wanted soldiers for its Kábul campaign and young wives for its soldiers, in so much that in one place the people hurriedly wedded their marriageable girls to save them from impressment. It demanded particulars about occupation, and had not a license-tax been recently imposed? It recorded each person where he or she was found on the Census night, and husbands recalled their wives from their father-in-laws' houses lest they should lose their marital rights. In some cases there was a tendency to conceal the existence of old persons and infants, whom it would obviously have been unfair to tax; and in a tract in Pesháwar which had suffered much from drought, the people thought that Government was going to give them relief based upon the number of mouths, and were inclined to show a quite phænomenal increase of population. The Spití peopled petitioned to be allowed to collect in one place, there to have their numbers taken. Some rumours were less obviously natural; as, for instance, that search was being made for a lost child of Her Majesty, or for the eternal Imám Mahdi; that Government were about to transfer a portion of the Bengal and Madras populations to the Panjáb; that rain was not allowed to fall till the Census was over lest it should wash off the house numbers; and that numbering the people was unlucky, and the deaths which followed the preliminary record due to this cause. But these misunderstandings were not general, and soon passed away; in fact many of them were only raised to be laughed at. The gray beards remembered two previous Censuses without any evil effects following upon them, all the leading men took part in the operations, the people were accustomed to statistical inquiries in connection with the revenue, and almost every district report bears strong testimony to the cheerful alacrity with which they entered into the spirit of the thing, rendered all the assistance in their power, and endured the repeated inquiries of enumerator, supervisor, and superintendent without murmuring, and to the real anxiety they displayed that the information recorded should be accurate. "Cherisher of the poor," said an old man to Mr. Coldstream, "all my household has been correctly enumerated save only one goat." An old lady followed another District Officer about for some days because she averred that she had not been entered in the schedules. Especially the prohibition against the employment of the rank and file of the Police in the enumeration, and against asking the names of women where there was any objection to stating them, gave great satisfaction and convinced the people that their prejudices had been considered and that no harm was intended. Out of the 19,000,000 of people enumerated in British Territory only 5 were proceeded against criminally for refusing to answer questions, and these all in a single district.

41. The Comedy of "Census".—A very curious illustration of the feelings of the people on the subject was afforded by an original comedy entitled "Census," which was performed at Lahore for several nights in succession to crowded houses by a strolling company of Pársís. I went to see it, and enjoyed it immensely. It was really comic, and the fun, if occasionally a little broad, was absolutely good-humoured throughout. The impressment of the enumerator, his delight at becoming a servant of Government, his dismay at finding that he was to receive no pay, his zeal in reducing others to a like plight with himself; the terror of the Banya, and especially of his wife, at the rumour that the numbers of the sexes were to be equalised by killing the spare men and the percentages of infirm corrected by making more where necessary, their resolve to fly into the jungles till the tyranny should be overpast, their horror at hearing the enumerator's demand for admittance, the awe with which they listened to his account of his powers and the way in which they were to be exercised, their anxiety to assuage him with sweetmeats, and his greediness and self-importance; the meeting of enumerators on the Census night, how one had entered all the living things in his block, flies included (an estimate merely), how another had counted unborn babes as half a child each, and how a third had come away from the hospital with blank schedules because all the patients had died; and the final scene in the forest where all the enumerators in turn make love to the Banya's wife, till *Tahsíldár ji* appears, examines their books and consigns them all to gaol,—such were the main features of a very amusing piece, played with considerable comic power, and intensely enjoyed by the audience.

Nor were comic incidents wholly absent from the actual operations. A Magistrate successfully justified his having entered a village pond as an inhabited house, by explaining to me that a *faqír* was standing up to his waist in the water and declared his intention of remaining there till after the Census; one enumerator came near having his head broken for putting, as in duty bound, the prescribed series of questions to an irascible villager, which involved asking him whether his mother was married; while another who spoke English stigmatised the *female adults* of his block as *adulteresses*.

42. The compilation of the figures.—The operations subsequent to the actual enumeration consisted in abstracting and tabulating the figures, classifying the entries, and reducing the whole to the form in which they are now presented in the final tables of Appendices A and B. The process was laborious

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in the extreme and to a large extent purely mechanical, and I shall not here trouble the reader with an account of it. He will find it fully discussed in the later chapters of Book II. The work was done by a picked staff of 1,000 village accountants who were taken from their districts and collected in ten divisional offices established at centres along the line of rail. Their duties were confined to abstracting the figures for each different entry which appeared in the enumerators' schedules, and tabulating them separately for each of the 53,000 blocks into which the Province was divided. The wearisome monotony of making four long ticks and then crossing them by a fifth, day after day and all day long, was beyond description; the men were kept away from their homes and families, were living in cities instead of in villages, and were held to their work with unaccustomed strictness; and when they were at length released, their joy found vent in pæans of song which were published in the native newspapers.

43. But the figures thus furnished me were only the rough material out of which the final results were to be shaped; and the classification of the innumerable entries of religion, language, birthplace, caste and occupation, kept me incessantly employed for more than nine months. As explained at length in the chapter on the tabulation of the figures, it was found absolutely necessary to allow to the divisional officers some discretion in the way of reducing the number of entries by grouping them under common heads, and this discretion was exercised in different degrees and with a varying measure of success in the several offices. But even after this had been done, the aggregate number of headings under which the figures as they reached my central office were arranged was as follows:—Religions 366, Languages 460, Birthplaces 2,121, Occupations 9,038, Castes 8,392, Total 20,377. These figures include the tables for Native States, which of course had to be dealt with in the same manner as those in British Territory. The number of tribal sub-divisions have been counted only for the two largest castes, and in British Territory alone they amount to 76,305. All these headings had to be classified or otherwise dealt with by me personally; and I call prominent attention to their number because I wish it to be understood how impossible it is that errors in detail should not have abounded in my dealings with them. The terms used for occupations and the names of the tribes and clans varied almost from district to district. What meant a beggar in the east meant a house-owner in the west, one word signified cattle merchant in Ambála and pedlar in Ráwalpindí, another, cowherd in Dehli and oilman in Multán. The same tribal name was enjoyed by the dominant race on our south-western frontier and by a small criminal tribe in the eastern districts, and was also used for camelmen generally; while a second denoted at once an important mercantile caste, an outcast tribe of menials, and a eunuch. No information regarding the occupations and the terms used to describe them was available in print, and very little regarding the tribes and castes excepting those few who are most prominent as landowners. Dictionaries gave but scanty information; and for weeks my writer used to come to office every morning with his pockets stuffed with samples of fabrics, sweetmeats, drugs and merchandise of sorts, while I spent many hours in the bazaar in consultation with friendly traders and artificers. For information about the castes I had to appeal to the district officers and received from them much help of the most valuable nature, though occasionally the information they furnished was somewhat confusing in its copiousness, as for instance the following statement sent me in reply to an appeal for information about Bhátias. "*Bhátia*. This is a branch of the Arora caste. Some Bhátias are Khatris. They appear to be Rájpúts just as Bhattis are. They are a separate caste."

I am afraid that four *tahsildárs* of varying views were jointly responsible for the above sentence, and that the Deputy Commissioner's share in it was confined to signing his name.

44. The Census in Native States.—The Census of the Native States was taken on precisely the same lines and in exactly the same manner as that of British Territory. The Government of India proposed that they should use a simplified schedule from which several of the details included in our own schedule had been omitted. But the rulers of the Panjáb Feudatory States are, I believe, more enlightened and their governments of a more advanced type than is the case in many other parts of India, they have very largely followed in our administrative footsteps, and they would have felt justly aggrieved had it been suggested that they were unable to take as complete a Census as ourselves. It was therefore decided to ask them to adopt the same schedule as ourselves, and the result fully justifies the confidence placed in them. I believe the Census of the Native States to have been on the whole as well done as that of British Territory, and the results to be as accurate. In the Hill States many and great difficulties were experienced; but this was the case in our Hill Districts also. The States, with the exception of the smaller Simla States, tabulated their own figures and sent them to my central office in the same shape in which I received them from my divisional offices; and in every respect the methods followed and the form of the results obtained were identical for both divisions of the Province. Further details will be found in the chapter on the Census of Native States.

45. Accuracy of the results.—I believe that the results of the Census, so far as regards the actual enumeration of the people by sex, are wonderfully accurate. The district officers tested the record most carefully and extensively, and their general feeling seems to be one of surprise at its freedom from error. The probability of the concealment of females, the only direction in which any suspicion of material error can arise, is discussed in the chapter on sex; while in the chapter on subsidiary matters I give my reasons for thinking that our numbers for males and females are at least as accurate as those of any English Census. But the further details recorded are not characterised by the same accuracy as attended the mere enumeration. Not only was the original record of particulars necessarily less accurate than that of numbers, but, as I have just explained, errors of classification must certainly have occurred both in the divisional and in the central offices. Moreover, in dealing with a vast number of terms often wholly unfamiliar to the clerical staff, and always transcribed in a cursive character in which words are suggested rather than written, while the diacritical marks which often form the only distinction between half a dozen different letters are habitually omitted, error is absolutely unavoidable. All I can say is that no labour and pains were spared to avoid and detect mistakes, whether of compilation or of classification.

46. It is notoriously impossible to ascertain a native's age with exactness; and the figures of the age tables must be taken as little better than averages which the enormous numbers dealt with tend to render

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approximately correct. The figures for religion are probably as accurate as those for sex, if each man's account of his own religion be accepted as true; but I shall show in the chapter on religion that it is often exceedingly difficult for a Native to say, or for anybody else to discover, what his religion really is. There are Hindús and Hindús, Musalmáns and Musalmáns, Sikhs and Sikhs, and the figures must be taken subject to limitations which I shall do my best to indicate in treating of the subject. The figures for civil condition I take to be correct on the whole, though it is just possible that girls of an age at which tribal custom requires them to be married may have been in some cases so returned, though really single, while concubines may not unseldom have been shown as wives. The entries for occupations err from vagueness or incompleteness rather than from positive inaccuracy. The division of labour is far less clearly defined in India than in Europe, while too often general terms have been used where more precise ones might properly have been employed. Many hereditary callings embrace several occupations, and have been interpreted to mean one of them in one place and another in another; and the English equivalents given in the occupation tables require much explanation and limitation, and should often be taken as indications rather than as exact descriptions of the occupations to which the figures refer. The subject is discussed at length in the chapter on occupations. The figures for education and infirmities are probably fairly accurate, save that respectable women, though they may read, are not supposed, in some parts of the Province at least, to be able to write; and this prejudice may have affected the educational statistics for females. The details of language are probably as accurate as circumstances will allow, for with several of our Panjáb tongues their affinities are so close and the intermediate forms of dialect so numerous, that it is as impossible to draw hard-and-fast lines and to say, this is a species or language and that a variety or dialect, as it is to draw the corresponding distinction in the case of birds or buttefiies. Birthplace, where indicating difference of race or actual immigration, has I believe been returned with great accuracy; but it is probable that accidental birth in another district or province has often been forgotten, while the figures for the birthplaces of gipsy and vagrant tribes can hardly be relied upon.

47. As for caste, opinions will probably differ as to the correctness of the results. My own belief is that the Census record gave us a very true representation of the distribution of tribes and castes, and that the errors were quite unimportant in amount as regards the main divisions at any rate, and were chiefly confined to those minor sub-divisions which are of comparatively small significance. But, as already explained, the entries in that record had to undergo an elaborate process of classification and assortment before they were finally reduced to the form which they assume in the tables; and in our present state of ignorance as to the tribal distribution and divisions of the people, it is certain that I must have erred over and over again in my attempts to marshal the facts and figures. It is probable however that these errors do not materially affect the general grouping of the people under the main tribal heads, and it is to be hoped that the material we have now collected will be examined at leisure before the next Census, and that in 1891 we shall be in a position to deal far more effectively and certainly with the entries of tribe and caste. The subject is the largest and most difficult of all those with which I have to deal, and I must refer the reader for a full discussion of it to the chapter on caste. I have prefixed to each chapter of the report a short examination of the figures with which it deals, in which I have endeavoured to indicate how far they may be accepted as trustworthy; and I am of opinion that the errors, save in a very few cases to which I have prominently drawn attention in discussing the actual entries, are absolutely insignificant in comparison with the numbers involved.

48. **The cost of the Census, direct and indirect.**—To put a plain truth in homely language, the Census was an unmitigated nuisance to all concerned; and from October 1880 to February 1881 I was probably the best abused man in the Panjáb. The operations threw a great deal of extra labour upon a staff which was already overworked without any hope of additional remuneration, they took men away from their ordinary duties which naturally fell into arrears to be cleared off afterwards, and they temporarily disturbed the whole routine of district administration. But they were exceptional in their nature, Government attached great importance to their being successfully carried through, and the whole Panjáb staff laid aside all other duties that could be neglected for a time with safety, threw their whole heart into the Census work, and willingly and zealously, and in my opinion successfully, strove to ensure a satisfactory result. The cost of the Census has been about R1,45,000, which may be roughly distributed as follows:—

		Rate per 1,000 souls.		
	R	R	a.	p.
Central supervision throughout the operations	18,000	0	12	6
Enumerating 19,000,000 souls in British territory	52,000	2	11	9
Abstracting and tabulating the figures for British territory	55,000	2	14	4
Compiling the figures for 23,000,000 souls in the Panjáb	15,000	0	10	5
Printing the final report	5,000	0	3	6
TOTAL	1,45,000	7	4	6

But of this sum R20,000 were paid to the Central Jail for work which could have been done at far lower rates elsewhere, the difference going into the pockets of Government.

The cost was kept down to this low figure in two ways: first, by freely utilising the official staff, to the hindrance of other work; and secondly, by calling in to our aid a large body of non-official and unpaid helpers. Thus the enumeration cost Government nothing but the price of the printing and paper, and a sum of R16,000, which was distributed after the work was over to those private individuals who had helped most zealously. Some few officers have criticised more or less severely the policy which, as they say, dislocated the general administration of the Province and threw an irksome burden upon the shoulders of a considerable section of the community, in order to save Government a few thousands of rupees, and to obtain by forced labour what should have been paid for, and was worth paying for if it was worth doing at all. They point out that a result quite as accurate, for all purposes of practical administration, could have been

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obtained without entailing either of these evils, by following a less elaborate procedure and by collecting less minute and varied information.

49. **Answer to criticisms.**—Now the injury done to the administration of the Province may be summed up in two words: settlement operations were somewhat hindered, and the village returns of crop areas, mutations, and the like, were in many cases prepared either hurriedly or not at all. The hindrance to settlement operations was practically a matter of money: Government paid men to do Settlement and employed them in doing Census. The annual papers no doubt suffered, though they were prepared without difficulty in some districts, and I doubt whether the Census was always really responsible for all that was laid at its door; but even if once in every ten years the annual papers were omitted altogether, I do not know that any very grievous results would ensue. Other minor hindrances no doubt occurred; but the above are I believe the only two of any importance, and I do not think they constitute a very weighty indictment against the Census. As for the policy of calling upon the people to aid in their own enumeration, I am wholly opposed to the strictures which have been passed upon it. The Natives are far too apt to look upon "the *sarkár*" as something entirely outside themselves whose business it is to do things for them; and I think that the lesson of self-help, slight as it was, which their taking their own Census conveyed, and the experience of joining with the officials to secure a given end, even if that end was one the value of which they were unable fully to appreciate, were altogether healthy and wholesome. There are numberless indications in the district reports that, where tact and patient influence were exerted, a real and genuine interest in the proceedings was created among the people, and that the body of helpers, even where a little unwilling at the first, gradually did rise to something like an appreciation of the objects of Government and to an intelligent pride in their own exertions. The matter was a small one and the effect temporary, but so far as it went it was in my opinion wholly good.

50. Moreover I do not see how the end contemplated could have been attained in any other way than that adopted. Supposing that Government had been prepared to use none of the existing official staff and to call in no private aid, and to do the whole work by a specially paid agency, and supposing, which I much doubt, that that agency had been forthcoming in sufficient number; I believe not only that the results would not have been worth the paper they were written on, but also that the people would have suffered far more at the hands of a set of unscrupulous writers, the smallness of whose pay and the temporary nature of whose employment would have rendered impossible any effective check upon their extortions, than they did by being called upon to exert themselves for a time and to do the work themselves. It is in my opinion precisely *because* the existing revenue staff, already familiar with statistical inquiry and intimately acquainted with the district and the people, were employed to take the Census, *because* it was felt that the work had to be done without paid agency and that special efforts were therefore necessary, *because* the natural leaders of the people and a considerable proportion of the people themselves were enlisted for the purpose, and *because* the Census was taken, not by a city man with white clothes and an itching palm, but by the accountant and the shop-keeper from the next village supervised by the headman of the circle, that results of such accuracy have been obtained and so little dissatisfaction aroused.

51. The criticism that more simple and less accurate results could have been obtained with smaller friction and would have answered all practical purposes, is more difficult to answer. It is possible that a less elaborate schedule would have sufficed; that, for instance, in the present state of registration of births and deaths detailed statistics of age, even if attainable with any degree of accuracy, are unnecessary. But if a Census is to be taken at all a column more or less to be filled up makes but little difference, or at any rate only affects the cost of tabulation; and if one lesson rather than another is more and more strongly impressed on the mind by successive years of Indian service, it is that in the matter of accuracy all compromise is impossible. If absolute accuracy is insisted on, and every possible precaution taken to secure it, a very high degree of accuracy will be attained; but if any license is allowed, and if it appears that approximate results will be accepted, there is no limit to the slovenliness and error that will ensue. A Census was necessary, and if it was to be done at all it was worth doing well. It has been done, and I believe that it has been on the whole well done.

52. **The value of the results.**—It must always be remembered that the present Census was, so far as the Panjáb is concerned, almost a first experiment. Previous enumerations of the people had been made; but *nothing on the same scale—nothing approaching the elaboration and minuteness of the present inquiry* had ever before been attempted. There was nothing to guide me or the high authorities under whom I worked in elaborating the scheme of operations; and every contingency had as far as possible to be foreseen and provided for without the light of previous experience. Next to nothing was known about the divisions and occupations of the people, and the very extent of our ignorance was still to be discovered. I do believe that the facts set forth in the present report will substantially increase our acquaintance with the people of the Province, and that they include much that is valuable, and that if not really new, has at least never before been collected and arranged systematically for the whole Panjáb. But I look upon the value and importance of the present Census as consisting, not so much in the results which have been obtained as in the experience which has been collected; not so much in the additions that have been made to our knowledge as in the light which has been thrown upon our ignorance. We now partly perceive in what respects our knowledge is most defective, and we have a clearer idea than before of the best way to remedy its defects. Errors have been made without number, and it will be my duty to point them out in every chapter of the report. But at least we know to a great extent where we have failed, and can point out the pitfalls which must be avoided in future. This is the object which I have kept in mind throughout while writing the report; to clear the way for the next Census, and to point out to the reader lines of inquiry which can meanwhile be followed with advantage.

53. **Outline of the general scheme of the report.**—Having thus given a brief description of the Province and a short account of the operations of the Census, I shall proceed to discuss seriatim the

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results which have been obtained. To each chapter I shall prefix a short description of the figures to be discussed in that chapter, showing in what tables they are to be found, how they were arrived at, and how far they may be accepted as accurate. To this I shall add, where the subject of the chapter demands it, a short list of those books which, so far as I know, carry most weight or can be most usefully consulted on the subject. A Census report is meant to be referred to, not to be read; it is impossible to give within the space allowed anything more than the barest outline of each subject; and a reference to authorities in which more detailed information may be found will be a useful addition to that outline.

Besides the paragraphs on the figures and on the bibliography, there will occur throughout the report other amplifications or discussions of details, containing information which though useful does not form part of the general thread of the report. All such paragraphs will be printed in smaller type than the body of the text in order the more clearly to mark their nature.

The second book of the report will be devoted to a detailed description of the method followed in the Census operations, and to suggestions for its improvement. I believe it will be of great value to the next Panjáb Census officer, and reference will often be made to it in discussing certain figures, for a description of the manner in which they were obtained and of the significance which they therefore possess. But this portion of the report will possess no interest for the general reader, if such a person exist for an Indian blue-book.

CHAPTER II.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PEOPLE.

PART I.—DISTRIBUTION OVER TOWNS AND VILLAGES.

54. Introductory.—The figures discussed in the present chapter possess but little interest for the general reader, as they relate chiefly to details of distribution within the Province, afford but few opportunities for comparison with other countries or provinces, and often assume the form of isolated facts which cannot be referred to any general principle. At the same time the information they afford is of the greatest administrative value, and it is important that its significance should be examined and displayed. And the discussion of the nature of the "village" in different parts of the Province (§§ 65, 66) and of the general conditions which determine its size (§ 71), the contrast between the distribution of the population of England and that of the Panjáb (§§ 61 to 63 and 68), the comparison of Indian charges with European standards (§§ 81, 82), the discussion of the conditions which determine the density of rural population (§§ 87 to 89), and the degree in which they are collected in Census "houses" or enclosures (§ 100), the comparison between the family in the Panjáb and elsewhere and the description of the groups which in the Panjáb take the place of the developments which are there missing (§§ 104 to 109), may perhaps possess some interest which is more than purely statistical. The remainder of the chapter is of the driest possible nature, and is not so much intended to be read as to be referred to for information on specific points. The figures discussed in this chapter are to be found in Tables I (area and population), XVIII (number of villages and towns) and XIX and XX (population of towns) of Appendices A and B, and in Supplementary Table A (*tahsil* areas) and B (cultivation, revenue and rent) of Appendix C. I proceed briefly to indicate how the figures have been arrived at, and how far they may be accepted as correct.

55. Meaning and value of the figures.—TABLE I. *Total area (col. 3).*—The figures are the best available. They are those of the latest Settlement Survey, checked by comparison with the results of the professional or Revenue Survey where such a survey has been made of late years, and corrected to allow for transfer of villages, river action, and the like. They do not correspond with the figures published by the Panjáb Government in its administration reports, as the latter exclude several tracts, such as the feudal possessions of the Nawáb of Amb in Hazára and the jágír of Wazíri Rúpí in Kángra, which do not contribute to the revenue of the Province, but the population of which has been included in the present Census. In Báwalpindi an error of some 1,300 square miles has been discovered in the hitherto accepted figures, the Murree tahsil alone having been taken to contain 1,230 square miles more than its real area. The figures now given for Báwalpindi have been computed in the Surveyor General's Office. The areas of districts may be taken as very fairly correct, but they probably exclude the wet area of rivers where they form the boundary between two districts. The areas of Native States are furnished by the States themselves, and are probably only approximate, save perhaps in Chamba and Baháwalpur, where a professional survey has been made. *Number of towns and villages (col. 4).*—This column is taken from Table XVIII; see remarks below. *Number of houses (cols. 5, 6).*—The value of the "house" unit is fully discussed in the chapter on preliminary operations in Book II. It is also indicated in Part IV of the present chapter. *Number of families (col. 7).*—The significance of the "family" of our tables is also fully discussed in the chapter just quoted. The figures for houses and families were not provided for in the scheme for abstracting prescribed by the Census Commissioner, and accordingly they were not taken out from the schedules in the divisional offices under my direction, but were accepted as they stood in the preliminary or village abstracts (see chapter on abstracting, Book II) prepared by the supervisors. I am sorry to say that no special directions were issued as to the manner in which those figures were to be obtained, as the point altogether escaped my notice. I had indeed intended to take them from the house-lists, as I still think should be done at a future Census; and the reasons why I did not carry out my intention are stated in the chapter on preliminary operations. The only points on which any diversity of system is likely to have occurred is in respect of the treatment of travellers, gangs of coolies, and similar floating population; and their number is so insignificant in proportion to the fixed population, that even if each individual had been treated as a separate family the totals would not be appreciably affected. The statistics for families are probably among the most correct figures we have, as the unit is perfectly familiar to the Native mind. *Total population, (cols. 8, 9, 10).*—I have already expressed my opinion of the accuracy of the enumeration. The question is discussed at length in the chapter on subsidiary matters in Book II.

56. TABLE XVIII. *Towns and villages.*—This table shows the number of inhabited towns and villages, excluding uninhabited village areas or *mauzahs*. It does not show separately individual hamlets included within a common village area. The significance of the units employed, and the distinction drawn between a town and a village, are indicated in Part I of this chapter and fully discussed in the chapter on tabulation in Book II of the report.

57. TABLES XIX and XX.—The figures relating to the present Census share the accuracy which I believe to have been attained in the general enumeration. There has been much difficulty in ensuring that the populations which are compared for the present and past enumerations lie in both cases within identical limits. Wherever the papers of last Census gave us separate details for suburbs, the matter was easy enough; and the reason that the figures now given for certain towns in 1868 do not agree with those published in the report of that Census is, that where the town limits differed at the two enumerations, the population has as far as possible been given for the limits now adopted. But in many cases no such details were available. The differences however are probably quite insignificant. The figures for the number of houses are subject to the remarks made regarding the value of the similar statistics in Table I.

58. SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE A.—The area and population being the same as are given in Table I, the same remarks apply to both.

59. SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE B.—These figures, with the exception of those relating to population, have been compiled in the Financial Commissioner's Office, and I am not responsible for their accuracy. *Agricultural population, (cols. 5, 6, 7).*—These figures have been calculated on the assumption that the agricultural bears the same proportion to the total population, as the number of agricultural males over 15 years of age bears to the total number of males over 15 years of age whose occupation is specified. Those only have been counted as agricultural who returned agriculture proper, excluding cattle-grazing, as their sole occupation. *Area and cultivation (cols. 8 to 19).*—The total areas here given do not agree with those of Table I. The latter are the areas over which a Census was taken; the former are the areas for which details of revenue and cultivation are available (see remarks above on the area columns of Table I). The only important differences are in Kángra, Báwalpindi, Derah Gházi Khán, and Hazára. The figures of columns 15 to 19 are taken from the revenue report. The cultivated and culturable areas are probably very incorrect. They would appear to be the latest settlement figures available for each district. If this be the case, some of the figures are 30 years

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old. No accurate statistics of cultivated area as it stands at present are available in the Panjáb. The areas of columns 12 to 14 are calculated from column 15 on the assumption—

(1) That the land owned by Government in each district, and not held on cultivating leases, consists wholly of culturable and barren; and that these two areas bear to each other the same proportion as do the corresponding areas given for the whole district in columns 16 and 17.

(2) That the land of which the revenue is assigned in each district is composed of unculturable, culturable and cultivated, in the same proportions as those three areas bear to each other for the whole district, after the exclusion of Government land distributed under assumption (1).

That is to say, Government land not held on cultivating leases was divided into culturable and unculturable in the same proportion as the total culturable and unculturable areas for the district bore to each other, and subtracted from those total areas. The total area of which the revenue is assigned was then divided into unculturable, culturable, and barren, in the same proportion as the corresponding areas for the district bore to each other after the aforesaid deduction. The areas of columns 8 to 11 are got by subtracting columns 12 to 15 from columns 16 to 19, each from each. *Revenue and cesses (cols. 20 to 22).*—The revenue shown includes all demands of all sorts made by Government from the people on account of the land. It includes—

(1) Fixed land revenue.
(2) Owners' rates, excluding half of the rates on inundation canals where they include occupiers' rates.
(3) Fluctuating land revenue, excluding collections from estates held under direct management and "other items."
(4) Collections from estates held under direct management, grazing dues, proceeds of *rakhs* and forests, proprietary dues (*malikánah*), receipts from stone quarries, leases of gardens and groves, dues on the manufacture of barilla from Government lands.
(5) Such "other items" of fluctuating and miscellaneous land revenue as are paid on account of the land.

It is believed that item (3) includes the proceeds of Government estates. The cesses shown include all cesses that form a portion of Government income. Fees paid for services directly performed for the payers, such as fees to village headmen, accountants, and watchmen, are excluded. *Rent (col. 23).*—The greater portion of the arable land of the Panjáb being cultivated either by proprietors or by tenants who pay nothing beyond revenue and cesses, and rents, where they do obtain, being very largely grain rents or taking the form of a share of the produce, nothing but an estimate based upon the assumption that land revenue proper represents half the rent is possible. The calculation has been made by adding together items (1), (2), (3) detailed above as being included in revenue, adding to them assigned fixed land revenue and assigned owners' rates, doubling the sum total and adding items (4) and (5) above, and the cesses for village headmen and accountants which are commonly paid by the cultivators. Items (4) and (5) are not doubled, as they themselves partake of the nature of rent rather than of revenue assessed at half assets. *Irrigation and rainfall (cols. 24 to 27).*—These figures are taken from Major Wace's Famine Report, the rainfall being brought up to date. The figures for irrigation are probably only approximate. Those for rainfall are as accurate as such figures ever are in Indian districts. *Incidence of revenue and rent (cols. 31 to 34).*—As some items included in the revenue, and therefore in the estimated rent, are derived from uncultivated land, the figures of columns 32 and 34 are somewhat misleading; and as land paying quit rent only, and not fully assessed revenue, is included in columns 9 and 10, the figures of columns 31 and 32 do not accurately represent the incidence of revenue on land fully assessed to land revenue.

60. General Abstract.—Of the total population of the Panjáb, 87·35 per cent. is rural, and 12·65 urban, as appears from the following figures:—

Abstract No. 2, *showing the* **Urban and Rural Populations** *of the* **Province.**

1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		Rural Population.			Urban Population.			Total Population.		
		Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Actual Figures.	British Territory	16,410,907	8,852,180	7,558,727	2,439,530	1,357,873	1,081,657	18,850,437	10,210,053	8,640,384
	Native States	3,428,587	1,877,664	1,550,923	433,096	234,639	198,457	3,861,683	2,112,303	1,749,380
	Province	19,839,494	10,729,844	9,109,650	2,872,626	1,592,512	1,280,114	22,712,120	12,322,356	10,389,764
Percentages. Percentages showing how total population is distributed into rural and urban for—	British Territory.	87·06	86·70	87·48	12·94	13·30	12·52	—	—	—
	Native States	88·78	88·89	88·06	11·22	11·11	11·34	—	—	—
	Province	87·35	87·08	87·68	12·65	12·92	12·32	—	—	—
And how rural, urban, and total populations are distributed between—	British Territory.	82·72	82·51	82·97	84·92	85·27	84·50	83·00	82·86	83·16
	Native States	17·28	17·49	17·03	15·08	14·73	15·50	17·00	17·14	16·84

NOTE.—The percentages may be read as follows:—Of the total males of British Territory, 86·70 (column 3) live in villages, and 13·30 (column 6) in towns. Of the total urban female population (column 7) 84·50 live in British Territory, and 15·50 in Native States.

This population inhabits 52,870 towns and villages, which are broadly grouped according to size in columns 4, 6, and 8 of abstract No. 4, page 20, and in greater detail in table XVIII of Appendices A and B.

These 52,870 units have been classed respectively as towns or villages as follows:—

Abstract No. 3, *showing* **Classification of Towns and Villages** *for the* **Province.**

Classification.		British Territory.	Native States.	Province.
Towns.	Over 5,000 inhabitants	132	37	169
	Under 5,000 inhabitants—			
	Municipalities	93	—	93
	Cantonments and Civil Stations, not being Municipalities	11	—	11
	Others	2	27	29
	Total Towns	238	64	302
Villages.	Over 5,000 inhabitants	32	—	32
	Under " "	34,054	18,482	52,536
	Total Villages	34,086	18,482	52,568
	Total Towns and Villages	34,324	18,546	52,870

It will appear from the above figures that while the Native States contain only one-sixth of the population of the Province, they comprise more than a third of the total number of villages; and a reference to columns 4 and 6 of abstract No. 4 (page 20) will show that the disproportion in the relative numbers of exceedingly small villages in British Territory and Native States is even still more striking. The fact is that the standard of classification adopted and the significance of the units "town" and "village" are not identical in the two cases; while the value of the "village" unit varies somewhat even in different parts of British territory.

61. Distinction between town and village.—In the Panjáb, and indeed in India generally, the line of demarcation between the town and the village is by no means easy to draw; and we have had perforce to fall back upon a somewhat arbitrary standard. The essential distinction between an urban and a rural population would appear to be that the latter is mainly engaged in agriculture, the former in professional

avocations, commerce, and manufactures. And in England, and doubtless in most other European countries, the further distinction may be added that the former is crowded together in a limited urban area, where the constantly increasing pressure upon the available space forces the individuals who compose the community into the closest possible contact, while the latter inhabits the open country, often dwelling in isolated cottages or homesteads, and even where collected in hamlets and villages, enjoying a freedom of expansion unknown to their neighbours of the city. Now, in England at least, the line between these two classes of the community is seldom doubtful. The great industries of the country are in the hands of capitalists who employ workmen by thousands; the bulk of the commerce is concerned with the materials for and the products of these industries, and naturally gravitates to their centres; the agency which collects and redistributes the produce of the fields and pastures is most extensive where the industrial population which it supplies is most dense; and the result is the concentration of a large proportion of the population in huge cities situated where coal or other minerals furnish close at hand the means or materials for manufacture, where natural power is available at small expense, or where our great rivers and harbours afford facilities for carriage. The existence of a large and opulent class of landed gentry and the multiform demands which accompany culture and civilization call into existence the county towns, the local centres of commercial and professional activity, and as distinctly urban as their larger rivals. Beyond their limits the agricultural community lives in the midst of the fields they cultivate; the settled condition of the country renders the inhabitants of the isolated cottage or farmhouse as secure as the dwellers in the city, while the village is little more than a nucleus consisting of the church, the inn, and a few small shops round which the field labourers have collected for society and convenience, and is as distinctly rural as the farmhouse itself.

62. In the Panjáb the distribution of the population presents the strongest possible contrast with that which I have sketched above. In the case of the larger towns indeed the contrast is not so apparent. There are no vast local industries, prosecuted by large bodies of artizans working for hire at the bidding of a capitalist whose money and machinery they make use of, and attended by the commerce which they call into existence. But where the presence of a court, facilities of communication, or other local circumstances have created a political, religious, or commercial centre, the skill and capital of the neighbourhood have collected round it, and the result is a city like Dehli, Amritsar, or Lahore.

It is in the smaller towns that the contrast is most striking; and especially in the fact that the gradation from the city just described to the purely agricultural village is so imperceptible, and the series of intermediate forms so unbroken, that it is impossible to lay down any hard-and-fast line of demarcation. And this may I think be attributed to several causes. In the first place, the local manufactures are so insignificant that the commerce of the country is largely independent of them, and being concerned rather with the collection and exportation of the raw produce of the rural tracts than with supplying the needs of industrial activity, tends to be widely scattered over the country which yields its staples rather than to be concentrated in a few great urban centres. Again, such industries as are necessary to supply the simple needs of the villager are prosecuted in the village itself. The Panjáb village is eminently self-sustaining. It grows its own food, it weaves its own clothes, it tans its own leather, it builds its own houses, it makes its own implements, it moulds its own domestic vessels, its priests live within its walls, it does without a doctor, and looks to the outside world for little more than its salt, its spices, the fine cloth for its holiday clothes, and the coin in which it pays its revenue. Nor are the wants of the higher classes much less simple than those of the peasant. The rich man dresses a little better, his wife wears more expensive ornaments, and his family live in a larger and more substantial house. But his food and furniture are only a degree in advance of those of his rustic neighbours, and he marks his superior position chiefly by profuse hospitality and by supporting a bevy of useless retainers. Thus, both the distributing agency and the professional element which give its characteristic features to the population of an English county town are in India far less complex in their nature, far less important in point of number, and far less localised in their habitation than in England. Almost all the smaller Panjáb towns have extensive arable areas attached to them, and include considerable cultivating communities; and they often have little to distinguish them from the true village beyond their larger size, the greater extent, activity, and importance of their trade, and the superior skill of their workmen. *The difference, in short, is one of degree* rather than of kind.

63. And if the towns are smaller and less distinctly urban in the Panjáb than in England, the villages are often larger and almost always more compact and less distinctly rural. The diversity of the occupations which are followed within their walls has just been described; while the conditions of life which preceded our rule rendered the scattered habitations of an English rural parish impossible, unless perhaps in parts so backward and so poor that there was nothing to be gained or lost by aggression, or where the exceptional conditions presently to be described scattered the population over a multitude of tiny hamlets. When something very like anarchy prevailed, when force was often the only law, and when each village had to protect itself at need against not only strangers but its nearest neighbours, it was necessary that the community should inhabit a compact and defensible site, and the larger it was the greater the security it enjoyed. Thus it happens that many villages of four or five thousand inhabitants, or even more, are as definitely agricultural as the smallest hamlet, while many smaller places are as distinctly urban in the constitution of their population as any but the largest of our cities.

64. It became then necessary to lay down an arbitrary standard, and it was decided that throughout the Province all places in which a population of 5,000 souls or upwards inhabited a fairly compact collection of houses should be classed as towns. In our own districts we added to these all municipalities without regard to their size, since they are always local centres of trade, and all Civil lines and Military posts and cantonments[1], as their population is always urban rather than rural in its nature. In the place of these the Native States have classed as towns all places where octroi is collected (their nearest approach to a municipality); all such places as, once important, have still retained the title of *qasbah* or town though now fallen into decay; and, except in the Simla Hill States, all capitals of state governments. Every place not falling within the terms of the above definition has been treated as a village[1]. The precautions

[1] The troops and camp-followers which were cantoned in the Khaibar Pass at the time of the Census were, although then beyond the limits of British India, included in the population of the Panjáb under orders from the Supreme Government.

Part I.—Distribution over Towns and Villages.

taken to secure the correct application of these rules are fully described in the chapter on tabulation in Book II of the Report.

65. Significance of the "village" unit.—The "village" of our tables includes in British Territory all the population living within the area of the *mauzah* or village unit of revenue administration. Throughout the greater part of the Province this is a perfectly natural and homogeneous unit, and embraces the lands owned and cultivated by the members of a single village community who, with their attendant traders, priests and menials, live in one main homestead, though they occasionally occupy also one or more small hamlets situated in the outlying fields, where certain families or parts of families live more or less permanently for the convenience of being close to their work.

But in the hills, where the patches of culturable ground are widely scattered and of small extent, while the labour of carriage renders it necessary that the cattle should deposit their manure on the edge of the field, where the land is owned by the Rájpút rulers and tilled by a miscellaneous body of men bound together by no common tie of descent or even of caste, where there is little or nothing to tempt the marauder, and where the difficult nature of the country is in itself sufficient protection, the population is distributed over numerous tiny hamlets often consisting of one or two houses only. Again, in the great pasture lands of the Multán Division and in the sandy plains of the Sindh-Ságar *doáb*, the large and compact village communities of the Eastern Panjáb are almost unknown. The people have only lately abandoned a nomad life and are still largely pastoral in their habits; much of the land has been brought under cultivation, often since the introduction of our rule, by local notables holding grants from Government who have collected cultivators from diverse sources and settled them here and there in small bodies each in a separate homestead, or by individuals who have acquired property by breaking up waste or by the construction of irrigation works; and the local hollows in which alone grass and water or culturable land are, in many parts, to be found, are occupied by small communities consisting each of only a few families and living at great distances from each other. So in the trans-Jahlam and frontier tracts, where Patháns, Biloches, Gakkhars and other dominant races have subjugated but not expelled a peaceful agricultural population, the latter are similarly scattered over the country in small detached homesteads surrounding the central stronghold of their conquerors; while where the tribal organisation exists in full vitality and the land is held and cultivated by the dominant race, there is no intermediate step between the clan which occupies a very considerable tract of country, and its constituent families of which every two or three form a separate group and inhabit a separate hamlet[2].

66. In all these cases the hamlet is usually too small to be recognised as a unit, and the boundaries of the "village," in British territory at least, embrace an area, often enormous, over which a scanty population is widely scattered in small communities having no connection with one another beyond the mere fact of their common inclusion in an artificial unit based upon considerations of administrative convenience. Here the figures which show the size of villages are no doubt misleading, for the "village" of our tables is largest where the unit of habitation is smallest. Thus there are in Derah Ismáíl Khán three village areas, each including a population of more than 5,000, but of which the inhabitants live in numerous scattered hamlets no one of which contains more than 350 souls. So again, there is in Bannu a "village" of 2,000 inhabitants which is split up into not less than 43 distinct hamlets and covers an area of 101 square miles, while the "town" of Láwa in Jahlam includes an area of 141 square miles dotted over with innumerable tiny hamlets surrounding a central town, and a total population of over 6,000 souls; and in the hills even more striking cases occur. The reasons why any modification of the limits adopted for the determination of the village appears to be impracticable, the general question of the classification of towns and villages, and the precautions taken to ensure a correct result, are fully detailed in the chapter on tabulation in Book II of the Report.

There are in British Territory 32 places of more than 5,000 inhabitants which have, by reason of the scattered nature of their population, been classed as villages and not as towns; of these 13 are in Kángra, 6 in Derah Ismáíl, 6 in Bannu, 4 in Derah Ghází, 2 in Hazára, and 1 in Jálandhar.

67. Distribution over villages and towns grouped according to size.—The distribution of the population over villages and towns grouped according to size is shown in abstract No. 4 on page 20. The urban population constitutes 12·9 per cent. of the whole population in British Territory, and only 11·2 per cent. in Native States. In the latter, too, a far larger proportion of the population is collected in the smaller villages and towns than is the case in British Territory. So far as the towns are concerned this is only natural, as all the great commercial centres lie in our districts. In fact, had the same standard been adopted in both cases, the relative proportion of the urban to the total population would have been even smaller than it is in Native States.

But the figures for villages are misleading. Of the 13,899 villages shown in the Native States as containing fewer than 200 souls, no less than 12,112 are in the Hill States the whole population of which is under 766,000; and it is evident that in all the Hill States except Chamba, the number of *hamlets* and not of village areas has been returned. In fact it is probable that, as in the Simla District where no survey for the settlement of land revenue has yet been made, the hamlets in these States have not been grouped together into *mauzahs*, and thus form the only recognised unit. Abstract No. 6 below shows that in the other States the average size of the village differs little from that obtaining in British Territory. It will be noticed (abstract No. 4) that the three great towns of Delhi, Amritsar, and Lahore contain one-fifth of the urban, and one-fortieth of the total population of British Territory; that the 34 towns of over 15,000 souls include just half the urban population; that a third of the rural populationof British Territory live in villages of under 500 souls; while more than half the whole population of the Province inhabit villages containing fewer than 1,000, and about three-quarters villages of fewer than 2,000 inhabitants.

[1] Excepting two places, Fatahjang in Ráwalpindi and Utmánzai in Peshávar (Nos. 139 and 140 of Table XIX, Appendix A). The preliminary tabulation showed their population as over 5,000, and they were therefore included in the list of towns. In the final result the figures were reduced to 4,875 and 4,823 respectively; but this was not noticed till several tables dealing with urban populations were in print. The error affected the Provincial figures only, the places are of considerable local importance, and their populations approach so closely to the prescribed standard that it was not thought worth while to recast the figures and reprint the tables.

[2] On the tendency of the rural population to distribute itself more widely over the areas of their villages, see Part II, Chapter III, § 170.

Part I.—Distribution over Towns and Villages.

Abstract No. 4, *showing the* Distribution of Population *over* Towns and Villages *grouped* according to size, *for the* Province.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	3	2	1
	Groups of towns and villages, with the limits of population between which each group lies.		Population of groups of towns and villages.						Percentages of town or village population included						Percentages of total population included						Groups of towns and villages, with the limits of population between which each group lies.		
			British Territory.		Native States.		Province.		In each group.			In towns or villages of and above the population stated in column 2.			In each group.			In towns or villages of and above the population stated in column 2.					
	From	To	No. of towns and villages in each group.	Population of each group in thousands.	No. of towns and villages in each group.	Population of each group in thousands.	No. of towns and villages in each group.	Population of each group in thousands.	British Territory.	Native States.	Province.	British Territory.	Native States.	Province.	British Territory.	Native States.	Province.	British Territory.	Native States.	Province.	To	From	
TOWNS.	100,000	...	3	475,	...	...	3	475,	19·5	...	16·6	19·5	...	16·6	2·5	...	2·1	2·5	...	2·1	...	100,000	TOWNS.
	50,000	100,000	5	321,	1	54,	6	375,	13·2	12·4	13·1	32·7	12·4	29·7	1·7	1·4	1·7	4·2	1·4	3·8	100,000	50,000	
	30,000	50,000	4	163,	...	...	4	163,	6·8	...	5·7	39·5	...	35·4	0·8	...	0·7	5·0	...	4·5	50,000	30,000	
	20,000	30,000	9	206,	2	41,	11	247,	8·4	9·4	8·6	47·9	21·8	44·0	1·1	1·1	1·1	6·1	2·5	5·6	30,000	20,000	
	15,000	20,000	8	135,	2	32,	10	167,	5·6	7·5	5·8	53·5	29·3	49·8	0·7	0·8	0·7	6·8	3·3	6·3	20,000	15,000	
	10,000	15,000	17	207,	5	60,	22	267,	8·5	13·7	9·3	62·0	43·0	59·1	1·1	1·6	1·2	7·9	4·9	7·5	15,000	10,000	
	5,000	10,000	86	575,	27	179,	113	754,	23·7	41·5	26·3	85·7	84·5	85·4	3·1	4·6	3·3	11·0	9·5	10·8	10,000	5,000	
	...	5,000	106	349,	27	67,	133	416,	14·3	15·5	14·6	100·0	100·0	100·0	1·9	1·7	1·8	12·9	11·2	12·6	5,000	...	
	TOTAL TOWNS		238	2,431,	64	433,	302	2,864,	100·0	100·0	100·0	...	...	...	12·9	11·2	12·6	...	...	...	TOTAL TOWNS		
VILLAGES.	5,000	...	32	160,	...	...	32	160,	1·0	...	0·8	1·0	...	0·8	0·8	...	0·7	13·7	...	13·3	...	5,000	VILLAGES.
	3,000	5,000	286	1,047,	36	115,	322	1,162,	6·4	3·4	5·8	7·4	3·4	6·6	5·5	3·0	5·1	19·2	14·2	18·4	5,000	3,000	
	2,000	3,000	663	1,544,	102	208,	765	1,752,	9·4	6·1	8·8	16·8	9·5	15·4	8·2	5·4	7·7	27·4	19·6	26·1	3,000	2,000	
	1,000	2,000	2,944	3,908,	502	590,	3,446	4,498,	23·8	17·2	22·7	40·6	26·7	38·1	20·8	15·3	19·9	48·2	34·9	46·0	2,000	1,000	
	500	1,000	6,348	4,219,	1,140	669,	7,488	4,888,	25·7	19·5	24·7	66·3	46·2	62·8	22·4	17·3	21·5	70·6	52·2	67·5	1,000	500	
	200	500	11,877	3,555,	2,803	741,	14,680	4,296,	21·7	21·6	21·7	88·0	67·8	84·5	18·9	19·2	18·9	89·5	71·4	86·4	500	200	
	...	200	11,936	1,978,	13,899	1,106,	25,835	3,084,	12·0	32·2	15·5	100·0	100·0	100·0	10·5	28·6	13·6	100·0	100·0	100·0	200	...	
	TOTAL VILLAGES		34,086	16,411,	18,482	3,429,	52,568	19,840	100.0	100·0	100·0	...	...	...	87·1	88·8	87·4	...	...	...	TOTAL VILLAGES		
	KHAIBAR TROOPS		...	8,	...	...	...	8,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	KHAIBAR TROOPS		
	TOTAL POPULATION		34,324	18,850,	18,546	3,862,	52,870	22,712,	...	...	...	...	...	...	100·0	100·0	100·0	...	...	...	TOTAL POPULATION		

(*a*).—The percentages may be read thus:—Towns of from 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants include 5·6 (column 10) of the urban, and 0·7 (column 16) of the total population in British Territory; while towns of 15,000 souls and upwards include 49·8 (column 15) of the urban and 6·3 (column 21) of the total population in the Province. Villages of from 1,000 to 2,000 souls comprise 23·8 (column 10) of the rural, and 20·8 (column 16) of the total, population in British Territory; while villages of 1,000 souls and upwards, comprise 38·1 (column 15) of the rural, and town and villages of the same size, include 46·0 (column 21) of the total, population of the Province.

(*b*) The actual populations of the various groups of villages are not given in the Census tables, nor could they have been obtained without great labour. They have been roughly calculated on the assumption that the average population per village in each group lies, in all the groups, at the same intermediate point between the two limits (shown in cols. 2 and 3 of the abstract) which include the villages of the group. In other words, that if the average population per village of the group lying between 500 and 1,000 souls is 625, or one-fourth of the distance between the two limits, then the corresponding figure for the group lying between 5,000 and 10,000 is 6,250; and so on for each group.

Part I.—Distribution over Towns and Villages.

68. Figures for England and the Panjab compared.—It so happens that the population of England and Wales at the Census of 1871 was 22,712,266, or only 146 souls more than the present population of the Panjáb. This makes comparison easy. Abstract No. 5, which shows the distribution of the two populations side by side, presents a very interesting contrast, and forcibly illustrates the remarks made in paragraphs 62 and 63. Unfortunately the only volume of the English Census Report to which I have access gives no figures for the populations of places under 2,000 inhabitants, no details of the number of small villages, and no definition of the line which has been drawn between the village and the town. It would appear that all places of 2,000 inhabitants and no fewer than 139 places which did not reach that standard, were classed as towns[1]. But all I can be certain of is that the number of places of 2,000 souls and over is correctly given. I therefore give no details below that limit, and take the arbitrary standard of 5,000 souls as the demarcation between town and village. Thus the Panjáb figures in the two Abstracts Nos. 4 and 5 will not agree exactly.

Abstract No. 5, *showing the* **Distribution of the Population** *among* **Towns and Villages** *grouped* **according to size** *for* **England** *and the* **Panjab.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	1	2
Groups of towns and villages, with limits of population between which each group lies.		POPULATION OF GROUPS OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES.				PERCENTAGES OF TOWN OR VILLAGE POPULATION INCLUDED.						PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL POPULATION INCLUDED						Groups of towns and villages, with limits of population between which each Group lies.	
		England and Wales.		Panjáb.		In each group.			In towns and villages of and above the population stated in column 1.			In each group.			In towns and villages of and above the population stated in column 1.				
From	To	No. of towns and villages.	Population in thousands.	No. of towns and villages.	Population in thousands.	England and Wales.	Panjáb.	England and Wales excluding 6 largest cities.	England and Wales.	Panjáb.	England and Wales excluding 6 largest cities.	England and Wales.	Panjáb.	England and Wales excluding 6 largest cities.	England and Wales.	Panjáb.	England and Wales excluding 6 largest cities.	From	To
London		1	3,254,	...	...	25·6	...	...	25·6	...	...	14·3	...	...	14·3	...	...	London.	
Liverpool		1	494,	...	...	3·9	...	...	29·5	...	...	2·2	...	...	16·5	...	...	Liverpool.	
300,000	400,000	2	695,	...	...	5·5	...	...	35·0	...	...	3·1	...	...	19·6	...	...	300,000	400,000
200,000	300,000	2	499,	...	...	3·9	...	...	38·9	...	...	2·2	...	...	21·8	...	...	200,000	300,000
100,000	200,000	7	957,	3	475,	7·5	19·4	12·3	46·4	19·4	12·3	4·2	2·1	5·4	26·0	2·1	5·4	100,000	200,000
50,000	100,000	21	1,439,	6	375,	11·3	15·3	18·5	57·7	34·7	30·8	6·4	1·7	8·1	32·4	3·8	13·5	50,000	100,000
20,000	50,000	69	2,206,	15	410,	17·4	16·8	28·4	75·1	51·5	59·2	9·7	1·8	12·4	42·1	5·6	25·9	20,000	50,000
10,000	20,000	138	1,649,	32	434,	12·9	17·7	21·2	88·0	69·2	80·4	7·3	1·9	9·3	49·4	7·5	35·2	10,000	20,000
5,000	10,000	220	1,525,	145	914,	12·0	30·8	19·6	100·0	100·0	100·0	6·7	4·0	8·6	56·1	11·5	43·8	5,000	10,000
2,000	5,000	358	1,160,	1,195	3,298,	11·6	16·4	11·6	11·6	16·4	11·6	5·1	14·5	6·5	61·2	26·0	50·3	2,000	5,000
...	2,000	*	8,834,	51,474	16,798,	88·4	83·6	88·4	100·0	100·0	100·0	38·8	74·0	49·7	100·0	100·0	100·0	...	2,000
Khaibar pass		...	...	...	8,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Khaibar pass.	

* No figures available.
(*a*) The percentages may be read in the manner explained in the footnote to Abstract No. 4.
(*b*) The six cities excluded in columns 9, 12, 15, and 18, are London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield—all of more than 200,000 souls.
(*c*) The urban population of columns 7 to 12 is that living in places of more than 5,000 inhabitants.
(*d*) The populations of the 6 largest towns, of all towns between 20,000 and 100,000 souls taken together, and of all towns below 20,000 souls taken together, are given in the English Census tables. The populations of intermediate groups are calculated as explained in foot-note (b) to Abstract No. 4.

The extraordinary contrast between the distribution of the population in the two countries is brought out very strongly by these figures. In the Panjáb towns and villages of more than 5.000 inhabitants include only 11·5 per cent. of the population; in England they include 56·1 per cent. or nearly five times as large a proportion. The corresponding percentages for towns and villages of over 2,000 souls are 26·0 and 61·2 respectively. On the other hand there are in the Panjáb 1,195 villages of between 2,000 and 5,000 souls containing one-seventh of the population, against 358 such villages in England including one-twentieth of the English population. Three-quarters of the people of the Panjáb live in villages of under 2,000 inhabitants, while the corresponding proportion in England is just over three-eighths. In the Panjáb we have 52,870 towns and villages, of which more than half contain more than 200 souls and at least 41,000 are something more than mere hamlets; while in England and Wales there are only 15,416 "parishes, townships, and places for which the population is separately returned," and this number must include very many parishes which form parts only of towns.

69. In order to make a comparison upon a more equal basis I have, in columns 9, 12, 15, and 18, given the figures for the English population as it would stand if London and the other five cities of over 200,000 souls named in foot-note (*b*) to the abstract, to which the Panjáb can afford no sort of parallel, were altogether excluded. So far as the total population is concerned this exclusion leaves the contrast only slightly less striking than before. But it may be noticed in columns 7 to 12, which deal with the population of towns of over 5,000 souls, that if we exclude the six great English cities, the largest towns contain a much smaller proportion of the urban population in England than in the Panjáb. This is only natural, for in both countries the two or three greatest cities include a population large beyond all comparison with those immediately below them. The tendency of the large towns of the Province to increase at the cost of the smaller ones, and of the general population to become more and more urban, is noticed in the next chapter.

70. Average population per village.—Abstract No. 6 on page 22 shows the average rural population per village for each district and major state in the Panjáb arranged in order of magnitude; also the average population per village and town. In Kángra which heads the list, and in Simla and the Hill States which come last, the village is, as has already been explained, in the one case artificially large, and in the other a mere hamlet. Excluding these we find Rohtak, with its great communities of Hindu Jats, far ahead of

[1] English Census Report for 1871, Volume IV, pages xxxi, xxxii.

any other district; after which the districts follow each other in a quite singularly close and continuous sequence, the only break of any magnitude, from Hissár with an average of 686 to Hazára with an average of 329, being that between Lúdhiána and Sháhpur. Of the 32 districts 18 are above and 14 below the average of British Territory, showing that the more populous districts have a slight tendency to a low average rural population per village.

Abstract No. 6.—*Showing the* **Average Population per Village and Town** *for* **Districts and Major States,** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

1	2	3	4	5	6
Serial No. in Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Average of		Serial order of magnitude in respect of	
		Rural Population per Village.	Total Population per Village and town.	Column 3.	Column 4.
12	Kangra	1,046	1,073	1	2
5	Rohtak	960	1,138	2	1
4	Hissar	686	799	3	6
13	Amritsar	684	860	4	4
30	Peshawar	683	859	5	5
29	Bannu	649	697	6	9
II	Hissar Division	640	748	6*a*	6*a*
3	Karnal	635	721	7	7
1	Delhi	632	918	8	3
8	Ludhiana	628	720	9	8
I	Delhi Division	574	700	9*a*	8*a*
11	*Bahawalpúr*	*570*	*622*	*9b*	*11b*
22	Shahpur	568	642	10	11
IX	Derajat Division	564	623	10*a*	11*a*
20	Jhelam	556	616	11	13
IV	Jullundur Division	553	608	11*a*	13*a*
10	Jullundur	546	654	12	10
28	D. G. Khan	536	603	13	14
27	D. I. Khan	533	592	14	15
5	*Faridkot*	*508*	*577*	*14a*	*15b*
4	*Jind*	*507*	*590*	*14b*	*15a*
VII	Rawalpindi Division	499	549	14*c*	16*a*
2	Gurgaon	494	553	15	16
18	Ferozepore	494	547	16	17
1	*Patiala*	*494*	*564*	*16a*	*15c*
16	Lahore	487	622	17	12
21	Gujrat	486	517	18	19
2	*Nabha*	*483*	*539*	*18a*	*17a*
VI	Lahore Division	481	566	18*b*	15*a*
—	**British Territory**	**481**	**549**	**18*c***	**16*b***
24	Jhang	474	519	19	18
—	States of E. Plains	464	536	19*a*	17*b*
26	Muzaffargarh	462	488	20	23
17	Gujranwalla	459	516	21	20
X	Peshawar Division	457	527	21*a*	17*a*
19	Rawalpindi	449	498	22	21
32	Kohat	446	495	23	22
III	Umballa Division	446	516	23*a*	19*a*
6	*Malerkotla*	*442*	*618*	*23b*	*12a*
V	Amritsar Division	425	485	23*c*	23*a*
7	Umballa	418	479	24	24
15	Sialkot	403	438	25	25
11	Hoshiarpur	397	431	26	26
—	**Province**	**377**	**430**	**26*a***	**26*a***
23	Mooltan	360	427	27	27
VIII	Mooltan Division	355	392	27*a*	28*a*
6	Sirsa	353	399	28	28
3	*Kapurthala*	*353*	*409*	*28a*	*27a*
14	Gurdaspur	329	363	29	29
31	Hazara	329	344	30	30
7	*Kalsia*	*324*	*377*	*30a*	*28b*
13	*Chamba*	*311*	*325*	*30b*	*30a*
25	Montgomery	250	264	31	31
18	*Suket*	*257*	*288*	*31a*	*31a*
—	**Native States**	**186**	**208**	**31*b***	**31*b***
17	*Nalagarh*	*144*	*161*	*31c*	*32a*
9	Simla	81	163	32	32
15	*Bilaspur*	*81*	*80*	*32a*	*32b*
16	*Bashahr*	*77*	*77*	*32b*	*32c*
—	Hill States	58	59	32*c*	32*d*
14	*Nahor*	*52*	*54*	*32d*	*32e*
23	*Minor Hill States*	*34*	*34*	*32e*	*32f*
12	*Mandi*	*31*	*32*	*32f*	*32g*

NOTE.—This table may be read thus:—In Kángra the rural population distributed over the number of villages gives an average population per village of 1,046 (column 3). The total population distributed over the number of villages and towns gives an average population per village and town of 1,073 (column 4). It stands 1st (column 5) among the districts in respect of magnitude of average population per village, and (column 6) in respect of magnitude of average population per village and town.

71. Conditions which determine the size of villages.—The causes which affect the size of villages are many and various, but most prominent among them probably are, the degree in which order and security have prevailed under the local Government, the tribal tenure of the land, the caste of the cultivating communities, and the physical character of the tract. The operation of these conditions has already been indirectly indicated in paragraph 65.

The state of the Province before it passed into our hands is broadly sketched in the next chapter. Where, as in the eastern and south-eastern districts, force had been for generations the only law and no strong rule had compelled respect for the life and property of others, the people were driven to find in large and united village communities, such as we see in Rohtak, Hissár, Karnál, and Dehli, the strength and protection for which they looked in vain to their rulers; where on the other hand the Sikh rule was strongest, the cultivators naturally spread themselves more widely over their fields; and accordingly the central divisions of Lahore and Amritsar, and the Multán division which prospered under Sáwan Mal, stand low in the list.

On the frontier anarchy was perhaps more rife than in any other portion of the Panjáb; but here the tribal tenure interfered to modify the distribution of the population. Wherever the united tribe or clan held and cultivated under a strong tribal rule the tract which they occupied, the people, still semi-nomad in their habits, spread themselves widely over the country in small groups of two or three closely connected families, having separate ownership in their cultivated lands and irrigation works, but with no clearly defined boundaries within the pastures common to the clan. But where the dominant race merely held the tract and left its cultivation to a subject population, we find the former collected in fortified villages of some considerable size, round which the latter, too poor to be the objects of assault, live scattered over their fields in small outlying hamlets. In both these cases however the village of our tables is, as explained in paragraph 66, often purely artificial, and affords but little indication of the real distribution of the people.

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The effect of the caste of the village-communities is closely allied to that of the conditions just discussed. It may be said broadly that the ruling races, such as Páthans, Biloches, Rájpúts and Jats, have almost a monopoly of large villages, not only because they alone had in former days wealth to protect, but also because the inferior castes have as a rule obtained their property in land by being in the first instance settled as small bodies of cultivators by the superior caste, or by the Government of the day. The Jats especially have a tendency to form large communities living in single villages; perhaps because they are of all the Panjáb races the most self-dependent and impatient of tribal control, so that the Jat village has to find in its own strength the protection for which other castes look to the tribe[1].

Where again a fertile and easily worked soil, and still more where abundant irrigation or a plentiful rainfall, renders cultivation easy and remunerative, the village has a tendency to be small, not only in area but also in population; while where a scanty rainfall and a limited supply of water made, when the tract was first settled, a large area necessary for the rough and precarious cultivation, and especially for the numerous flocks and herds which under these conditions supplement the produce of the fields, the communities are generally speaking large and powerful, for in such tracts not only is easy access to the fields of less importance, but the people were in old days more addicted to prœdatory forays on a large scale, as they still are to cattle-theft, and considerable strength was essential to the safety of the village. On the other hand there is a further extreme, where the tract is so backward and the uncultivated lands so extensive that the latter have not been appropriated by any village; and here grants of waste lands are made to capitalists who settle small communities as pioneers of cultivation, or the pastoral inhabitants are semi-nomad in their habits. In such cases the village proper has a tendency to be extremely small. I have already described in paragraph 65 the condition which scatter the people of the hill-tracts so widely over their area.

72. I believe that were it possible to examine separately tracts in which these conditions are more or less constant, very striking figures might be adduced in illustration of the operation of these influences. But the conditions vary so greatly from one part to another of the same district, the circumstances of the districts themselves diverge so widely, causes operating in opposite directions are so commonly present in the same tract, and the only figures available are based upon such very different data in different parts of the Province, that any detailed examination of them would be almost meaningless unless accompanied by very lengthy explanations. At the same time the following figures, while not actually proving anything, seem to lend support to the propositions advanced in the preceding paragraph. I have already explained the causes which, in the Hill districts and to a less extent in the Multán and Deraját divisions, have too often rendered the "village" of our tables a purely artificial unit. Excluding on this ground Simla, Kángra, the two Derahs, Bannu, Multán, and Montgomery, and dividing the remaining 25 districts into 5 groups according to the order of magnitude of their average village populations in which they stand in Abstract No. 6, we get the following averages for the respective groups:—

Groups of Districts.	Average Rural Population per Village.	Average percentage of Dominant Castes on Total Population.	Average percentage of Cultivation which is protected by irrigation or inundation.	Average Annual Rainfall in inches at district head-quarters.
1st Group	730	34·8	30·4	21·1
2nd "	586	28·2	36·6	23·5
3rd "	487	27·2	52·0	20·5
4th "	447	32·8	29·6	24·2
5th "	362	28·8	29·0	33·7
British Territory	481	30·0	34·0	26·7

The percentage of dominant races is unduly raised in the 4th group by the large percentage (64) of so-called Patháns in the hilly district of Hazára, and in the 5th group by the high percentage (44) of Jats and Rájpúts in Sirsa, which has only been settled within the last 30 years and where therefore large communities have not yet had time to develop. These two are the highest figures in the Province except in Pesháwar, where the percentage is 47. The average for the other districts of these two groups is in each case 25·0; and the figures are then in regular sequence. The percentage of protected cultivation is larger in the 2nd than in the 1st and in the 3rd than in the 2nd group; while the high rainfall of the 4th and 5th groups compensate for their scanty irrigation, and the large irrigation of the 3rd group is accompanied by a small rainfall.

73. Figures for Indian Provinces compared.—Abstract No. 7 below gives the Panjáb figures side by side with those for the other Indian Provinces. In Madras the village unit is largely artificial; as in Malabar, for instance, seven-eighths of the villages include more than 3,000 and one-half more than 5,000 inhabitants, while one place of over 15,000 souls, 19 of over 10,000, and 313 of over 5,000 souls are classed in these tables as villages and not as towns, though I have shown them below as towns for the reason given in the foot-note to the abstract. The explanation is that the "village," or *amsham* as it is there called, has in very many parts of Madras the same meaning which, as I have explained in paragraph 66, attaches to it in some portions of the Panjáb, being a purely artificial unit, and not really representing a conterminous group of houses. Excluding Madras the Panjáb has, even if the Native States be included, the largest average population per village and per village and town in the whole of British India, with the single exception of Bombay. Our large villages too are far more numerous throughout, with the same exception; though the North-Western Provinces follow close upon us. In the matter of towns we are, in proportion to our population, somewhat in advance of the North-Western Provinces and far ahead of every other province.

[1] This does not apply to the so-called Jats of our south-west frontier, where the name includes a very miscellaneous collection of races.

Part I.—Distribution over Towns and Villages.

Abstract No. 7, *showing* Relative Sizes *and* Average Population *of* Villages and Towns *for the* Provinces *of* India.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Serial No.	Province.	Total Population in thousands.	No. of Towns and Villages.		Average of		Percentage of Total Number of Villages the Population of which is above.						Number of Towns the Population of which is above								Population of largest Town in the Province.
			Below 5,000 souls.	Above 5,000 souls.	Rural Population per Village.	Total Population per Village and Town.	3,000	2,000	1,000	500	200	—	200,000	150,000	100,000	50,000	20,000	15,000	10,000	5,000	
1	Bengal	69,537,	264,524	241	249	263	0·1	0·5	3·2	12·1	37·5	100·0	1	2	3	10	32	46	95	241	684,658
2	North-West Provinces	44,850,	108,425	298	374	405	0·5	1·5	7·0	22·6	55·2	100·0	1	4	6	15	33	53	104	298	261,303
3	Madras	31,171,	52,151	497	539	592	1·6	4·1	13·8	31·7	58·6	100·0	1	1	1	9	30	45	93	497	405,848
4	Panjab (Province)	22,712,	52,669	201	384	430	0·8	2·3	8·9	23·1	51·0	100·0	...	2	3	9	24	34	59	201	173,393
5	Panjab (British Territory)	18,850,	34,160	164	490	549	1·0	3·0	11·6	30·2	65·0	100·0	...	2	3	8	21	29	49	164	173,393
6	Bombay (British Territory)	16,454,	24,400	198	557	669	1·3	3·5	13·6	36·0	71·1	100·0	1	1	3	6	19	27	66	198	773,196
7	Central Provinces	11,549,	45,802	52	237	252	0·2	0·5	2·1	10·3	39·7	100·0	...	...	...	3	6	9	16	52	98,299
8	Assam	4,881,	21,412	7	215	218	0·02	0·2	1·7	7·7	32·4	100·0	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	7	14,407
9	Burmah	3,737,	15,837	20	210	235	0·05	0·1	1·0	6·2	37·0	100·0	...	...	1	2	4	8	10	20	134,176
10	Berar	2,673,	5,551	34	433	479	1·0	2·3	8·7	26·0	59·9	100·0	...	...	...	...	2	4	10	34	26,728

The limit of 5,000 souls is taken in this table as the line between villages and towns. In the absence of detailed explanation regarding the figures of other Provinces, no other common standard is possible. I have no figures available for the Bombay Native States. The Madras village unit is, as pointed out above, exceedingly artificial.

74. Proportions of urban and rural population in each district.—Abstract No. 8 shows the proportion of rural to total population in each district.

Abstract No. 8, *showing the* proportion *of* Rural to Total Population *in* each District *in* order of magnitude.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Serial No. in tables.	Territorial Unit.	Proportion of Rural to every 10,000 of Total Population.			Serial order, according to col. 3.
		Persons.	Males.	Females.	
...	Hill States	9,712	9,686	9,741	...*a*
12	Kangra	9,665	9,644	9,713	1
31	Hazara	9,538	9,493	9,591	2
25	Montgomery	9,447	9,439	9,462	3
21	Gujrat	9,385	9,397	9,372	4
26	Muzaffargarh	9,355	9,361	9,347	5
29	Bannu	9,220	9,129	9,334	6
11	Hoshiarpur	9,179	9,183	9,176	7
15	Sialkot	9,170	9,154	9,189	8
11	*Bahawalpur*	*9,092*	*9,113*	*9,066*	8*a*
24	Jhang	9,064	9,102	9,020	9
VII	Rawalpindi Division	9,046	8,970	9,133	9*a*
IV	Jalandhar Division	9,027	9,011	9,045	9*b*
14	Gurdaspur	9,012	9,035	8,985	10
VIII	Mooltan Division	9,004	9,004	9,005	10*a*
32	Kohat	8,999	8,790	9,263	11
18	Ferozepore	8,985	8,925	9,058	12
IX	Derajat Division	8,973	8,919	9,036	12*a*
20	Jhelum	8,963	8,855	9,086	13
19	Rawalpindi	8,960	8,792	9,163	14
27	Dera Ismail Khan	8,916	8,895	8,941	15
...	**Native States**	**8,878**	**8,889**	**8,866**	15*a*
2	Gurgaon	8,874	8,912	8,832	16
17	Gujranwala	8,833	8,867	8,793	17
28	Dera Ghazi Khan	8,810	8,763	8,869	18
6	Sirsa	8,777	8,757	8,802	19
22	Shahpur	8,776	8,797	8,752	20
3	Karnal	8,742	8,810	8,662	21
...	**Province**	**8,735**	**8,708**	**8,768**	21*a*
V	Amritsar Division	8,706	8,681	8,734	21*b*
...	**British Territory**	**8,706**	**8,670**	**8,748**	21*c*
7	Ambala	8,685	8,673	8,700	22
1	*Patiala*	*8,670*	*8,699*	*8,634*	22*a*
8	Ludhiana	8,658	8,664	8,650	23
X	Peshawar Division	8,597	8,425	8,807	23*a*
III	Ambala Division	8,581	8,589	8,632	23*b*
...	States of E. Plains	8,577	8,602	8,547	23*c*
4	Hissar	8,490	8,523	8,451	24
VI	Lahore Division	8,437	8,393	8,489	24*a*
II	Hissar Division	8,425	8,469	8,373	24*b*
23	Mooltan	8,404	8,389	8,423	25
10	Jalandhar	8,262	8,260	8,265	26
5	Rohtak	8,203	8,283	8,112	27
I	Delhi Division	8,143	8,180	8,100	27*a*
13	Amritsar	7,896	7,840	7,965	28
30	Peshawar	7,827	7,604	8,106	29
16	Lahore	7,790	7,712	7,879	30
1	Delhi	6,834	6,843	6,823	31
9	Simla	4,868	4,151	6,158	32

This table may be read thus:—In the Hill States 9,712 (column 3) out of every 10,000 persons, 9,686 (column 4) out of every 10,000 males, and 9,741 (column 5) out of every 10,000 females, live in villages.

The figures given above illustrate the remarks made upon the distribution of urban and rural population in the first part of my Introductory chapter. The preponderance of high serial Nos. in the upper and of low Nos. in the lower portion of column 1 (the average is 22 for the upper and 12 for the lower half) shows how far more rural in its constitution is the population of the western than that of the eastern portions of the Province. A meridian through Lahore divides the Panjáb districts nearly equally, 17 lying to east and 15 to west of it. Of the 15 to the west, 5 are among the first 6 districts in the list, and 10 including Kohát, Jahlam, Ráwalpindi and Derah Ismáíl Khán with their cantonments among the first 15; while Gújránwála and Derah Ghází Khán, the latter also with a cantonment, follow immediately after, making 12

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among the first 18. The remaining 3 western districts are Peshâwar and Multân with their great cities and cantonments, and Shâhpur with its large trade in salt and in the merchandise of the Ghazni pawindahs. Equally rural in its constitution is the population of the montane and sub-montane tracts. Kângra heads the list, while Hazâra, Hoshyârpur, Siâlkot, Gurdâspur, Kohât, and Jahlam follow close upon it, notwithstanding that all but one of them contain cantonments. Thus out of the 19 hilly and western Districts, all but Multân and Peshâwar are among the first 20 districts on the list. Simla, which consists of little more than a sanitarium, and the districts which include the great towns of Dehli, Lahore, Amritsar, Peshâwar and Multân, naturally come at the bottom of the list, accompanied by Rohtak with the largest average true village in the Province and a correspondingly large number of small towns of over 5,000 souls, and Jálandhar, perhaps the richest district in the Province, with its cantonments and numerous municipalities. Between these two extremes, that is between Nos. 19 and 24, lie the remaining 5 districts of the Dehli, Ambâla, and Hissár divisions, of which three eastern divisions every single district lies in the lower half of the list with the exception of Gurgáon which is the median district. The order of the divisions and States is—

Hill States	9,712	Hilly.
States of Western Plains	9,092	Western.
Rawalpindi	9,046	Western and hilly.
Jalandhar	9,027	Hilly and eastern.
Multan	9,004	Western, great city.
Derajat	8,973	Western.
Amritsar	8,706	Eastern, hilly, great city.
Peshawar	8,597	Western, great city.
Ambala	8,581	Eastern.
States of Eastern Plains	8,577	Eastern.
Lahore	8,437	Median, great city.
Hissar	8,425	Eastern.
Delhi	8,143	Eastern, great city.

Of the 32 districts 21 are above the average of British Territory, which shows that the more populous districts have a marked tendency to be more urban than rural; and this notwithstanding the fact that some of the hill districts, the people of which are essentially rural, comprise the most populous portions of the Province.

75. Figures for Indian Provinces compared.—The proportion of urban to total population in the several Indian Provinces is as follows:—

Assam	1·4
Chota Nagpore	2·3
Orissa	3·0
Bengal Province	5·2
Behar	5·3
Central Provinces	6·0
Bengal Proper	6·1
Madras	9·7
North-West Provinces	9·7
Sind	10·7
Burmah	11·5
Berars	11·5
Panjab	**12·6**
Bombay Presidency	17·4
Bombay Proper	18·5

Thus we have in the Panjáb a larger proportion of urban population than is to be found in any other Province except Bombay. This follows naturally from the preponderance of large villages and towns already noticed.

76. Proportion of urban and rural population for each religion.—Abstract No. 9, in the margin, shows the rural proportion of the population of each religion for each division.

Abstract No. 9, *showing the* **proportion** *of* **Rural to Total Population** *for* **each Religion** *in* **each Division.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	1
Serial No. of Tables.	Divisions, &c.	All Religions.			Mussulmans.			Hindus.			Sikhs.			Jains.			Buddhists.			Christians.			Serial No. of tables.
		Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	
I	Delhi	8,143	8,180	8,100	7,086	7,176	6,988	8,576	8,578	8,558	8,626	8,110	9,389	5,552	5,717	5,373	...	...	...	810	829	775	I
II	Hissar	8,425	8,469	8,373	7,887	7,985	7,776	8,585	8,608	8,557	9,184	9,175	9,195	5,532	5,733	5,311	...	...	...	...	...	...	II
III	Ambala	8,581	8,539	8,632	7,867	7,862	7,873	8,832	8,779	8,898	9,603	9,536	9,690	3,007	3,061	2,941	...	...	...	980	799	1,434	III
IV	Jalandhar	9,027	9,011	9,045	8,467	8,476	8,435	9,269	9,242	9,300	9,296	9,286	9,309	2,631	2,514	2,765	10,000	10,000	10,000	1,153	930	1,736	IV
V	Amritsar	8,706	8,681	8,734	8,778	8,727	8,773	8,544	8,516	8,579	9,106	9,106	9,106	586	626	540	...	...	...	1,182	968	1,648	V
VI	Lahore	8,437	8,393	8,489	8,588	8,579	8,598	7,530	7,436	7,648	9,354	9,307	9,414	3,240	3,471	295	...	...	...	484	422	646	VI
VII	Rawalpindi	9,046	8,970	9,133	9,350	9,316	9,399	6,906	6,759	7,092	8,398	8,141	8,748	1,136	1,290	932	...	...	...	1,375	1,314	1,561	VII
VIII	Multan	9,004	9,004	9,005	9,365	9,367	9,364	7,415	7,444	7,380	9,022	8,907	9,192	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,421	1,190	2,159	VIII
IX	Derajat	8,973	8,919	9,036	9,303	9,272	9,340	6,618	6,546	6,706	4,421	3,699	6,961	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	IX
X	Peshawar	8,597	8,425	8,807	8,867	8,783	8,966	5,239	4,976	5,744	4,118	3,530	6,197	...	...	...	...	...	...	444	472	225	X
	British Territory	**8,706**	**8,670**	**8,748**	**8,830**	**8,814**	**8,848**	**8,502**	**8,458**	**8,555**	**9,210**	**9,134**	**9,102**	**4,589**	**4,697**	**4,466**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	**894**	**777**	**1,245**	
1	Patiala	8,670	8,699	8,634	7,514	7,582	7,436	8,789	8,821	8,750	9,403	9,365	9,451	3,360	3,494	3,211	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
	States of E. Plains	8,577	8,637	8,547	7,602	7,665	7,530	8,711	8,733	8,684	9,388	9,335	9,456	2,903	3,132	2,648	...	...	...	...	...	...	
11	Bahawalpur	9,092	9,113	9,066	9,326	9,343	9,307	7,864	7,939	7,770	8,993	8,894	9,165	7,874	7,708	8,091	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Hill States	9,712	9,686	9,747	8,517	8,486	8,559	9,759	9,738	9,783	8,822	8,802	8,850	1,158	1,686	80	...	...	...	...	...	...	11
	Native States	8,878	8,889	8,865	8,350	8,399	8,292	9,039	9,041	9,037	9,385	9,332	9,453	2,990	3,211	2,735	...	...	...	...	...	...	
	Province	**8,735**	**8,708**	**8,768**	**8,783**	**8,773**	**8,795**	**8,625**	**8,592**	**8,665**	**9,271**	**9,202**	**9,361**	**4,332**	**4,456**	**4,191**	...	...	...	...	...	...	

This table may be read thus—In the Delhi division, among the total population 8,143 (column 3) out of every 10,000 persons, 8,180 (column 4) out of every 10,000 males, and 8,100 (column 5) out of every 10,000 females live in villages. Among Musalmans, the corresponding figures are 7,086 (column 6), 7,176 (column 7), and 6,988 (column 8). and so on.

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It will be noticed that the Buddhists live wholly in villages. They are, with the exception of a few Ladákhi coolies in Simla, confined to the Tibetan valleys of Láhul and Spiti. Next to them the Sikhs are most rural in their habits, not quite 8 per cent. living in towns, while even that small proportion includes the numerous Sikh regiments of our Panjáb cantonments. This follows naturally from the fact that the Sikhs are essentially agriculturists by occupation, 66 per cent. of them being Jats, and 20 per cent. more belonging to the castes which furnish village menials. The Musalmáns come next, with 88·3 per cent. of rural population; while the corresponding proportion for Hindus is only 85 per cent. This again is but natural, as the great mass of the commercial classes which are so largely represented in cities belong, in almost every district in the Panjáb, however great the general preponderance of Musalmáns, to the Hindu religion. Moreover the Musalmáns preponderate to the west and the Hindus to the east of the Province; and, as has just been shown, the western population is far more rural than the eastern. Of the Jains more than half live in towns; and this again is due to the fact that this religion is almost confined to the mercantile community, and very largely to its more wealthy portion which is to be found in cities only. It is indeed surprising that in the Dehli and Hissár divisions as many as half the Jains should live in the villages. In no other division does the proportion rise as high as one-third. Christians are naturally found almost wholly in towns.

77. Tendency of strangers to collect in the Towns.—The figures showing the distribution by religion bring out very clearly a fact which might indeed have been predicted *a priori;* and that is, that wherever a religion is represented by comparatively small numbers in a tract, there its numbers are to be found among the urban rather than among the rural population; in other words, that strangers and immigrants are to be found in towns rather than in villages.

The figures given below in Abstract No. 10, in which the divisions are arranged in order of prevalence of the Musalmán religion, exhibit this tendency very clearly :—

Abstract No. 10, comparing *the* prevalence of each Religion *with* its proportion of Rural Population, *for* each Division.

Divisions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Divisions.
	All religions.	Musalmans.		Hindus.		Sikhs.		Jains.		Serial order of magnitude.									
										All religions.	Musalmans.		Hindus.		Sikhs.		Jains.		
	Rural to 10,000 total.	Musalmans to 10,000 of all religions.	Rural among 10,000 Musalmans.	Hindus to 10,000 of all religions.	Rural among 10,000 Hindus.	Sikhs to 10,000 of all religions.	Rural among 10,000 Sikhs.	Jains to 10,000 of all religions.	Rural among 10,000 Jains.	Col. 1.	Col. 2.	Col. 3.	Col. 4.	Col. 5.	Col. 6.	Col. 7.	Col. 8.	Col. 9.	
Peshawar	8,597	9,321	8,867	584	5,239	57	4,118	...	...	6	1	4	10	10	8	10	...	...	Peshawar
Derajat	8,973	8,804	9,303	1,158	6,618	33	4,421	...	...	4	2	3	8	9	10	9	...	[illegible]	Derajat
Rawalpindi	9,046	8,703	9,350	1,105	6,906	169	8,398	4	1,136	1	3	2	9	8	6	8	7	6	Rawalpindi
Multan	9,004	8,093	9,365	1,776	7,415	119	9,022	...	...	3	4	1	7	7	7	6	...	[illegible]	Multan
Lahore	8,437	6,218	8,588	2,233	7,530	1,508	9,354	11	3,240	8	5	6	6	6	1	2	4	3	Lahore
Amritsar	8,706	5,403	8,778	3,375	8,544	1,205	9,106	7	581	5	6	5	5	5	2	5	6	7	Amritsar
Ambala	8,581	3,036	7,867	5,768	8,832	1,132	9,603	20	3,007	7	7	9	4	2	3	1	3	4	Ambala
Jalandhar	9,027	2,841	8,467	6,508	9,269	622	9,296	8	2,631	2	8	7	3	1	4	3	5	5	Jalandhar
Delhi	8,143	2,645	7,086	7,213	8,576	48	8,626	83	5,552	10	9	10	2	4	9	7	1	1	Delhi
Hissar	8,425	2,184	7,887	7,504	8,585	241	9,184	70	5,532	9	10	8	1	3	5	4	2	2	Hissar

This table may be read thus—Out of every 10,000 people in the Peshávar Division 8,597 (column 1) live in villages, 9,321 (column 2) are Musalmáns, 584 (column 4) are Hindús, and so on. Out of every 10,000 Musalmáns in that Division 8,867 (column 3) and out of every 10,000 Hindus 5,239 (column 5) live in villages. It stands 6th (column 10) among the Divisions in respect of the magnitude of the rural component of the total population. It stands 1st (column 11) in respect of the magnitude of the Musalman component of the total population, and 4th (column 12) in respect of the rural component of the Musalman population.

In this table are shown, side by side for each religion, the proportion of the total population which belong to that religion and the proportion of its followers which live in towns; while in the second part of the table is given the order of magnitude of the figures in each column of the first part. A comparison of the serial Nos. (columns 10 to 18) will show that among Musalmáns the first 4, the middle 2, and the last 4 divisions agree; among Hindus the first 4, the middle 3 and the last 3; among Sikhs the first 5 and the last 5; among Jains the first 5 and the last 2; in each case the population of each religion being most rural in those divisions where that religion is most prevalent, and conversely. That the serial order does not agree more exactly is in almost every case due to the influence which the generally rural or urban nature of the total population shown in columns 1 and 10 has upon the rural figures, while it does not affect the figures of the other column. The largely urban nature of the Musalmán population in the east is doubtless partly due to the number of Mahomedans attracted to the neighbourhood of Delhi under the Musalmán dynasties, and settled with grants of land or revenue from the Emperors in the large towns. So the still larger proportion of dwellers in towns among the Hindús of the west is due, as already noted, to their chiefly belonging to the trading classes. The Sikhs in Peshávar and the Derajat are very largely in our military service or Khatris engaged in commerce.

78. Proportions of urban and rural population for each sex.—The proportion of urban population is on the whole smaller among females than among males; and this is what we should naturally expect to find, since men who leave their families at home and go off in search of employment or to take service elsewhere, commonly move from villages to towns and not from towns to villages. At the same time it will be seen from the figures of Abstract No. 8, that this rule holds true in 19 only out of the 32 districts and in 8 only out of the 10 divisions; while in the Native States, with the exception of the Hill States, the urban proportion is very slightly larger for females than for males. An examination of the figures show that—

(1) where the urban proportion for females is larger than that for males the excess is usually very small; far smaller on the average than the excess where the proportion for males is the larger of the two;

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(2) that the urban proportion for females is in excess in the whole of the Delhi and Hissár divisions except Sirsa; and in Lúdhiána, Gurdáspur, Gújránwála, Gújrát, Sháhpur, Jhang and Muzaffargarh, and very slightly in Hushyárpur; the excess being greatest in Rohtak, Karnál, Gurgáon, Jhang, Gújránwála, and Hissár;

(3) that the excess of the urban proportion for males over that for females is markedly largest in the whole of the Pesháwar and Deraját Divisions, in Ráwalpindi and Jahlam, and in Amritsar, Lahore, and Fírozpur; while it is smallest in Ambála, Jálandhar, Multán, and Montgomery. The figures for the proportion of urban population to every 10,000 of total population in each division are as follow:—

Divisions.	Males.	Females.	Difference.	Divisions.	Males.	Females.	Difference.
Delhi	1,820	1,900	—80	Lahore	1,607	1,511	96
Hissar	1,531	1,627	—96	Ráwalpindi	1,030	867	163
Ambála	1,461	1,368	93	Multan	996	995	1
Jalandhar	989	955	34	Derajat	1,081	964	117
Amritsar	1,319	1,266	53	Pesháwar	1,575	1,193	382

These facts suggest the following as at any rate some of the causes which operate to produce the difference under discussion. In the east of the Panjáb, as in the Dehli and Hissár divisions, the more wealthy and influential Mahomedans, who are likely to have several wives and many slave-girls and concubines, are for the most part residents of the cities. In the trans-Jahlam portion of the Province on the other hand, where the excess of the male proportion is markedly largest, this class is composed of chiefs of tribes and rural notables who live almost wholly in the villages. Moreover the *pardah* feeling is far stronger to the west than to the east of the Jahlam, so that men temporarily settling in towns would be more likely to leave their women in the comparative privacy of their village. In Peshávar this is the almost universal custom. Again men marry at a much later age in the west than in the east of the Panjáb, so that young men going to towns in search of employment are more likely to have no families to take with them in the former than in the latter. The large transport camps formed on the road to Peshávar in connection with the operations in Kábul collected an unusual number of labourers in the towns of the Peshávar and Ráwalpindí divisions; while the distress which unfavourable seasons had produced across our upper frontier brought large numbers of the hill-men into our towns in search of employment. Again, the excess of the female proportion is often greatest where the total population is most urban in its character and the average village largest; in other words, where the town population includes the inhabitants of places which are really villages in everything but size or the possession of municipal institutions. Finally, in the recruiting districts the proportion of females in villages has a natural tendency to be high, while the existence of large cantonments tends to raise the proportion of males in the towns.

An examination of Abstract No. 9 shows that in no case is the urban proportion for females in excess of that for males among members of the Sikh religion, that among Jains it is almost always in excess, and that in every case the excess is larger according as the religion in which it occurs is less prevalent in any particular tract. These results seem to follow naturally from the tendency of people quitting their ordinary domicile from any cause to leave their families behind them, whether they ordinarily live in the villages like Sikhs, or in the towns like Jains; and from the fact already noticed that strangers and immigrants settle chiefly in the towns, and so when found in the villages often have not their families with them.

PART II.—DISTRIBUTION AMONG DISTRICTS AND STATES.

79. Distribution of the population of the Province by Districts and States.—The distribution of the total population of the Province among the various districts and Native States is shown below in Abstract No. 11. The figures possess but little general interest, as the divisions of the Province into the several Districts and States to which they refer is purely artificial; but they are valuable for administrative purposes:—

Abstract No. 11, *showing the* **Distribution** *of the* **Population of the Province among Districts and States** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

1	2	3	4	5	6
Serial No. in Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Proportion per 10,000 of Total Population of Province.			Serial order of magnitude according to col. 3.
		Persons.	Males.	Females.	
...	**Province** . . .	**10,000**	**10,000**	**10,000**	*a*
...	**British Territory** . .	**8,300**	**8,286**	**8,316**	*b*
...	**Native States** . .	**1,70**	**1,714**	**1,684**	*c*
V	Amritsar Division .	1,202	1,198	1,206	I
...	States of E. Plains .	1,111	1,125	1,094	I*a*
VII	Rawalpindi Division .	1,110	1,093	1,130	II
IV	Jalandhar Division .	1,066	1,050	1,086	III
VI	Lahore Division .	965	975	953	IV
I	Delhi Division .	840	827	856	V
III	Ambala Division .	761	775	744	VI
VIII	Multan Division .	754	760	747	VII
1	*Patiálá*	*647*	*655*	*636*	*VIIa*
II	Hissar Division .	577	574	581	VIII
X	Peshawar Division .	520	527	512	IX
IX	Derajat Division .	501	500	·501	X
7	Ambala	470	477	461	1
15	Sialkot	446	438	455	2
16	Lahore	407	414	398	3
11	Hoshiarpur . . .	397	391	404	4
13	Amritsar . . .	393	398	387	5
14	Gurdaspur . . .	363	362	364	6
19	Ráwalpindi . . .	362	365	357	7
10	Jalandhar . . .	348	350	345	8
...	Hill States . . .	337	334	340	8*a*
12	Kangrá	321	309	337	9
21	Gujrát	303	294	315	10
18	Ferozepur . . .	287	290	282	11
1	Delhi	283	279	288	12
2	Gurgaon	283	275	292	13
3	Karnál	274	273	276	14
8	Ludhiáná . . .	272	276	269	15
17	Gujránwálá . . .	271	271	273	16
30	Peshawar . . .	261	268	253	17
[illegible]	Jhelam	260	254	266	18

1	2	3	4	5	6
Serial No. in Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Proportion per 10,000 of Total Population of Province.			Serial order of magnitude according to col. 3.
		Persons.	Males.	Females.	
11	*Bahawalpur* . . .	*253*	*255*	*250*	*18a*
5	Rohtak	243	240	248	19
23	Multan	243	247	238	20
4	Hissar	222	221	223	21
27	Dera Ismail Khán . .	195	193	195	22
25	Montgomery . . .	188	189	187	23
22	Shahpur . . .	185	180	192	24
31	Hazárá	179	177	182	25
24	Jhang	174	174	174	26
28	D. G. Khán . . .	160	163	157	27
26	Muzaffargarh . . .	149	150	148	28
29	Bannu	146	144	149	29
2	*Nábha*	*114*	*117*	*112*	*29a*
6	Sirsa	112	113	110	30
3	*Kapurthala* . . .	*111*	*113*	*110*	*30a*
4	*Jind*	*110*	*111*	*109*	*30b*
32	Kohat	80	82	77	31
12	*Mandi*	*65*	*61*	*70*	*31a*
13	*Chambá*	*51*	*49*	*53*	*31b*
14	*Náhan*	*50*	*51*	*47*	*31c*
5	*Faridkot* . . .	*43*	*44*	*42*	*31d*
15	*Bilápur* . . .	*38*	*38*	*38*	*31e*
6	*Málerkotla* . . .	*31*	*31*	*31*	*31f*
7	*Kalsia*	*30*	*30*	*30*	*31g*
16	*Bashahr*	*28*	*27*	*30*	*31h*
17	*Nálágarh* . . .	*24*	*24*	*23*	*31i*
18	*Suket*	*23*	*24*	*23*	*31j*
23	*14 Minor Hill States* .	*21*	*23*	*21*	*31k*
9	Simla	19	22	14	32
19	*Keonthal* . . .	*14*	*14*	*13*	*32a*
8	*Dujáná*	*10*	*10*	*10*	*32b*
20	*Bághal*	*9*	*9*	*9*	*32c*
21	*Jubbal*	*9*	*9*	*8*	*32d*
9	*Pátandi*	*8*	*8*	*8*	*32e*
10	*Loháru*	*6*	*6*	*6*	*32f*
22	*Bhajji*	*5*	*5*	*5*	*32g*
XI	Khaibar Pass . .	4	7	...	32*h*

This table may be read thus:—The Amritsar Division contains 1,202 out of every 10,000 persons, 1,198 out of every 10,000 males, and 1,206 out of every 10,000 females in the Province.

It will be noticed that all the States of the Eastern Plains put together are not so populous as the Amritsar division and only just more populous than the Ráwalpindi division; that the population of Patiálá is larger than that of either the Hissár, Pesháwar, or Deraját division, and still more than that of any district, while Baháwalpur, the next most populous state, comes below 18 out of our 32 districts; that excluding Simla, each one of our districts is more populous than any State other than the two just mentioned, except Kohát which is surpassed by Nábha, Kapúrthala and Jind, and Sirsa which gives place to Nábha, and that the Native States of the Plains contain a smaller proportion of the female than of the male population.

80. Distribution of the population of British Territory by Districts.—Abstract No. 12 shows the dis-

Part II.—Distribution among Districts and States.

tribution of the urban, rural and total population of British Territory among the several districts and divisions :—

Abstract No. 12, *showing the* Distribution *of the* Urban, Rural, and Total Population *of* British Territory *among* Districts and Divisions *arranged in* order of magnitude.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Serial No. of Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Proportion per 10,000 of population of British Territory.									Serial order of magnitude in respect of			
		Total Population.			Rural Population.			Urban Population.			Area.	Total Population.	Rural Population.	Urban Population.
		Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.				
...	Total British Territory	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	...	...	...	...
V	*Amritsar Division*	*1,448*	*1,446*	*1,451*	*1,448*	*1,448*	*1,448*	*1,449*	*1,433*	*1,466*	*5 a*	*I*	*I*	*II*
VII	*Rawalpindi Division*	*1,338*	*1,319*	*1,359*	*1,389*	*1,364*	*1,418*	*985*	*1,021*	*941*	*III*	*II*	*II*	*V*
IV	*Jalandhar Division*	*1,285*	*1,267*	*1,305*	*1,332*	*1,317*	*1,350*	*966*	*943*	*995*	*IV*	*III*	*III*	*VI*
VI	*Lahore Division*	*1,162*	*1,176*	*1,147*	*1,126*	*1,139*	*1,112*	*1,404*	*1,421*	*1,383*	*2 a*	*IV*	*IV*	*III*
I	*Delhi Division*	*1,011*	*998*	*1,028*	*947*	*942*	*953*	*1,452*	*1,366*	*1,561*	*4 a*	*V*	*V*	*I*
III	*Ambála Division*	*917*	*936*	*895*	*904*	*922*	*883*	*1,006*	*1,028*	*978*	*8 a*	*VI*	*VII*	*IV*
VIII	*Multan Division*	*909*	*917*	*898*	*940*	*952*	*924*	*699*	*687*	*714*	*I*	*VII*	*VI*	*VIII*
II	*Hissar Division*	*696*	*693*	*699*	*673*	*677*	*669*	*847*	*798*	*908*	*2 c*	*VIII*	*VIII*	*VII*
X	*Peshâwar Division*	*627*	*636*	*616*	*619*	*618*	*620*	*679*	*753*	*587*	*2 b*	*IX*	*X*	*IX*
IX	*Derajât Division*	*603*	*604*	*602*	*622*	*621*	*623*	*479*	*491*	*465*	*I*	*X*	*IX*	*X*
7	Ambála	566	576	555	565	576	551	575	575	576	19	1	2	4
15	Sialkot	539	528	547	566	558	574	344	336	354	24	2	1	10
16	Lahore	491	500	479	438	445	431	838	860	811	11	3	6	1
11	Hoshiarpur	479	471	486	504	499	510	303	290	320	22	4	3	15
13	Amritsar	474	481	467	430	435	424	770	780	757	28	5	8	3
14	Gurdaspur	437	436	437	452	455	449	334	317	354	26	6	4	12
19	Ráwalpindi	436	440	430	448	446	450	350	400	287	6	7	5	9
10	Jalandhar	419	422	414	397	403	392	562	553	574	30	8	9	5
12	Kangra	388	373	405	430	415	449	100	100	102	2	9	7	27
21	Gujrat	366	355	379	394	384	405	174	161	190	23	10	10	23
18	Ferozepur	345	350	339	356	360	351	271	283	255	17	11	11	18
1	Delhi	341	337	346	268	266	270	835	799	879	31	12	20	2
2	Gurgaon	341	332	350	347	341	354	296	272	327	25	13	12	16
3	Karnál	331	329	332	332	335	328	321	295	354	21	14	14	13
8	Ludhiána	329	332	323	326	332	320	340	334	348	29	15	15	11
17	Gujranwála	327	326	329	332	334	330	295	278	316	18	16	13	17
30	Peshâwar	316	323	305	283	283	282	528	580	461	20	17	17	6
20	Jhelam	314	306	319	322	314	332	250	264	233	9	18	16	19
5	Rohtak	294	290	298	277	277	276	408	375	449	27	19	19	7
23	Multan	293	298	286	283	289	276	361	361	362	3	20	18	8
4	Hissar	268	267	268	261	262	259	312	296	332	12	21	21	14
27	Dehra Ismail Khán	234	233	235	240	240	240	196	194	199	1	22	23	21
25	Montgomery	226	228	225	246	248	242	97	97	96	5	23	22	28
22	Shâhpur	223	217	231	225	220	231	212	197	232	7	24	25	20
31	Hazára	216	214	218	237	234	239	77	82	71	14	25	24	31
24	Jhang	210	210	209	218	220	216	152	142	164	4	26	26	24
28	Dehra Ghâzi Khán	193	196	188	195	199	191	177	183	170	8	27	27	22
26	Muzaffargarh	180	181	178	193	195	191	90	87	93	13	28	28	29
29	Bannu	177	174	179	187	183	192	106	114	95	10	29	29	26
6	Sirsa	134	136	133	135	137	133	127	127	127	15	30	30	25
32	Kohat	96	99	93	100	101	98	75	90	55	16	31	31	32
9	Simla	23	27	17	13	13	13	90	119	55	32	32	32	30
XI	Khaibar Pass	4	8	...	...	...	...	34	59	2	...	XI	XI	XI

This table may be read thus:—The Rawalpindi Division includes 1,338 (column 3) out of every 10,000 of the total population of both sexes; 1,364 (column 7) out of every 10,000 of the rural male population, and 941 (column 11) out of every 10,000 of the urban female population of British Territory. In respect of the magnitude of its area it stands 3rd (column 12), of its total population 2nd (column 13), of its rural population 2nd (column 14), and of its urban population 5th (column 15) among the ten Divisions.

The figures of this abstract are of course wholly devoid of general statistical value, the district unit of area being wholly artificial. But they are not without administrative significance. The general theory of the distribution of district charges is, that the elements of the population and area combined should be tolerably constant. I have added a column (No. 12) showing the serial order of the districts in respect of area. Now if the district which has a larger population than another had always a smaller area and *vice versá*, the sum of the figures given opposite each district in columns 12 and 13 would always be 33. If it is greater the district is less important, if smaller more important in respect of area and population than it should be. The test is purely qualitative and not quantitative; but it is of some little interest. It shows that Simla, Kohát, Rohtak, Sirsa, Lúdhiánah, and Dehli fall, in that order, markedly short of the average standard; while Kángra, Ráwalpindi, Lahore, Ambála, Multán and Derah Ismáíl markedly exceed it. In the remaining districts the discrepancy, if any, is insignificant. The abstract further shows that though several of our districts are larger in area than some of our divisions, yet each division is more populous than any district; and that the central divisions contain the largest and the western and southern divisions the smallest populations, while those of Dehli and Ambála, to the east of the Province, occupy an intermediate position. Of the 9 districts which lie along the northern border of the Province between the Jamna and the Indus, 7 are among the 10 most populous districts, Jahlam and Hazára being the exceptions; while the remaining 4 of the 11 districts highest in the list are Lahore and Amritsar with their great cities, and Jálandhar and Fírozpur, the four together forming the central group of the Panjáb. These are immediately followed by the three districts of the Dehli division which bound the Province to the east. At the other end of the list four of the five districts with smallest populations (excluding the hill-station of Simla) are Kohát, Bannu, Muzaffargarh, and Derah Ghâzi Khán, all on our western border; while Derah Ismáíl, which completes the list for that portion, is not much higher up. Next above them follow the

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maining districts of the Western Plains, namely Jhang and Sháhpur, and the hilly district of Hazára; while immediately above these come three of the four districts which lie along the southern boundary of the Panjáb, the fourth, which is Sirsa, having a smaller population than any other district except Kohát and Simla. The five districts in the centre of the list are scattered about the Province. Thus the general outline of the order of districts in respect of magnitude of population may be thus summarised, beginning with the most populous—

Northern border	7 districts.	Western centre	2 districts.
Central group	4 „	Western border	5 „
Eastern border	3 „	Simla	1 „
Miscellaneous	6 „		
Southern border	4 „		32

The exclusion of urban population hardly affects the order, except in the case of the districts which include the three great cities of Dehli, Lahore, and Amritsar.

81. Indian charges compared with European Kingdoms.—I think we often fail to realise the enormous areas and populations over which Indian officials have control, for want of familiar standards with which to compare them. Columns 7, 8, and 9 of abstract No. 13 on page 32 show the area, population, and numbers per square mile for the principal European and Indian countries as percentages on the corresponding figures for the Province; while columns 10, 11, and 12 show their order of magnitude in these respects. In point of size the Province stands eighth on the list, only Russia in Europe, the Austrian and German Empires, France, Bengal, Spain and Sweden surpassing it. It is slightly larger than Prussia, one-fifth as large again as the British Isles, Hungary or Norway, one-quarter as large again as Italy or Austria, two and a half times as large as Turkey in Europe or England and Wales, four times as large as Portugal, five times as large as Ireland or Scotland, five-and-a-half times as large as Greece, ten times as large as Switzerland, Denmark, or the Netherlands, and more than twelve times as large as Belgium. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjáb rules over a population which is two-sevenths that of the Russian and half that of the German Empire, two-thirds that of the Austrian Empire, of France, and of the British Isles, and within a quarter of that of Italy, a fifth of that of Prussia, and a tenth of that of England and Wales. It is larger than that of Austria, one-third as large again as that of Spain, half as large again as that of Hungary, four times that of Ireland or Belgium, five times that of Portugal or Sweden, six times that of Scotland, Turkey in Europe, or the Netherlands, eight times that of Switzerland, eleven times that of Denmark or Greece, and fourteen times that of Norway. The Commissioner of Multán controls a tract nearly twice the size of Belgium, half as large again as the Netherlands or Denmark, a third as large again as Switzerland, two-thirds the size of Scotland, and more than a third as large as England and Wales; while the Commissioner of Amritsar has under him a population double that of Norway, half as large again as that of Greece or Denmark, larger than that of Switzerland, nearly as large as that of Scotland, three-quarters that of the Netherlands or of Turkey in Europe, and one-eighth of that of England and Wales.

82. The Deputy Commissioner of a district is the actual working and responsible head of every department of the administration within his charge excepting large public works, and is supposed to make himself personally acquainted with its every hole and corner; yet the district of Derah Ismáíl Khán is more than one-third as big again as Saxony, more than four-fifths the size of Belgium, three-fifths as large as Switzerland, two-thirds as large as Denmark, and very nearly a sixth of the size of England and Wales put together. So the population over whom the Deputy Commissioner of Ambála exercises a sway despotic beyond the experience of Western Europe is more than half that of Denmark, Greece, or Norway, more than a third that of Switzerland or Saxony, nearly a third that of Scotland, a quarter of that of Portugal or the Netherlands, and more than a fifth of that of Bavaria, Ireland, or Belgium. Yet the united administrative staff of these two districts consists of twelve Magistrates and Judges and three police officers, of whom only eight are Europeans. The Hissár division has an executive staff of seven European and six Native officers, and there is not a soldier within 100 miles of its head-quarters; yet its area and population are half those of Switzerland and two-thirds those of Denmark. I do not think it would be possible to illustrate more forcibly the significance of "*Pax Indo-Britannica*," the orderly and peaceable disposition of the people over whom we rule, or the vital importance of that prestige which now-a-days is held by some in such small account.

The following table shows the areas and populations of ten districts of the Panjáb and ten counties of England side by side. The figures for the counties are the largest in England, excluding the populations of the three metropolitan counties, and of Lancashire and Yorkshire with their huge manufacturing cities. But if I were to take the largest district areas and populations no comparison would be possible, as they would all exceed every county except Yorkshire and Staffordshire. I have therefore taken the five largest and the five smallest districts in each case excepting Simla—

Area.			Population.		
Serial order of magnitude.	Territorial Unit.	Square miles.	Serial order of magnitude.	Territorial Unit.	Population.
1	D. I. Khán	9,296	1	Ambála	1,067,263
2	Kángra	9,069	2	Siálkot	1,012,148
1	*Yorkshire*	*6,067*	3	Lahore	924,106
3	Multán	5,880	4	Hushyárpur	901,381
4	Jhang	5,702	5	Amritsar	893,266
5	Montgomery	5,574	1	*Staffordshire*	*858,326*
2	*Lincolnshire*	*2,763*	2	*Durham*	*685,089*
3	*Devonshire*	*2,586*	3	*Warwickshire*	*634,189*
4	*Norfolkshire*	*2,119*	4	*Devonshire*	*601,374*
5	*Northumberland*	*2,016*	5	*Cheshire*	*561,201*
6	*Lancashire*	*1,888*	6	*Hampshire*	*544,684*
27	Rohtak	1,811	7	*Gloucestershire*	*534,640*
7	*Essex*	*1,649*	8	*Essex*	*466,436*

Part II.—Distribution among Districts and States.

Area.			Population.		
Serial order of magnitude.	Territorial Unit.	Square miles.	Serial order of magnitude.	Territorial Unit.	Population.
8	*Somersetshire*	*1,640*	9	*Somersetshire*	*463,482*
9	*Southamptonshire*	*1,613*	10	*Norfolkshire*	*438,656*
28	Amritsar	1,574	27	Derah Ghází	363,346
10	*Kent*	*1,538*	28	Muzaffargarh	338,605
29	Ludhiánah	1,375	29	Bannu	332,577
30	Jalandhar	1,322	30	Sirsa	253,275
31	Delhi	1,276	31	Kohát	181,540

Turning to a less familiar but perhaps more striking standard, we find that of the 38 United States of America, each with its separate Governor and Legislature, three have smaller populations than our smallest, and 9 than our average district excluding Simla; only 19 have as large a population as Ambála or Síálkot, while only 4 out of the 38 include as large a population as does the Amritsar division, and only 6 reach the figures of any one of our seven most populous divisions. Even in respect of area eight of the States are smaller than any of our four largest divisions. The population of the Panjáb is 46 per cent. of that of the whole United States.

PART III.—DISTRIBUTION OVER AREA.

83. Density of the population.—Abstract No. 13 shows the area and the number and density of the population of the Panjáb and its divisions, side by side with the corresponding figures for other Indian Provinces and some of the leading European States, all being arranged in order of their density of population—

Abstract No. 13, *showing* **Area, Population,** *and* **Density** *for* **Panjab Divisions, Indian Provinces,** *and* **European States** *arranged in* **order of Density.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Serial No.	Territorial Unit.	Year of Census.	Area in square miles.	Population.	Population per square mile.	Area, Population and Density taking the Panjab figures as 100.			Serial order of magnitude in respect of		
						Area.	Population.	Density.	Area.	Population.	Density.
1	Behar	1881	44,139	23,127,104	524	31	102	330	32	14	1
2	*Amritsar Division*	*1881*	*5,354*	*2,729,109*	*510*	*4*	*12*	*321*	*60*	*41*	*2*
3	Bengal Proper	1881	70,430	35,607,628	506	49	157	318	26	8	3
4	Belgium	1879	11,373	5,536,654	486	8	24	306	50	26	4
5	England and Wales	1881	58,320	25,968,286	445	41	114	280	27	13	5
6	Saxony	1880	6,777	2,972,805	438	5	13	275	57	39	6
7	*Ambála Division*	*1881*	*3,963*	*1,729,043*	*436*	*3*	*8*	*274*	*63*	*53*	*7*
8	North-West Provinces	1881	111,229	44,849,619	403	78	198	253	20	5	8
9	Bengal Province	1881	193,198	69,536,861	360	135	306	226	6	3	9
10	Travancore	1881	6,730	2,401,158	357	5	11	225	58	43	10
11	*Delhi Division*	*1881*	*5,610*	*1,907,984*	*340*	*4*	*8*	*214*	*61*	*54*	*11*
12	Netherlands	1880	12,678	4,060,580	320	9	18	201	48	33	12
13	British Isles	1881	120,879	35,246,562	291	85	155	183	16	9	13
14	Wurttemberg	1880	7,675	1,971,255	256	5	9	161	59	50	14
15	Baroda	1881	8,570	2,185,005	255	6	10	160	53	48	15
16	*States of Eastern Plains*	*1881*	*10,068*	*2,522,546*	*251*	*7*	*11*	*158*	*52*	*44*	*16*
17	*Patiála*	*1881*	*5,887*	*1,467,433*	*249*	*4*	*6*	*157*	*62*	*58*	*17*
18	Italy	1879	114,296	28,437,091	248	80	125	156	18	11	18
19	*Lahore Division*	*1881*	*8,987*	*2,191,517*	*244*	*6*	*10*	*153*	*54*	*49*	*19*
20	Madras	1881	141,001	31,170,631	221	99	138	139	10	10	20
21	German Empire	1880	212,091	45,238,829	213	148	199	134	4	4	21
22	Prussia	1880	137,066	27,278,911	200	96	120	126	11	12	22
23	*Jalandhar Division*	*1881*	*12,571*	*2,421,781*	*193*	*9*	*11*	*121*	*49*	*45*	*23*
24	Austria	1880	115,903	22,130,705	191	81	97	120	17	16	24
25	Bombay Proper	1881	76,108	14,041,591	184	53	62	116	23	21	25
26	Indian Empire	1881	1,371,285	253,891,821	185	962	1,119	116	2	1	26
27	France	1876	204,092	37,405,793	183	143	165	115	5	7	27
28	Bavaria	1880	29,292	5,284,778	180	20	23	113	37	27	28
29	Switzerland	1880	15,992	2,846,102	178	11	13	112	44	40	29
30	**Panjab British Territory**	**1881**	**106,632**	**18,850,437**	**177**	**75**	**83**	**111**	**21**	**17**	**30**
31	Mysore	1881	24,723	4,186,188	169	17	18	106	39	34	31
32	*Rawalpindi Division*	*1881*	*15,435*	*2,520,508*	*163*	*11*	*11*	*103*	*45*	*46*	*32*
33	Ireland	1881	31,874	5,159,839	161	22	23	101	35	28	33
34	**Panjab Province**	**1881**	**142,449**	**22,712,120**	**159**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**9**	**15**	**34**
35	Austrian Empire	1880	240,942	37,839,427	157	168	167	99	3	6	35
36	*Hissar Division*	*1881*	*8,355*	*1,311,067*	*157*	*6*	*6*	*99*	*55*	*59*	*36*
37	Berár	1881	17,711	2,672,673	151	12	12	95	42	42	37
38	*Pesháwar Division*	*1881*	*8,381*	*1,181,289*	*140*	*6*	*5*	*88*	*56*	*60*	*38*
39	Haidarábád	1881	71,771	9,845,594	137	50	43	86	25	24	39
40	Denmark	1880	14,453	1,969,454	136	10	9	86	46	51	40
41	Bombay Presidency	1881	124,122	16,454,414	133	87	72	84	13	19	41
42	Hungary	1880	125,039	15,610,729	125	87	69	79	14	20	42
43	Central India	1881	75,079	9,261,907	123	53	41	77	24	25	43
44	Scotland	1884	30,685	3,734,370	121	21	16	76	36	37	44
45	Portugal	1878	36,510	4 348,551	119	26	19	75	33	32	45
46	Roumania	1878	48,307	5,290,000	109	34	23	69	29	29	46
47	*Panjáb Native States*	*1881*	*35,817*	*3,861,683*	*108*	*25*	*17*	*68*	*34*	*36*	*47*
48	Assam	1881	46,341	4,881,426	105	32	21	66	31	30	48
49	Central Provinces	1881	113,279	11,548,511	102	79	51	64	19	22	49
50	Spain	1877	182,750	16,625,860	90	128	73	57	7	18	50
51	*Multán Division*	*1881*	*20,295*	*1,712,394*	*84*	*14*	*8*	*53*	*41*	*55*	*51*
52	Servia	1880	20,850	1,700,211	81	15	7	51	40	56	52
53	Rájputána	1881	129,750	10,268,392	79	91	45	50	12	23	53
54	Greece	1881	25,101	1,972,775	78	18	9	49	38	52	54
55	*Panjáb Hill States*	*1881*	*10,749*	*765,643*	*71*	*8*	*3*	*45*	*51*	*62*	*55*
56	Turkey in Europe	1881	56,868	3,982,000	70	40	18	44	28	35	56
57	*Deraját Division*	*1881*	*17,681*	*1,137,572*	*64*	*12*	*5*	*40*	*43*	*61*	*57*
58	Sindh	1881	48,014	2,413,823	50	34	11	31	30	47	58
59	Burmah	1881	87,220	3,736,771	43	61	16	27	22	38	59
60	Baháwálpur	1881	15,000	573,494	38	10	3	24	47	63	60
61	Russia in Europe	1870	2,261,244	78,472,347	35	1,581	346	22	1	2	61
62	Sweden	1879	170,979	4,568,901	27	120	20	17	8	31	62
63	Norway	1875	122,869	1,701,365	13	86	7	8	15	57	63

Part III.—Distribution over Area.

It is not to be expected that the Panjáb should, in comparison with other countries, be densely populated. The great mountain tracts to the north and the arid steppes of its Western Plains include large areas which are not habitable by man; and with a largely agricultural population, only 35 per cent. of its total area is cultivated and only 70 per cent. even nominally culturable. Less than 40 years ago the greater portion of the Province was subject to a military government of a very inferior type, war and violence were rife in the land, and in many parts the peasant tilled his field with a sword at his side and the Collector demanded the revenue at the head of a regiment; while 20 years earlier much of our south-eastern border was practically a desert. Accordingly we find that out of the 63 separate tracts mentioned in the Abstract, the Panjáb stands as low as 34th. Compared with the other large Indian Provinces, the population is less dense than that of Bengal, the North-Western Provinces, Madras, or Bombay proper, but more dense than that of Berar, Haidarábád, Bombay with Sindh, Central India, Assam, the Central Provinces, Rájpútána, Sindh, or Burmah. Turning to European countries, we find that the density for the Province as a whole is about the same as for Ireland and the Austrian Empire, is not much more than one-third that of Belgium and England and Wales, one-half that of the British Isles, and two-thirds that of Italy and the German Empire; while that of our British Territory is almost the same as in France, Bavaria and Switzerland, and very little below that of the Indian Empire as a whole. But portions of the Panjáb stand very high in the scale. The Amritsar division, which is half the size of Belgium, is more thickly populated than that most populous of all European countries; while the Ambála division has about the same density as have England and Wales and Saxony, and the Dehli division is more thickly peopled than the Netherlands, and far more so than the British Isles. On the other hand the population of Baháwalpur is more sparse than that of any other country in the list except Russia, Sweden, and Norway; while the Deraját and Multán divisions and the Hill States stand only just above them, in company with Spain, Servia, Greece, and Turkey in Europe.

84. The figures for districts will be found in column 4 of Abstract No. 14 below. I give below, for purposes of comparison, the ten highest and ten lowest densities among the 51 counties of England and Wales, showing opposite each how many of our 32 districts have a higher density. Mr. Hunter says, "Fertile France has only 180 people to the square mile; while in crowded England, wherever the density "approaches 200 to the square mile, it ceases to be a rural population, and has to live by manufactures, "mines, or city industries." Seventeen of our thirty-two districts and four of our ten divisions exceed this standard; while in fifteen of the seventeen districts and in all the four divisions the rural population alone has a density of more than 200 to the square mile, and in five districts of more than double that figure:—

Serial No. of 51 Counties.	County.	Density per square mile.	Number out of 32 Districts which have greater Density.	Serial No. of 51 Counties.	County.	Density per square mile.	Number out of 32 Districts which have greater Density.
1	Staffordshire	750	1	42	Rutlandshire	149	19
2	Warwickshire	717	1	43	Cumberland	145	19
3	West-Riding, Yorkshire	678	1	44	North-Riding, Yorkshire	138	20
4	Durham	677	1	45	Camarthenshire	122	21
5	Cheshire	509	4	46	Cardiganshire	106	22
6	Worcestershire	459	5	47	Montgomeryshire	89	24
7	Gloucestershire	425	7	48	Westmoreland	83	26
8	Nottinghamshire	389	9	49	Brecnockshire	83	26
9	Derbyshire	370	9	50	Merionethshire	77	29
10	Southamptonshire	338	10	51	Radnorshire	59	31

85. Density of rural population.—In considering a Province as a whole, or even its divisions where population is counted by millions, the presence of a few cities, even though they be great ones if measured by a Panjáb standard, does not materially disturb the relative densities of population. But as soon as we begin to examine smaller units, such as the district or its sub-division the *tahsíl*, the inclusion of towns deprives the figures for density of all significance. The boundary of the administrative unit is wholly artificial; and when it includes a large city, the density of the population within it can be varied at pleasure by expanding or contracting its limits. Thus the district of Dehli has a rural population of 345 per square mile, but the inclusion of the towns raises the figure to 504, or by 46 per cent. So again, of the two *tahsils* of Dehli and Sunpat the latter is, excluding the towns, the more thickly populated, the figures for rural population per square mile being 323 and 383 respectively; but if the towns are taken into account the densities become 732 and 411. In fact, though the density of the total population is interesting as affording the only means of comparison with other countries, and as indicating, when taken within a sufficiently wide limit, the number of souls which a given area sustains, yet it is the density of the *rural* population which has the greatest practical value for the Indian administrator. The population of the large towns is a thing apart; it is concentrated in definite points, and the cities themselves are recognised as separate administrative units. Thus what chiefly concerns the district officer is, the manner in which the great mass of the population which inhabits the villages and cultivates the fields are distributed over the wide plains which yield them the means of livelihood.

86. Figures for Indian Provinces compared.—It may be interesting to compare in the first place the densities of the rural population for the great Indian Provinces. The figures per square mile are as follows:—

Province	Density	Province	Density	Province	Density
Behar	496	Chota Nagpore	155	Assam	104
Bengal Proper	437	**Panjab, British Territory.**	**154**	Central Provinces	96
Orissa	400	Bombay Proper.	149	Sindh	45
N.-W. Provinces	365	**Panjab Province**	**139**	Burmah	38
Bengal Province	341	Berar	133		
Madras	199	Bombay Province	109		

Part III.—Distribution over Area.

The decrease in density as we pass from the great Gangetic plains of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces across the central watershed of India to the Indus system of the Panjáb is most remarkable, and it will be presently seen that this change does not suddenly occur on the border of our Province, but that the high density is carried across the Jamna and along the foot of the Himálayas, and only gradually diminishes as we approach the arid western plains and southern wastes, till in our south-western districts it falls almost as low as in the neighbouring deserts of Sindh.

87. Conditions which determine density of population.—Abstract No. 14 on page 37 shows the density of rural and total population for our districts arranged in order of magnitude of the former figures, together with statistics regarding rainfall, cultivation, culturable area, and irrigation, which help to explain the variations in the figures.

The village population of the Panjáb consisting almost wholly of husbandmen, together with the priests, traders, and menials attached to them, the agricultural capacity of each district practically determines the density of its rural population. Now for agriculture in India two things are necessary, culturable soil, and a supply of water either natural or artificial. The culturable area obviously suggests itself as the factor of primary importance, and in a certain sense it is so, as it definitely limits the possibility of agricultural development. But it is not of such capital importance as it would appear to be at first sight. Where a country is fully developed and agricultural expansion is approaching the limits within which physical conditions confine it, the tract with the largest proportion of culturable area will naturally have the densest population, other factors, such as the fertility of the culturable soil, being constant. But the Panjáb as a whole is by no means fully developed; as yet only one-half of its culturable area is under the plough; and under these circumstances it is natural that the population should tend to collect in greatest numbers in those tracts where an ample water supply renders the culturable area immediately available for cultivation. Unfortunately, also, the figures for culturable area given in column 7 of the Abstract are eminently calculated to mislead. It appears that the Settlement Department have returned as culturable all the great grazing grounds of the Western Plains. Now there is no doubt whatever that the soil so returned is intrinsically fertile, and capable, if water were forthcoming, of yielding a sufficient return to the husbandman. But there is equally little doubt that the scanty rainfall which prevails west of the meridian of Lahore renders the great mass of the tract for all practical purposes unculturable without artificial irrigation. Where such irrigation exists, and within the limits to which it extends, cultivation is possible. Beyond these limits, save in riverain tracts or local hollows of very limited area, cultivation is impossible; while the great depth of the subsoil water renders irrigation from wells, in the present condition of Panjáb agriculture, unprofitable, and the canals which can alone supply the necessary water are as yet non-existent.

88. Thus the supply of water becomes the most important factor in the conditions which determine the density of rural population in the Panjáb. It may be either natural or artificial; and the natural tendency obviously is for population to first occupy those tracts, other conditions being equal, where an ample rainfall enables them to dispense with those artificial aids the creation and employment of which involve considerable expenditure both of capital and labour. But these tracts once occupied, other considerations come into play as population increases and the standard of agricultural practice advances. The tracts in which the rainfall is heaviest are often not those in which the physical conformation of the ground and the nature of the soil are best adapted to the needs of the husbandman, while the most valuable crops can seldom be grown at all, and can never be cultivated to perfection, unless the rainfall be supplemented by artificial irrigation of some sort. Thus, given that the rainfall is fairly sufficient, those tracts in which a high spring level and a fertile soil render extensive irrigation from wells at once possible and profitable, tend to develop fastest and most highly and to attract the largest population in proportion to their area.

The action of Government in constructing those great canals which bring water to so large a portion of our thirsty land has also introduced another element into the question; for the use of canal water is of all methods of irrigation that which demands least labour from the cultivator, and, at least at the first, yields him the most abundant out-turn.

89. From the above considerations we arrive at the following cardinal conditions as primarily determining the density of the rural population in the Panjáb—

(1) That where the proportion of the culturable to the total area is actually small, a dense population is impossible;

(2) That where the rainfall is scanty, the population, in the absence of canal irrigation, will be scanty also;

(3) That, given a fairly sufficient rainfall, the population will be densest where circumstances have permitted or encouraged the development of extensive irrigation from wells or canals.

I will now examine the figures of Abstract No. 14 in the light of the above axioms. It is not to be expected that they will fall into an exact sequence, such as might have been predicted by the application of our formulæ. There are many conditions of minor importance which carry more or less weight in different parts of the Province. The intrinsic fertility of the alluvial soil of our plains, wonderfully uniform as it is on the whole considering the vastness of the area with which we are dealing, does vary sufficiently to affect seriously the capacity of certain tracts to support an agricultural population. The physical conformation of the country, while it in some places renders a dense population impossible, often affords pasture to extensive flocks and herds which supplement the produce of the fields; and the means of cheap and ready carriage afforded by the existence of a railway, by raising prices and increasing the profits of agriculture, have no inconsiderable effect in attracting population. Moreover our figures only represent in the most general manner the actual circumstances of each district; for physical conditions vary widely within its boundaries, our information is often imperfect, and our standards not always uniform. But it will be found that the considerations which I have indicated above determine the general distribution of the rural population, and that is all that can be expected without a discussion in greater detail than either my space or my information will admit of. I shall assume that the physical characteristics of the several tracts

Part III.—Distribution over Area.

into which I divided the Province in the first part of my introductory chapter have been borne in mind by the reader.

Abstract No. 14, *showing the* **Density of Rural and Total Population** *together with Statistics of* **Rainfall, Irrigation, and Cultivation** *for* **Districts** *arranged in* **order of Density.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	2	1
Serial No. of Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Density per square mile of: Rural Population.	Density per square mile of: Total Population.	Rainfall in inches.	Percentages of Area: Dry on Cultivated.	Percentages of Area: Culturable on Total.*	Percentages of Area: Cultivated on Culturable.	Serial order of magnitude in respect of: Total Area.	Total Population.	Col. 5. Rainfall.	Col. 6. Percentages of Area: Dry on Cultivated.	Col. 7. Percentages of Area: Culturable* on Total.	Col. 8. Percentages of Area: Cultivated on Culturable.	Col. 4. Density per square mile of: Total Population.	Col. 3. Density per square mile of: Rural Population.	Territorial Unit.	Serial No. of Tables.
9	Simla	1,162	2,386	64·1	94	100	83	32	32	2	2	1	8	1	1	Simla	9
10	Jalandhar	493	597	30·4	63	89	88	30	8	8	18	9	5	2	2	Jalandhar	10
15	Sialkot	474	517	38·8	69	84	82	24	2	4	17	13	10	4	3	Sialkot	15
13	Amritsar	448	567	25·9	58	86	88	28	5	15	22	11	6	3	4	Amritsar	13
V	*Amritsar Division.*	*444*	*510*	...	...	*83*	*87*	*5a*	*I*	...	...	*16b*	*6a*	*4a*	*4a*	*Amritsar Division.*	*V*
14	Gurdaspur	407	452	30·1	40	81	90	26	6	9	24	18	2	6	5	Gurdaspur	14
8	Ludhiana	390	450	24·7	82	91	89	29	15	16	8	8	3	7	6	Ludhiana	8
11	Hoshiarpur	380	413	36·4	94	63	89	22	4	5	3	26	4	9	7	Hoshiarpur	11
III	*Ambála Division.*	*374*	*436*	...	...	*82*	*80*	*8a*	*VI*	...	...	*16b*	*11a*	*7a*	*7a*	*Ambála Division*	*III*
7	Ambála	361	415	32·8	81	77	75	19	1	7	11	21	14	8	8	Ambála	7
1	Delhi	345	504	26·8	61	83	78	31	12	13	19	15	13	5	9	Delhi	1
21	Gujrat	328	349	27·4	78	84	69	23	10	12	12	14	17	10	10	Gujrat	21
2	Gurgaon	294	331	28·9	81	87	92	25	13	11	10	10	1	11	11	Gurgaon	2
I	*Delhi Division*	*277*	*340*	...	...	*83*	*73*	*4a*	*V*	...	...	*16a*	*15a*	*10a*	*11a*	*Delhi Division*	*I*
5	Rohtak	251	306	19·5	86	92	85	27	19	19	7	6	7	12	12	Rohtak	5
3	Karnál	227	260	29·2	60	81	54	21	14	10	20	17	22	13	13	Karnál	3
18	Ferozepur	212	236	19·0	26	92	83	17	11	20	28	5	9	17	14	Ferozepur	18
17	Gujranwala	211	238	26·9	83	79	47	18	16	14	9	20	24	15	15	Gujranwala	17
VI	*Lahore Division*	*206*	*244*	...	...	*85*	*64*	*2a*	*IV*	...	...	*12a*	*18a*	*14a*	*15a*	*Lahore Division*	*VI*
16	Lahore	197	253	17·0	54	85	59	11	3	22	23	12	19	14	16	Lahore	16
30	Peshàwar	*185*	*237*	*13·6*	*72*	75	75	*20*	*17*	*25*	*16*	*23*	*15*	*16*	*17*	Peshàwar	*30*
IV	*Jalandhar Division.*	*174*	*193*	...	...	*32*	*84*	*IV*	*III*	...	...	*29a*	*7a*	*17a*	*17a*	*Jalandhar Division*	*IV*
...	**Total British Territory.**	**154**	**177**	**26·7**	**66**	**70**	**49**	...	...	**14a**	**17a**	**24a**	**23a**	**17b**	**17b**	**Total British Territory.**	...
19	Ráwalpindi	151	169	33·3	98	39	80	6	7	6	1	29	12	18	18	Ráwalpindi	19
VII	*Ráwalpindi Division.*	*148*	*163*	...	...	*59*	*53*	*III*	*II*	...	...	*26a*	*22a*	*18a*	*18a*	*Ráwalpindi Division.*	*VII*
...	**Total Province**	**139**	**159**	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	**18b**	**18b**	**Total Province**	...
20	Jhelam	135	151	21·7	94	42	81	9	18	17	4	28	11	19	19	Jhelam	20
II	*Hissar Division*	*132*	*157*	...	...	*92*	*61*	*2c*	*VIII*	...	...	*6a*	*18b*	*18c*	*19a*	*Hissar Division*	*II*
31	Hazára	128	134	48·1	60	31	68	14	25	3	21	30	18	21	20	Hazára	31
X	*Peshàwar Division*	*121*	*140*	...	...	*40*	*70*	*2b*	*IX*	...	...	*28a*	*16a*	*20a*	*20a*	*Peshàwar Division*	*X*
4	Hissar	121	143	17·1	72	93	56	12	21	21	14	3	20	20	21	Hissar	4
26	Muzaffargarh	101	108	6·6	...	71	28	13	28	32	32	24	27	22	22	Muzaffargarh	26
...	**Total Native States.**	**96**	**108**	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	**22a**	**22a**	**Total Native States.**	...
22	Sháhpur	79	90	13·6	17	83	20	7	24	24	29	16	30	24	23	Sháhpur	22
23	Multán	79	94	6·6	...	93	23	3	20	31	31	4	28	23	24	Multán	23
29	Bannu	79	86	12·7	72	54	44	10	29	26	15	27	26	25	25	Bannu	29
12	Kángra	78	81	130·5	73	15	73	2	9	1	13	32	16	27	26	Kángra	12
VIII	*Multan Division.*	*76*	*84*	...	...	*87*	*17*	*I*	*VII*	...	...	*10a*	*30a*	*26a*	*26a*	*Mooltan Division*	VIII
6	Sirsa	74	84	15·2	92	91	53	15	30	23	5	7	23	26	27	Sirsa	6
25	Montgomery	72	77	9·6	30	96	10	5	23	28	27	2	32	29	28	Montgomery	25
28	Dera Ghazi Khán	71	80	7·1	33	76	47	8	27	30	26	22	25	28	29	D. G. Khán	28
24	Jhang	63	69	10·1	1	80	14	4	26	27	30	19	31	30	30	Jhang	24
IX	*Deraját Division.*	*58*	*64*	...	...	*66*	*32*	*II*	*X*	...	...	*25a*	*26a*	*31a*	*30a*	*Deraját Division*	*IX*
32	Kohat	58	64	21·4	90	16	56	16	31	18	6	31	21	31	31	Kohát	32
27	D. I. Khán	42	47	8·6	33	68	21	1	22	29	25	25	29	32	32	D. I. Khán	27

* Culturable includes cultivated area throughout the table.

90. District figures examined.—The districts in which the conditions of sufficient rainfall, nearness of spring level, and a fertile soil are combined in the highest degree, are the eight districts which run along the foot of the hills from the Jamna to the Jahlam, and form my submontane zone and the northern tract of the Eastern Plains. These eight districts stand among the first nine in our list. I exclude Simla altogether, as being utterly abnormal. Next to them in respect of the specified conditions come the four districts which lie in the Jamna zone; and these four, with the eight just mentioned, complete the first twelve districts of the Abstract. Immediately after them in order of density follow the three districts of Lahore, Fírozpur, and Gújránwála, the first two of which are included in the central block of the Eastern Plains, the next most fertile and best watered of the tracts into which I divided the Province, while Gújránwála was only excluded from it because it lay west of the meridian which I took as my boundary (see footnote to Section 19). These 15 districts stand among the 21 districts which have the largest rainfall in the Province. The remaining 6 districts arranged in order of density are Ráwalpindi with only 39 per cent., Jahlam with 42 per cent., Hazára with 31 per cent., Hissár, Kángra with only 15 per cent., and Kohát with 16 per cent. of its area culturable; of which all, with the exception of Hissár, are hill districts and contain large mountain areas, which where not absolutely uninhabitable, are at least incapable of cultivation. The

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first three stand 17th, 18th, 19th on the list[1], and following immediately after the fifteen districts already discussed. The last two stand 25th and 30th, their small culturable area neutralising their ample rainfall and putting them almost at the bottom of the list, though a considerable pastoral population raises Kángra, and the fact that it lies on a still unsettled border depresses Kohát. Hissár is 20th in order of rainfall, and much of it was not very long ago wholly uninhabited.

At the bottom of the list come the seven districts of the Western Plains and the two districts of the southern zone of the Eastern Plains with the scantiest rainfall in the Province, and Bannu with a small rainfall as well as a small culturable area. These ten districts stand among the twelve lowest in the list, Kángra and Kohát, which have been discussed above, making up the number. They also stand among the twelve districts of the Province which have the smallest rainfall, the other two being Lahore and Peshάwar which stand 15th and 16th on the list, and in which the irrigation from the Bári Doáb Canal and from hill streams reduces the proportion of unirrigated cultivation. Between these two groups come the frontier district of Peshάwar, and the districts of Ráwalpindi, Jahlam, and Hazára which have been already noticed. This completes the tale of districts for the Province.

91. Descending to greater detail, the five districts which stand highest of the eight first mentioned above are Jálandhar, Síálkot, Amritsar, Gurdáspur, and Lúdhiánah, or precisely those five in which the presence of a canal and a railway, and a distance from the hills sufficient to ensure the absence of broken ground or of boulder subsoil in which wells are impossible, but not so great as to reduce the rainfall too largely, permit agriculture to reach the highest level of excellence which it attains in the Panjáb. In the matter of rainfall all but one of these first eight districts stand above the next seven, which complete the first group of fifteen; while of these latter seven the four of densest population are also the four of largest rainfall, with the single exception of Rohtak where a canal assists with its water the finest Jat communities in the Province. The last ten districts stand almost in order of rainfall, the only exceptions of any moment being Muzaffargarh and Multán where inundation canals partly compensate for the niggardliness of the seasons, and Sirsa which is lower than its rainfall would place it, as it was an uninhabited waste only some sixty years ago.

Of the thirty-one districts under discussion only seven have less than two-thirds of their total area returned as culturable. Of these Hoshyárpur, with 63 per cent. of culturable, stands 6th on the list; but its position at the foot of the Himálayan range more than compensates for the presence of unculturable hills. Ráwalpindi, Jahlam and Hazára, with from 30 to 40 per cent. of culturable, occupy the centre of the list, their small culturable area and their abundant rainfall operating in opposite directions to give them an intermediate density of population. Bannu, with 54 per cent. of culturable soil, stands 26th, but this is chiefly due to its small rainfall; while Kángra and Kohát, which are the only two districts with more than three-quarters of their area unculturable, stand at the bottom of the list and have already been discussed.

92. Among the sub-divisions of districts the density varies greatly; though not as a rule so extremely as among districts. The most marked variations are perhaps in Hoshyárpur, where Una *tahsíl* has a rural density of 228 and Garhshankar of 510, in Fírozpur with a density of 115 in Muktsar and 307 in Zíra, in Ambála where Pípli has 244 and Rúpar 520 per square mile, in Bannu where the density of Lakki is 56 and of Bannu *tahsíl* 221, and in Ráwalpindi where Pindígheb has 60 and Gújar Khán 236 to the square mile. I give below all sub-divisions having a rural density of more than 450 or less than 50:—

Tahsil.	Density.	District.	Tahsil.	Density.	District.
Nawáshahr	552	Jálandhar.	Batála	452	Gurdáspur
Siálkot	539	Siálkot.	Spiti	1	Kángra
Nakodar	525	Jalandhar.	Láhul	3	,,
Rúpar	520	Ambála.	Kúlu Subdivision	17	,,
Zafarwál	516	Siálkot.	Bhakkar	35	Derah Ismáíl
Garhshankar	510	Hoshyárpur.	Kúlu Proper	38	Kángra
Dasúya	499	,,	Leiah	39	Derah Ismáíl
Samrála	486	Lúdhiána.	Kuláchi	42	,,
Amritsar	475	Amritsar.	Sarai Síddhu	44	Multán
Gújrát	469	Gújrát.	Rájanpur	46	Derah Ghází
Ajnála	460	Amritsar.	Khusháb	48	Sháhpur
Philaur	457	Jálandhar.	Teri	50	Kohát

The figures for all *tahsíls* will be found in columns 17 and 18 of Supplementary Table A, Appendix C.

93. Figures for Native States.—I have not abstracted the figures for Native States. They are given in column 13 of Table I, Appendix B. They agree fairly well with the figures for the neighbouring districts, and follow the same rule as regards the effect of position upon density. The highest density among the states of the Eastern Plains is 349 in Kapúrthála. Baháwalpur, with its extensive deserts, has a density of 35 only, or smaller than any British district. The Hill States as a whole have a density of 69, the lowest being Bashahr with its inaccessible mountains, which has only 19 to the square mile. But I do not believe that the areas of the smaller Hill States are correct; or, if they are, it is certain that Kuthár with a density of 521, Bíja with 289, Rawai with 251, and several others, include only fertile valleys and low hill sides.

94. Distribution of population over culturable and cultivated areas.—Abstract No. 15 shows the distribution of total agricultural population and of adult male agriculturists over the culturable and cultivated areas in each district. The agricultural population is that given in Supplementary Table B, (Appendix C), and is based upon the number of people who returned agriculture pure and simple as their sole occupation. A different estimate of the agricultural population is given in Table VIIIA, and the relative merits of the two sets of figures will be discussed in the chapter on occupations. Unhappily Table VIIIA is still in the press at Lahore, and the unfortunate necessity of printing as I write already alluded to, prevents me from discussing the figures of that table in the present relation. I have already remarked upon the uncertainty of the classification of culturable soil (§87). The areas for cultivation, though, as explained in §59, probably very inaccurate, are at any rate far more trustworthy than those for culturable areas; and I therefore arrange the districts in the order of density of rural population distributed over cultivated area.

[1] Simla, as I have just said, is excluded from consideration throughout.

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Abstract No. 15, *showing* **Density of Total, Rural, and Agricultural Population** *on* **Cultivated and Culturable Areas,** *together with Statistics of* **Rainfall, Cultivation, and Irrigation** *for* **Districts,** *arranged in* **order of Density.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	2	1
		Density per square mile of									Percentages of Area.		Serial order of magnitude in respect of												
		Cultivated Area.				Culturable Area[1].							Col. 11.	Col. 12.	Col. 13.	Col. 3.	Col. 4.	Col. 5.	Col. 6.	Col. 7.	Col. 8.	Col. 9.	Col. 10.		
														Percentages of Area.		Density per square mile of									
																Cultivated Area.				Culturable Area.					
Serial No. of Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Total Population.	Rural Population.	Agricultural Population.	Male Adult Agriculturists.	Total Population.	Rural Population.	Agricultural Population.	Male Adult Agriculturists.	Rainfall in inches.	Dry on Cultivated.	Cultivated on Culturable.	Rainfall.	Dry on Cultivated.	Cultivated on Culturable.	Total Population.	Rural Population.	Agricultural Population.	Male Adult Agriculturists.	Total Population.	Rural Population.	Agricultural Population.	Male Adult Agriculturists.	Territorial Unit.	Serial No. of Tables.
9	Simla	2,863	1,394	781	276	2,386	1,162	651	230	64·1	94	83	2	2	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Simla	9
12	Kángra	764	738	489	153	545	527	349	109	130·5	73	73	1	13	16	3	2	2	2	8	5	3	3	Kángra	12
25	Montgomery	763	721	337	100	80	75	35	10	9·6	30	10	28	27	32	4	3	10	12	31	31	31	31	Montgomery	25
15	Sialkot	753	691	359	111	622	570	303	91	38·8	69	82	4	17	10	6	4	7	7	5	3	5	6	Sialkot	15
IV	*Jalandhar Division*	*753*	*680*	*421*	*133*	*624*	*563*	*349*	*110*	...	...	*84*	...	...	*7a*	*6a*	*4a*	*3a*	*3a*	*4a*	*3a*	*3a*	*2a*	*Jalandhar Division*	*IV*
11	Hoshiarpur	736	676	418	138	659	605	374	124	36·4	94	89	5	3	4	8	5	4	3	3	2	2	2	Hoshiarpur	11
10	Jalandhar	762	630	364	108	671	554	320	95	30·4	63	88	8	18	5	5	6	6	8	2	4	4	4	Jalandhar	10
32	Kohát	696	626	377	114	385	347	209	63	21·4	90	56	18	6	21	10	7	5	5	14	14	14	15	Kohát	32
7	Ambála	718	623	357	113	539	468	268	85	32·8	81	75	7	11	14	9	8	8	6	9	8	9	8	Ambála	7
31	Hazára[2]	643	613	423	119	432	412	285	79	48·1	60	68	3	21	18	12	9	3	4	12	11	6	11	Hazára[2]	31
V	*Amritsar Division*	*703*	*612*	*324*	*101*	*611*	*532*	*282*	*88*	...	...	*87*	...	...	*6a*	*9a*	*9a*	*10a*	*11a*	*6a*	*4a*	*6a*	*7b*	*Amritsar Division*	*V*
13	Amritsar	746	589	296	94	656	518	271	83	25·9	58	88	15	22	6	7	10	14	15	4	6	8	9	Amritsar	13
17	Gujránwála	645	570	287	86	302	266	134	40	26·9	83	47	14	9	24	11	11	18	18	20	19	21	21	Gujránwála	17
III	*Ambála Division*	*660*	*566*	*342*	*110*	*530*	*455*	*275*	*88*	...	...	*80*	...	...	*11a*	*10a*	*11a*	*9a*	*7a*	*9a*	*8a*	*7a*	*7a*	*Ambála Division*	*III*
21	Gujrat	597	560	347	98	415	390	241	68	27·4	78	69	12	12	17	15	12	9	14	13	12	12	13	Gujrat	21
24	Jhang	615	557	270	80	86	78	38	11	10·1	1	14	27	30	31	14	13	19	19	30	30	30	30	Jhang	24
14	Gurdáspur	616	555	288	98	558	503	268	89	30·1	40	90	9	24	2	13	14	17	13	7	7	10	7	Gurdáspur	14
1	Delhi	784	536	314	105	615	420	246	82	26·8	61	78	13	19	13	2	15	12	10	6	10	11	10	Delhi	1
3	Karnál	586	513	312	107	319	279	170	58	29·2	60	54	10	20	22	16	16	13	9	18	17	18	18	Karnál	3
26	Muzaffargarh	545	510	294	87	153	143	83	25	6·6	...	28	32	32	27	18	17	15	17	25	24	25	24	Muzaffargarh	26
VIII	*Multán Division*	*557*	*502*	*248*	*74*	*97*	*87*	*43*	*13*	...	...	*17*	...	...	*30a*	*16a*	*17a*	*20a*	*20a*	*28b*	*27b*	*28b*	*28b*	*Multán Division*	*VIII*
19	Ráwalpindi	541	485	293	93	433	388	234	75	33·3	98	80	6	1	12	19	18	16	16	11	13	13	12	Ráwalpindi	19
8	Ludhiána	553	479	318	104	490	424	281	92	24·7	82	89	16	8	3	17	19	11	11	10	9	7	5	Ludhiána	8
VII	*Ráwalpindi Division*	*522*	*473*	*285*	*85*	*276*	*250*	*151*	*45*	...	...	*53*	...	...	*23a*	*19a*	*19a*	*18a*	*18b*	*21b*	*19a*	*19a*	*19a*	*Ráwalpindi Divn*	*VII*
I	*Delhi Division*	*555*	*452*	*273*	*89*	*407*	*332*	*200*	*65*	...	...	*73*	...	...	*16a*	*16b*	*19b*	*18b*	*16a*	*13a*	*15a*	*15b*	*13a*	*Delhi Division*	*I*
22	Sháhpur	514	451	248	70	108	94	52	15	13·6	17	20	24	29	30	20	20	20	22	27	27	28	28	Sháhpur	22
	Total British Territory.	**514**	**448**	**263**	**81**	**257**	**224**	**131**	**41**	**26·7**	**66**	**49**	**14a**	**17a**	**23b**	**20a**	**20a**	**19a**	**18c**	**22a**	**22a**	**21a**	**20a**	**Total British Territory.**	...
X	*Peshawar Division*	*520*	*447*	*288*	*86*	*364*	*313*	*202*	*60*	...	...	*70*	...	...	*16b*	*19b*	*20b*	*17a*	*18a*	*15a*	*16a*	*15a*	*15a*	*Peshawar Division*	*X*
20	Jhelam	442	396	247	74	354	317	198	59	21·7	94	81	17	4	11	22	21	21	20	16	16	16	17	Jhelam	20
16	Lahore	507	395	192	61	299	233	113	36	17·0	54	59	22	23	19	21	22	26	26	21	21	22	22	Lahore	16
VI	*Lahore Division*	*449*	*379*	*203*	*62*	*286*	*241*	*129*	*39*	...	...	*64*	...	...	*18a*	*21a*	*22a*	*25a*	*25a*	*21a*	*20a*	*21b*	*21a*	*Lahore Division*	*VI*
23	Multán	442	371	175	53	100	84	40	12	6·6	...	23	31	31	28	23	23	29	28	28	28	29	29	Multán	23
2	Gurgaon	414	367	224	68	381	338	206	63	28·9	81	93	11	10	1	25	24	23	23	15	15	15	14	Gurgaon	2
29	Bannu	365	337	235	67	163	150	105	20	12·7	72	44	26	15	26	27	25	22	24	23	23	23	25	Bannu	29
30	Pesháwar	419	328	204	64	315	246	153	48	13·6	72	75	25	16	15	24	26	25	25	19	20	19	19	Pesháwar	30
5	Rohtak	391	321	212	70	331	272	180	59	19·5	86	85	19	7	7	26	27	24	21	17	18	17	16	Rohtak	5
27	Dera Ismail Khan	351	313	171	48	70	63	34	10	8·6	33	21	29	25	29	28	28	30	30	32	32	32	32	Dera Ismail Khan	27
18	Ferozpur	310	278	175	52	257	231	145	43	19·0	26	83	20	28	9	29	29	28	29	22	22	20	20	Ferozpur	18
IX	*Deraját Division*	*304*	*272*	*163*	*47*	*98*	*88*	*52*	*15*	...	...	*32*	...	...	*26a*	*29a*	*29a*	*30b*	*30a*	*28a*	*27a*	*28a*	*28a*	*Deraját Division*	*IX*
4	Hissar	278	236	180	59	154	131	100	33	17·1	72	56	21	14	20	30	30	27	27	24	25	24	23	Hissar	4
II	*Hissar Division*	*278*	*234*	*168*	*55*	*169*	*142*	*102*	*33*	...	...	*61*	...	...	*18b*	*30a*	*30a*	*30a*	*27a*	*22b*	*24a*	*23a*	*23a*	*Hissar Division*	*II*
28	Dera Gházi Khán	231	203	114	35	110	96	54	16	7·1	33	47	30	26	25	31	31	31	32	26	26	27	27	Dera Gházi Khán	28
6	Sirsa	171	150	111	35	90	79	59	18	15·2	92	53	23	5	23	32	32	32	31	29	29	26	26	Sirsa	6

[1] Culturable includes cultivated area throughout the table.

[2] The population of Tanáwal and Phúlra is excluded, as these tracts are not included in the cultivated and culturable areas.

Part III.—Distribution over Area.

95. It would be waste of time to attempt any lengthened examination of these figures. They are, so far as the accuracy of the areas for cultivation and culturable can be relied on, important and valuable as statistics; but they depend so greatly upon detailed considerations, such as fertility of soil, means and nature of irrigation, standard of agricultural practice and the like, and the density over the comparatively small cultivated area is so largely affected by minor causes, such as the combination of pastoral or industrial pursuits with agriculture, the presence of a large floating population employed on great public works, and so forth, that to compare the figures to any good purpose would involve an elaborate discussion of conditions and limitations which will be present to the mind of each district officer when he sees the figures which relate to his district. It will be sufficient to indicate one or two of the most salient points brought out by the figures for density over cultivated area.

Perhaps the most striking fact is the great fluctuation in the number of souls following agriculture as their sole occupation which a square mile of cultivation supports (column 5), varying as it does from between 300 and 400 in the districts in which a high standard of cultivation prevails, to between 100 and 200 in those parts where soil is poor, irrigation scanty, or agricultural development backward. There is no doubt whatever that in some of our most populous districts the capacity of the soil to support agricultural population has, in the present state of Indian agriculture, been strained to the utmost. In 10 of our districts there are less than 2 cultivated acres per soul of the agricultural community, and in 16 less than 1¼ cultivated acres per soul of the rural population. The figures of column 14 show how largely the rainfall regulates the density of population, even over cultivated areas; while a comparison of them with those of column 15 shows the correcting effect of irrigation. Where the order of rainfall is widely departed from, a correspondingly low or high figure in column 15 generally explains the deviation by showing that irrigation is scanty or the reverse. Comparing the order of districts in Abstracts Nos. 14 and 15, we note how the hill districts and the districts of the Western Plains have risen in the list; chiefly indeed because the large uncultivated and, for all immediate purposes, unculturable area is no longer included in the calculation; but largely also, as shown by the actual position of those districts in Abstract No. 15 itself, by the fact that in many of the western districts inundation canals irrigate a considerable portion of the cultivation, while in both hills and plains pastoral pursuits largely supplement agriculture, and the rural population is not so wholly dependent on the produce of its fields as in the more populous plains to the east of Lahore.

The greatest density of permanent population over cultivated area is probably reached in Láhul, where there are more than 1,200 souls per square mile of cultivation. But this is due, not to real density of population, which is wholly confined to the valleys and averages only 2·7 per square mile of total area, but to the fact that the local cultivation, which is conducted almost wholly by the women, is so limited in extent that it does not produce sufficient grain to support the people, the geographical position of the tract throwing almost the whole carrying trade between India and Tibet into the hands of the Láhulis, who derive from that employment the greater portion of their livelihood. In the Murree tahsil of the Ráwalpindi district, indeed, the population enumerated at the Census averages over 1,300 per cultivated square mile; but a considerable portion of this consists of men whom bad seasons in the plains had driven with their herds into the Murree hills in search of pasture.

96. Distribution of villages over area.—It is possible that two tracts having the same density of population shall have that population very differently distributed over their areas, the people being scattered widely in small hamlets in the one case and collected in large villages at considerable distances apart in the other. For instance, the number of souls per square mile in Derah Ghází and Montgomery is the same within a decimal of a soul. But, the average village containing 536 persons in the one case and only 250 in the other, the villages are nearly half as distant again from each other in the former as in the latter district. Column 11 of Table I shows the number of villages per square mile; but I think that the fourth column of Abstract No. 16 below, which shows the average distance from each village to its neighbour supposing them to be equally distributed over the area [1], puts the facts in a far more striking light.

[1] NOTE.—The distance is calculated thus:—Let the area be divided off into equal and regular hexagons, at the centres and angles of which the villages are situated. Then the villages are equidistant, the distance from each to its neighbour being the side of one of the hexaagons—

If N = number of hexagons in 100 square miles.
n = number of villages in 100 square miles.
d = the side of a hexagon.

Then,

$$n = 3N$$

and area $= N.\frac{3d^2\sqrt{3}}{2} = 100$

$$\therefore \quad d^2 = \frac{200}{n\sqrt{3}}$$

and $d = \log.^{-1}\left(\frac{\log. 200 - \log. n - \frac{\log. 3}{2}}{2}\right)$

$= \log.^{-1}\left(\frac{2{\cdot}0624694 - \log. n}{2}\right)$

Part III.—Distribution over Area.

Abstract No. 16, *showing the* **Average Distance from Village to Village** *for* **Districts** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Serial No. of Tables.	DISTRICT.	No. of Villages per 100 square miles.	Average Distance from Village to Village in miles.	Serial order of magnitude.	Serial No. of Tables.	DISTRICT.	No. of Villages per 100 square miles.	Average Distance from Village to Village in miles.	Serial order of magnitude.
9	Simla	1,461	0·28	1	19	Ráwalpindi	34	1·84	17
14	Gurdaspur	125	0·96	2	25	Montgomery	29	2·00	18
15	Sialkot	118	0·99	3	30	Peshávar	28	2·03	19
11	Hoshiarpur	96	1·10	4	5	Rohtak	27	2·07	20
10	Jalandhar	91	1·13	5	20	Jhelam	24	2·19	21
7	Ambala	87	1·15	6	23	Multán	22	2·29	22
21	Gujrat	68	1·30	7	26	Muzaffargarh	22	2·29	23
13	Amritsar	66	1·32	8	6	Sirsa	21	2·34	24
8	Ludhianah	62	1·36	9	4	Hissar	18	2·53	25
2	Gurgaon	60	1·39	10	22	Sháhpur	14	2·87	26
1	Delhi	55	1·45	11	24	Jhang	13	2·98	27
17	Gujranwala	46	1·58	12	28	Dera Ghází Khán	13	2·98	28
18	Ferozepur	43	1·64	13	32	Kohát	13	2·98	29
16	Lahore	41	1·68	14	29	Bannu	12	3·10	30
31	Hazára	39	1·72	15	12	Kángra	8	3·80	31
3	Karnál	36	1·79	16	27	Dera Ismail Khán	8	3·80	32

Of course it must be remembered that what we are dealing with is the village of our tables, and that when it includes a number of hamlets the population is not really so widely scattered as would appear from the above figures; also that the figures are merely averages for the whole district, and that in Kángra, for instance, the inclusion of the uninhabited mountain tracts of Spiti and Láhul raises the average distance unduly.

Part IV.—Distribution among Houses and Families.

PART IV.—DISTRIBUTION AMONG HOUSES AND FAMILIES.

97. Significance of house statistics.—I have already briefly indicated in paragraphs 30, 31 the difficulties which were encountered in deciding what should be considered a "house" for Census purposes; and the subject is discussed at length in the chapter on Preliminary Operations in Book II of this Report. In that chapter, which I wrote before examining the figures, I stated that I believed the "house" as recorded in the present Census to be comparatively valueless for statistical purposes; and the figures themselves only confirm that opinion. I have already described in the passages above quoted the common courtyard, opening by a single doorway from the street, round which are ranged the buildings occupied by families closely connected with one another, and by their cattle. It was intended that in the villages at least the "house" should correspond with the courtyard wherever it was found to exist and was not of unmanageable size. And many of the Deputy Commissioners expressly state that this was the course generally adopted, though some few add that they considered it a wrong one, and substituted for it the numbering of individual buildings wherever they had the opportunity of doing so. Yet the figures scarcely seem, judging from my own limited experience of the Province, to bear out this statement. I can hardly believe that in the villages of the Dehli district there are on an average less than two, in Karnál only 1⅓, and in Rohtak only 1½ families living in each courtyard. I suspect the fact is that the permission to sub-divide where the enclosure was large was freely taken advantage of, and that the "house" which was numbered was often merely that unit which seemed in each case most convenient for the practical purposes of enumeration. Still in a very large majority of cases that unit would correspond with the courtyard. On former occasions the "enclosure" and "house," corresponding respectively with our "house" and "family," were numbered separately. But the result does not seem to have been successful. In 1855 the average number of souls per enclosure was 9·99, but the figures fluctuate in the most extraordinary manner between the two extremes of 29·90 and 5·97. In 1868 the average was 7·62, and the fluctuations hardly less remarkable between 23·38 and 5·16. In the present Census the average for British Territory was 6·96, the figures ranging from 9·73 to 4·97.

98. Our results at any rate disclose none of those startling aberrations which appear in the figures of the two former Censuses; and, while I do not think they can be accepted as accurately representing the statistics for any single form of building or enclosure, which indeed they were not supposed to do under the strict letter of the instructions, I do think that in the villages at least, where the difficulties were less and the numbers dealt with are enormous, and in the totals where the numbers are still larger, they may be taken as representing with a very fair degree of accuracy the distribution of the people among houses or small enclosures; while the *relative* results probably express almost exactly the relative degrees in which the population of various portions of the Province is collected into common courtyards or dispersed over isolated houses. In the towns the difficulties, as explained elsewhere, were so great that uniformity was almost impossible, the numbers dealt with were generally too small for individual peculiarities of structure or treatment to neutralise one another, and the figures of column 12 in Table XX, Appendix A present variations which are in all probability often due to diversity of system rather than to dissimilarity in the actually existing conditions.

99. Figures discussed.—Abstract No. 17 shows the number of families and of persons per house in villages and towns respectively for the districts and major states of the Province. The former I consider the more valuable of the two sets of statistics. The number of persons per family, to be discussed presently, shows us the size of the groups into which the people are associated round a common hearth. The number of families per house shows how far those groups are collected within a common building or enclosure. The number of souls per house is merely an arithmetical deduction from these two data. If indeed the house were a single building, as in England, the figures would afford some indication of the amount of house-room enjoyed by the people; though even then the inclusion of the single-roomed hut and the town-house of several flats in the same set of figures would greatly reduce their significance. But the courtyard is so indefinite a unit and capable of so great expansion, that the number of persons living in each tells us little of the closeness with which they are packed.

Abstract No. 17, *showing the* **Number of Families and Persons per House** *for* **Districts and States** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Serial No. in Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Villages.		Towns.		Serial order according to	
		No. of Families per 100 occupied houses.	No. of Persons per 100 occupied houses.	No. of Families per 100 occupied houses.	No. of Persons per 100 occupied houses.	Column 3.	Column 4.
22	*Bhajji*	*308*	*2,080*	...	...	...*a*	...*a*
20	*Baghal*	*259*	*1,427*	...	...	...*b*	...*b*
2	Gurgaon	236	989	207	861	1	1
5	*Faridkot*	*207*	*1,038*	*144*	*666*	*1a*	...*c*
15	Sialkot	198	909	182	690	2	4
I	Delhi Division	198	931	204	869	2*a*	2*a*
18	Ferozpur	196	919	166	610	3	3
15	*Bilaspur*	*193*	*899*	...	...	*3a*	*4a*
1	Delhi	188	855	203	929	4	6
9	*Pataudi*	*188*	*784*	*107*	*522*	*4a*	*11a*
21	Gujrát	183	853	142	579	5	7
V	Amritsar Division	183	827	156	597	5*a*	7*b*
20	Jhelum	182	825	188	761	6	8
13	Amritsar	179	793	150	583	7	11
31	Hazára	179	605	135	573	8	21
7	Ambála	178	769	151	565	9	13
8	*Dujana*	*174*	*813*	*160*	*745*	*9a*	*9a*

Part IV.—Distribution among Houses and Families.

Abstract No. 17, *showing the* **Number of Families and Persons per House** *for* **Districts and States** *arranged in* **order of magnitude**—*continued.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		Villages.		Towns.		Serial order according to	
Serial No. in Tables.	Territorial Unit.	No. of Families per 100 occupied houses.	No. of Persons per 100 occupied houses.	No. of Families per 100 occupied houses.	No. of Persons per 100 occupied houses.	Column 3.	Column 4.
6	Sirsa	171	859	160	670	10	5
14	Gurdaspur	169	770	147	550	11	12
3	*Kapurthala*	*169*	*700*	*143*	*540*	*11a*	*17a*
3	Karnál	168	941	204	750	12	2
7	*Kalsia*	*166*	*744*	*765*	*644*	*12a*	*14c*
VII	Rawalpindi Division	165	779	157	653	12b	11b
10	Jálandhar	162	701	137	607	13	17
5	Rohtak	159	756	153	676	14	14
19	Ráwalpindi	159	819	154	679	15	9
III	Ambala Division	157	687	162	595	15a	17b
II	Hissar Division	156	752	153	653	15b	14b
X	Peshawar Division	156	667	150	655	15c	18b
...	**Total British Territory.**	**152**	**707**	**156**	**635**	**15d**	**15a**
4	*Jind*	*149*	*617*	*152*	*496*	*15e*	*19e*
4	Hissar	147	703	150	622	16	16
...	**Total of Province**	**147**	**684**	**154**	**617**	**16a**	**18a**
17	Gujránwala	144	732	122	514	17	15
32	Kohát	141	802	176	882	18	10
IV	Jalandhar Division	140	635	139	586	18a	19a
VI	Lahore Division	140	702	144	572	18b	16a
30	Pesháwar	138	684	150	646	19	18
11	*Baháwalpur*	*138*	*659*	*141*	*541*	*19a*	*18c*
22	Sháhpur	135	584	148	582	20	25
12	Kángra	134	654	155	564	21	19
2	*Nabha*	*134*	*624*	*137*	*613*	*21a*	*19c*
8	Ludhiana	132	592	159	606	22	23
11	Hoshiarpur	131	579	137	558	23	26
...	**Total Native States**	**128**	**597**	**142**	**535**	**23a**	**22a**
9	Simla	127	545	264	808	24	30
...	Eastern Plains	127	577	141	526	24a	26a
28	Dera Ghází Khán	124	613	162	681	25	20
29	Bannu	123	585	126	551	26	24
13	*Chamba*	*123*	*573*	*120*	*611*	*26a*	*28b*
24	Jhang	122	574	194	805	27	28
10	*Loharu*	*122*	*849*	*338*	*853*	*27a*	*7a*
...	Hill States	122	618	150	684	27b	19d
IX	Derajat Division	119	554	141	579	27c	29a
23	Multán	118	599	149	542	28	22
VIII	Multan Division	118	574	152	588	28a	28a
12	*Mandi*	*117*	*592*	*188*	*1,442*	*28b*	*23a*
17	*Nalagarh*	*117*	*516*	*153*	*563*	*28c*	*31c*
26	Muzaffargarh	115	544	150	549	29	31
25	Montgomery	114	570	123	564	30	29
1	*Patiála*	*114*	*526*	*134*	*486*	*30a*	*31a*
27	Dera Ismail Khán	112	493	134	523	31	32
6	*Malerkotla*	*112*	*503*	*182*	*704*	*31a*	*31d*
18	*Suket*	*110*	*601*	*234*	*2,323*	*31b*	*21a*
16	Lahore	108	575	145	583	32	27
14	*Nahan*	*105*	*519*	*158*	*561*	*32a*	*31b*
19	*Keonthal*	*105*	*493*	...	...	*32b*	*32a*
21	*Jubbal*	*104*	*629*	...	...	*32c*	*19b*
16	*Bashahr*	*100*	*754*	...	...	*32d*	*14a*

It will be seen that the number of families per house is largest (2·36) in Gurgaon, and Dehli follows close upon it. The average for British Territory practically divides the districts equally, fifteen being above, and seventeen below it. If the line be drawn two places lower down, between Hissár and Gújránwála, the sixteen districts below it comprise *all* the districts west of Lahore except the sub-montane and hill districts of Síálkot, Gújrát, Jahlam, Hazára, and Ráwalpindi; while the sixteen above it include *all* the districts east of Lahore except Lúdhiána and the sub-montane and hill districts of Kángra, Hoshyárpur, and Simla; that is to say, in the plains the number of families per house is highest in the east and lowest in the west; in the hills precisely the reverse is the case. The Hill States, with the exception of Bhajji and Baghát where the hamlet has apparently been taken as the house, and of Biláspur, follow the same rule, while among the States of the Plains, Patiála, Nábha, and Loháru are the only exceptions.

100. Conditions which determine the distribution by houses.—It is well known that in the eastern hills of the Panjáb, where the houses are built of stone instead of mud, the common courtyard is practically non-existent; while the manner in which the houses are scattered over the great plains of the Multán and Derajàt Divisions has already been described. In fact it may be broadly said that where the hamlet is the unit of habitation the families live in separate houses; where the large compact village is the rule they inhabit joint courtyards. The same causes no doubt operate to produce both effects. Where the people find it necessary to live within the walls of a semi-fortified village, space is limited and is economised by the joint use of a courtyard. Where the people are scattered widely over the country, it is easy to build new houses as the increasing families sub-divide.

The great grazing districts of the Multán division, Lahore and Derah Ismáíl come lowest of all in the list, and above them the other districts of the Derajàt: and these are precisely the districts in which the proportion of the people which was till lately nomad, and is still semi-nomad in its habits, is largest. But there is another cause which probably operates largely to separate families in the west and bring them together under a common roof in the east, and that is the difference in religion and in the social customs which accompany it. Among Hindus, and among Mahomedan converts in tracts where the old customs still survive in almost unabated strength, a man cannot marry within his tribe, and cousins are as brothers and sisters, there being no term to distinguish them. Here then the group of related families can safely live together, and, as among themselves, there is no need to seclude the women. But in the western districts, where the very limited restrictions which the law of Islám interposes on inter-marriage have been very generally substituted for the old tribal custom, connection with a first cousin even would not be incest; and the oriental belief that chastity in woman is possible only under conditions which render unchastity impossible keeps the families apart. The comparatively high place occupied by the hilly districts of the Ráwalpindi and Peshàwar divisions is perhaps owing to the custom there prevalent of the landowner allowing his tenants or field-labourers, often of inferior caste, to occupy a part of his house; a custom which the stricter caste rules of the eastern and central Panjáb render impossible in those portions of the Province. The general tendency shown by comparison of the figures for the three Panjáb Censuses (1855—9·99: 1868—7·62: 1881—6·96) seems to be towards greater separation of dwellings. The figures

Part IV.—Distribution among Houses and Families.

are not based upon uniform data, and much stress cannot be laid on the comparison; but the tendency is in accord with the general progress (if it *is* progress) towards severalty, which every day becomes more and more marked under our occidental rule.

101. It will be noticed that the number of families per house is far more uniform in the town than in the village, being larger for towns than for villages where the average for villages is low, and larger for villages than for towns where the average for villages is high. This is only a natural consequence of the greater uniformity of the conditions within urban limits, and of the abandonment of caste restrictions which poverty and want of space impose upon the poorer portion of our town population.

102. Unoccupied houses.—The question of unoccupied houses is discussed in the chapter on Preliminary Operations in Book II of the Report. In the whole Province there are 28, and in British Territory 27 unoccupied for every 100 occupied houses in villages only; but the proportion rises as high as 68 in Muzaffargarh, 59 in Rohtak, 46 in Baháwalpur, 44 in Jálandhar, and 41 in Gurgáon. On the other hand, it falls as low as 17 in Fírozpur and Derah Ismáíl, 15 in Nábha, 14 in Pesháwar, 13 in Hazára, 11 in Jahlam, 10 in Sirsa and Chamba, and below 10 in several of the larger Hill States. The village figures for divisions are as follow:—

Division		Division	
Delhi	37	Amritsar	27
Hissár	35	Lahore	23
Multán	35	Deraját	22
Ambála	32	Ráwalpindi	18
Jálandhar	29	Pesháwar	14

Generally it may be said that the proportion of unoccupied houses is largest where the two extremes of density or sparseness of population, and of high careful cultivation or large areas under inferior crops prevail, and lowest where intermediate conditions obtain and in the hills. But there are striking exceptions for which no explanation but diversity of system can be offered. In Gurgáon, I fear, the high figure tells a tale of death and emigration due to disease and distress. In the villages the greater part of these unoccupied houses consist either of huts built out in the fields for the shelter of the husbandman, or of buildings within the courtyard and occupied by the cattle. The former are classed as houses, because the rule that watchers in the field should be enumerated as if at home was not properly understood while the house-numbering was going on; the latter, because one or more members of the family generally sleep with the cattle for security against theft, and also because in many cases the dwellings occupied by people and cattle are identical in structure, and the latter are always liable to be turned out to make room for a visitor or to suit the family convenience. The inclusion of the former class of buildings among the unoccupied houses seems to explain the general rule stated above which governs the figures. Where a dense population is collected in great villages and cultivates the superior crops, the fields need more constant attention and are better worth protecting; while where the area under the plough is large in proportion to population, and scattered throughout the jungle wherever a local hollow collects the surface drainage, the crops must be watched by night if anything is to be saved from the havoc caused by wild animals. In both extremes outlying huts are more common than under intermediate conditions. In the hills and in the Pesháwar and Ráwalpindi divisions, where the cold of a winter night is not to be trifled with, these huts are occupied in the summer only.

103. In towns the proportion of unoccupied to every 100 occupied houses is invariably much larger than in villages, averaging 47 for British Territory and the Province. It is also far more uniform, though it also ranges between 92 in Derah Gházi and 20 in Kohát. The bulk of these unoccupied houses in the towns consist of shops, mosques, and other similar buildings only occupied by day. In the villages the shop-keeper almost invariably has his shop and house in the same building. In the towns the wealthier traders live away from their places of business; and, as Mr. Drummond remarks, "the separation of the shop and the dwelling house is an æra in the history of every progressive trading family." Still among the shop-keepers of moderate means one of the family often sleeps in the shop to save the expense of a private watchman; and where, as is not unfrequently the case, he also cooks his meals in the shop, it should be, and probably was, returned as an occupied house. It may be that the increase at successive enumerations of the proportion of unoccupied to occupied houses in individual towns may vary with the commercial prosperity of the town. On the present occasion we have no earlier figures with which to make comparison. Mr. Drummond suggests that in new towns it seems more the fashion than it was in old ones to build the dwelling-house in connection with the shop. I cannot say either from my own experience or from that of others how generally true this statement may be.

104. The confocal family.—The "family" or group which eats food cooked at a common hearth is the unit which of all other social units is most familiar to the native mind, and the statistics which relate to it are probably among the most accurate which we have obtained. It is true that, owing to my own negligence as explained in paragraph 55, there may have been some confusion about the treatment of travellers and the like; but at the most the population in question is, in the villages at least, so infinitesimally small that the figures will not have been appreciably affected. Abstract No. 18 on page 45 gives the number of souls per family in villages and towns respectively for the districts and major states of the Province,

The first point which strikes us on glancing at the figures is the utter absence of those large undivided families which the student is so accustomed to associate with the very idea of Hindu society. In Kángra 95, and in Rohtak 89 per cent. of the village population are Hindus, yet the average family consists of 4·87 souls in the one and of 4·75 in the other. In Eastern Bengal indeed, the great undivided family, living and having all things in common, and cultivating under the guidance of a single head the land which is jointly owned by the whole family, occasionally comprises "in Calcutta, and possibly even in the rural tracts, as many as "300 or 400 individuals including servants; while it is probably usual for a family to amount to something "between 50 and 100[1];" but such an institution is absolutely unknown in the Panjáb. Mr. Drummond remarks

[1] Calcutta Review, Vol. LXIX, 1874, p. 207, quoted by Mr. Tupper.

Part IV.—Distribution among Houses and Families.

that to the Panjáb peasant the tribe or the village community supplies the place of the undivided family: "the young men of the village are his brothers and the grey beards his fathers, the children "following the village herd as he drives the cattle to their rest in the common pen his nephews and nieces, "the field is his home, and the settlement his undivided family." It would require a far closer knowledge than I possess of the constitution of village society in Bengal to decide how far the parallel holds good. But the remark, like most of Mr. Drummond's remarks, is eminently suggestive; and it is not impossible that it contains the germ of an idea which, fully worked out, would explain the utter unsuitability to the conditions under which society exists in the Panjáb, of that compilation of Bengal[1] custom, overlaid by the glosses of generations of Bengali commentators and interpreted by Bengali Pandits, which under the misleading title of Hindu law our Courts have endeavoured to impose upon the country at large. This much at least is certain, that the distinction in matters of inheritance between the joint and the divided family upon which so much stress is laid by the Hindu law of the Pandits, is unknown at any rate to the peasantry of the Panjáb; and that if it obtains anywhere, it is among the Bráhmans and mercantile and writer classes of the cities, who in this as in many other respects affect a purism in religious and other matters treated of in the *Shástras* which is quite foreign to the more primitive customs of their rustic brethren.

105. The usual course of affairs in a Panjáb household is somewhat as follows. The children grow up and marry as a matter of course under their father's roof. After a time the girls go off to their husbands, and the sons bring their wives home to live with them; but the latter are still mere youths, and the family continues to live together. As however the sons and daughters-in-law grow up, and as new brides are brought to the family hearth, dissensions arise among the women which at last become unbearable, and the elder sons with their wives and children separate, each family receiving a part of the common house or a separate building in the common courtyard, and cooking its meals and managing its income and domestic expenses separately. After a while the parents grow old and are received into one of the younger groups, or live with all by turns. So matters go on till after some generations the group of families becomes too large for the house or courtyard; another is built, and a further separation takes place, the more closely-related families living together in either of the two buildings. Sometimes the separation of the sons is deferred till the death of the father dissolves the common tie; but it is more usual for it to take place as soon as they have married and grown up.

106. The proprietary group.—But this separation of confocal families is a purely domestic arrangement, and extends only to expenditure on food, clothes, and the like. It results almost invariably from disagreements among the women, and does not as a rule affect the land, in the management of which they have no voice. The large undivided family, if it is unknown as a social or domestic unit, still forms to a great extent the basis of property in the land of the Panjáb. On our western frontier, where tribal organisation is strongest and tribal tenures prevail, the land is most commonly held jointly by the tribe or clan, the shares in a single village sometimes numbering as many as 36,000. But I would go further than this. I would say that, even where the village community has most completely superseded the tribe as the owner of land, the joint family was till not very long ago, and as far as landed rights only are concerned, almost co-extensive with the proprietary body of that community, or at least of each of its sections. I believe that I am only exaggerating the truth when I say that the *bháyáchárá* village, where land is held in severalty, is an invention of our own. I have given at length, in Chapter VII of my Settlement Report of Karnál, my reasons for thinking that such was the case in that district; and though the Sikh revenue system, under which strangers were freely admitted to cultivating rights which could hardly be distinguished from ownership since ownership itself gave little more than the right to cultivate, doubtless obscured the original constitution of the village, yet the more I study the settlement reports of the Panjáb proper, the more I am convinced that what I found to have existed in old days in the Karnál district was the rule in the Panjáb, at least wherever the village community was fully developed, to a much wider extent than is generally admitted. In the report already alluded to I wrote as follows:—

"I think there can be but little doubt that, till the English rule, individual property in land, in the sense in which we understand it, was unknown in the tract. Each village held the area surrounding its homestead, the dividing boundaries being scarcely "defined. Land was plentiful, cultivators were scarce, almost any body was welcome to break up as much as he could cultivate, and "the owner who induced a tenant to settle and bear a share of the burden of the revenue conferred a benefit upon the community "at large. * * * The ancestral shares of each household of the land-owning community were carefully preserved, and "regulated the interest of each in the waste lands and the adjustment of village joint income and expenditure; but the area of land "held by each in cultivating possession varied with its ability to cultivate rather than with its rateable share in the village. The "theory, however, that the plot of land so held by the members of a family was their own to do what they pleased with, was wholly "foreign to the ideas of the people. Sales of land were unknown; and when the owner became, from failure of appliances, unable to "cultivate as much as formerly, the community arranged if possible for the cultivation of the abandoned fields, while the owner "remained responsible for the revenue of only so much land as he actually held. When we first made a record of rights in land, "our primary object was to obtain a record of liability for revenue, which depended wholly upon cultivating possession. But we "went further than this. We of course preserved as a rule, though not always with entire success, the distinction between owner "and tenant; but instead of recording each constituent household of the proprietary body as entitled to a fractional share in the "village, and as merely holding in cultivating possession the land cultivated by its members or by tenants whom they had settled, "we recorded and treated it, or rather the individual who was its temporary head, as absolute owner of that land, and entered as "common property only such land as was either uncultivated, or was held by tenants who had been settled by the village in general "or by one of its sub-divisions. The proprietary rights so created are now, of course, indefeasible. But I believe such property in "severalty, based solely upon actual possession, to have been entirely a creation of our own; that before our time the breaking up "of land gave the cultivator a right to hold that land undisturbed so long as he paid the revenue on it, but gave him no further "rights; and that it gave him this much whether he was an owner or not."

By "village community" I here mean a natural group of families having common interests in land. Where, as described in sections 65, 66, the village is purely artificial, the real community, the real proprietary unit is limited to the individual hamlet or well, and does not comprise all the separate hamlets or wells which we may happen to have included within a common boundary.

[1] I know that the Bengal school is not the only school of Hindu law. But a Brahminical code once established, Commentaries dating from the several centres of Brahminism would naturally follow. A comparison of the doctrines of the different schools, undertaken with the view of discovering how far each had been affected by the local conditions of society in the place of its birth, would probably lead to results of the greatest interest.

Part IV.—Distribution among Houses and Families.

107. But whether the correctness of the above description of the old land-tenure is or is not admitted to be applicable to the village community as a whole, it is certain that it exactly describes the manner in which land is commonly held in joint property by groups of closely-related owners which are very much larger than the confocal "family" to which our figures relate. The sons when they separate their domestic concerns at the instigation of their wives, seldom separate their interests in the family land; and it is no uncommon thing to find the descendants of a common ancestor of several generations back holding the estate in joint ownership which is strictly regulated by ancestral shares. The actual cultivation of the land is however, from considerations of convenience, very commonly in the hands of much smaller groups; and here the size of the holdings is regulated rather by the appliances of cultivation in the possession of each group than by their rights of property in the land. Where there are seven or eight stalwart brothers or cousins with a corresponding number of oxen they will hold a large area, while the widow with a family of young children will cultivate a small plot through a tenant. When however the stalwart brothers die childless and the widow's sons grow up to manhood, a redivision of the land will be made; for some sort of periodical redistribution, whether regulated by custom or voluntarily made as occasion arises, follows almost as a matter of necessity wherever ancestral shares regulate proprietary right. As the group of joint owners expands, and increasing distance from the common ancestor relaxes the ties of kinship, actual separation of rights at length takes place, though not as a rule between individuals so much as between groups of families, and the cycle recommences.

108. The cultivating association.—There is another institution, connected with the cultivation of rather than with property in the land, which appears to me to take the place in the Panjáb of that house-community, common among Slav races, which has so often been described by writers on primitive institutions, and which differs from the joint family in that it is based in part upon common property in land and not wholly upon common descent, and recognises separate property in cattle and movables, and from the association that I am about to describe in that its members share a common house and table. In the Dehli Territory the institution to which I refer is called the *lána*, and it obtains, I believe, in some form or other almost throughout the Province. It consists of an association for the purposes of agriculture, and exists in two typical forms the actual conditions of which I proceed to describe, connecting them by a train of supposititious circumstances which I believe to explain the transition from the one to the other. When, in an undeveloped tract where land is plentiful and labour scarce, a group of owners find themselves in possession of far more land than can be cultivated by their own resources, they call in to their aid a number of outsiders, commonly landless menials or men of inferior castes, who become partners in the cultivation. The work is done by all jointly, a share of the produce is set aside as representing the proprietary right and is divided among the owners of the land, and the remainder is distributed over the oxen and men actually employed in the cultivation. If the owners are Rájpúts, who have a hereditary disinclination for manual labour of any sort and a special contempt for the actual operation of ploughing, which they consider derogatory, they find most of the oxen and little of the labour, and an ox takes twice the share of a man [1]. If the owners are Jats, who are husbandmen from the womb, the ox and the man will share equally.

Time goes on, the community expands, the land remains the same, agriculture develops, and the proprietary group finds that it can furnish enough hands for the cultivation of its fields without the aid of others. It cultivates jointly as before; but in the distribution of the produce no regard is paid to the area of land owned or held by each family, and the division is based solely upon the number of ploughs which have been contributed, that is to say, upon the share of the labour which has been undertaken by each. One family may own a share representing 40 acres and contribute but one plough, while another which owns 10 acres only contributes four ploughs. The five ploughs cultivate the 50 acres, and the latter family takes four times as large a share of the whole produce as does the former. Where a family finds itself unable to furnish the whole number of hands required to make up the number of ploughs for which its oxen suffice, it associates with itself an outsider on much the same terms as obtain in the first type just described; but here the outsider has to deal, not with the association as a whole, but only with the individual family.

I have spoken of the second type of association as existing within the group of closely related families, and I have little doubt that such was its primitive form; in fact the disregard paid to rights of property in distributing the produce of the land almost proves that the institution had its origin among families or households which held the land jointly, and whose interests in the produce were therefore regulated by the shares they bore in the cultivation. It is in this respect precisely analogous to the custom, so common in the Panjáb, of distributing the burden of the land revenue over ploughs without regard to proprietary shares. But, at any rate in that part of the Province which has been longest under our rule, and in which separation of interests and the substitution of contract for custom have accordingly made the greatest advance, the association is in its present form voluntary, is made for one year only, and is not necessarily confined to any group of closely related households; though in actual practice it often subsists for years, and between families which are near of kin [2].

109. The joint Family, the House-community, and the Village-community.—Thus, though the Panjáb community divides itself on social grounds into small groups distinguished one from another by the separation of hearth and board, yet the large undivided family still forms the unit of proprietary rights in land; and this was probably very much more markedly the case before our settlement record of rights confused separate cultivating possession with property in severalty. And even where the land is held in separate ownership, associations of families or individuals for the purpose of cultivation take the place of the house-communities of more primitive races.

[1] For an interesting analogy, see Maine's *Early Institutions*, pp. 151 and 157 *ff.*

[2] In Multán the institution does not appear to exist. Perhaps the cultivating communities of the hamlets or wells are too small to allow of it. Its place is taken by something analogous to the American "bee," neighbouring groups clubbing their appliances on occasions when special exertions are required. Mr. O'Brien writes: "Here we are not connected in any way except as neighbours; "but we are ready to lend our ploughs to plough a neighbour's field in difficulty. I have seen 25 ploughs helping at once, and 20 yoke "of oxen employed in sinking a well cylinder, all belonging to neighbours. We turn out to save property in a flood; and both Hindus "and Mahomedans most keenly to run a track of stolen cattle. I know a case of a man in jail (unjustly, according to popular opinion) "having his crop ploughed, sown, watered, and harvested."

Part IV.—Distribution among Houses and Families.

It is obvious that absolute community of property and interest, descending even to the daily food, must become inconvenient to impracticability so soon as the numbers concerned increase beyond certain limits. There are then two ways of remedying the inconvenience. The group may divide by process of fission into two parts, there being a complete separation of interests between the two, but each remaining joint within itself and having a constitution precisely similar to that of the large group of which it formed a portion, till the increasing number of its members necessitates a repetition of the process. When this is what takes place, the great undivided families of Bengal are the result. Or a distinction may be drawn between the various kinds of interests involved, and the size of the group within which each interest shall remain joint may vary with the nature of that interest. Thus in domestic matters, which are best managed by the individual and afford most occasion of quarrel among associates, the community would resolve itself into small groups, each consisting of a father with his wife and children, and enjoying its own income and regulating its own daily expenditure. For purposes of cultivation convenience would point to the formation of groups of a larger size, each of which should hold and cultivate so much land as its appliances would permit; while the property in land would still remain joint to the whole community, and thus allow of re-adjustment of cultivating possession as process of time brought with it changes in the means and appliances of the cultivating groups. This is precisely the state of things which we find to obtain among the village population of the Panjáb[1]. It is not impossible that the tendency towards the one or other of these two modes of separation may be determined by the absence or presence of a village-community based upon property in land. But, on the other hand, I believe that something not unlike the second form obtains among the mercantile classes of the Panjáb where, as in Europe, the business and all that concerns it are often held jointly by a group of families who are completely separate so far as their domestic life is concerned.

I have dwelt at some length upon the institutions which appear to me to be in the Panjáb, using a convenient scientific nomenclature, analogues by function, if not homologues by origin, of the great undivided families of Eastern India and the house-communities of the Slavonian races. And I have done so because the subject is one that I have not seen discussed elsewhere, and is of great interest and importance as tending to connect the various social units which obtain in different parts of India, and to throw light upon the evolution of the family and of severalty, and more especially upon that step in the process which is thus described by Sir Henry Maine—

> " From the moment when a tribal community settles down finally upon a definite space of land, the land begins to be the basis " of society, instead of the kinship. The change is extremely gradual, and in some particulars it has not even now been fully accom- " plished; but it has been going on through the whole course of history. The constitution of the family through actual blood-relation- " ship is of course an observable fact; but for all groups of men larger than the family, the land on which they live tends to become " the bond of union between them, at the expense of kinship ever more and more vaguely conceived." (*Early Institutions*, page 72).

The successive steps suggested by me do not correspond with those indicated by Maine (*ibid.*, page 78 ff.); but I venture to doubt whether his description of the Indian village-community as " a body of men held together by the land which they occupy, *the idea of common blood and descent having all but died out* " (*ibid.*, page 82) is even approximately true of that institution as it exists in the greater part of the Panjáb.

110. Figures discussed.—On the subject of the confocal group to which my figures refer, I have very little to say beyond what I have already said in paragraph 105. The district officers in their Census Reports give as a rule singularly little information on the subject, their remarks being very generally deduced from the figures, instead of illustrating or explaining them by a description of the existing social conditions. I have turned in vain to those encyclopœdias of information regarding the people and their customs which are known as Settlement Reports; for every single report, my own I am ashamed to say included, observes an absolute silence on the subject. I give the figures below:—

Abstract No. 18, *showing the* **Number of Persons per Family** *for* **Districts and States** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Serial No. in Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Number of Persons per 100 Resident Families.		Serial No. according to column 3.	Serial No. in Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Number of Persons per 100 Resident Families.		Serial No. according to column 3.
		Villages.	Towns.				Villages.	Towns.	
16	*Bashahr*	*752*	...	*a*	VI	Lahore Division	503	397	7*a*
10	*Loharu*	*694*	*252*	*b*	25	Montgomery	501	458	8
22	*Bhajji*	*676*	...	*c*	*5*	*Faridkot*	*501*	*461*	*8a*
21	*Jubbal*	*602*	...	*d*	30	Pesháwar	495	431	9
32	Kohát	569	500	1	*14*	*Nahan*	*494*	*355*	*9a*
3	Karnál	559	368	2	28	Dera Gházi Khán	493	421	10
20	*Baghal*	*552*	...	*2a*	VIII	Multán Division	488	386	10*a*
18	*Suket*	*548*	*991*	*2b*	12	Kángra	487	365	11
16	Lahore	531	401	3	II	Hissár Division	482	428	11*a*
19	Ráwalpindi	515	440	4	4	Hissár	479	416	12
17	Gujránwala	508	421	5	*11*	*Baháwalpur*	*478*	*383*	*12a*
12	*Mandi*	*508*	*768*	*5a*	5	Rohtak	475	441	13
23	Multán	506	363	6	26	Muzaffargarh	474	365	14
—	Total Hill States	506	457	6*a*	29	Bannú	474	437	15
6	Sirsá	503	418	7	VII	Ráwalpindi Division	471	415	15*a*

[1] The organisation of the semi-nomadic tribes of cis-Ural Russia would appear to be very similar Among them " the arable land, though generally cultivated by each family on an independent title, is mainly owned in a species of indivisibility; while among the Backkirs, nothing of the nature of individual property is seen, except as applied to the dwelling-houses and their immediate dependencies." (M. Le Play *Les Ouvriers Européens*, quoted by Mr. Tupper.)

Part IV.—Distribution among Houses and Families.

Abstract No. 18, *showing the* **Number of Persons per Family** *for* **Districts and States** *arranged in* **order of magnitude** —*continued.*

1	2	3	4	5
Serial No. in Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Number of Persons per 100 resident Families.		Serial No. according to column 3.
		Villages.	Towns.	
24	Jhang	471	414	16
I	Dehli Division	470	426	16*a*
18	Ferozepore	469	368	17
19	*Keonthal*	*468*	...	*17a*
—	**Total Native States**	**468**	**377**	**17*b***
13	*Chamba*	*467*	*510*	*17c*
21	Gujrat	466	409	18
IX	Derajat Division	466	411	18*a*
8	*Dujana*	*466*	*466*	*18b*
—	**Total Province**	**466**	**400**	**18*c***
2	*Nabha*	*465*	*449*	*18d*
15	*Bilaspur*	*465*	...	*18e*
—	**Total British Territory**	**465**	**406**	**18*f***
1	*Patiala*	*463*	*362*	*18g*
15	Sialkot	460	379	19
14	Gurdaspur	455	374	20
1	Dehli	454	457	21
20	Jhelum	453	404	22
IV	Jálandhar Division	453	242	22*a*
V	Amritsar Division	453	382	22*b*
—	Total Eastern Plains	453	372	22*c*
7	*Kalsia*	*449*	*391*	*22d*
6	*Malerkotla*	*448*	*387*	*22e*
8	Ludhiana	447	380	23
13	Amritsar	444	388	24
11	Hoshiarpur	442	406	25
27	Dera Ismáíl Khán	442	390	26
17	*Nalagarh*	*442*	*369*	*26a*
III	Ámbála Division	438	368	26*b*
10	Jálandhar	434	443	27
7	Ambála	432	375	28
23	Shāhpur	431	394	29
9	Simla	429	306	30
X	Peshâwar Division	428	437	30*a*
2	Gurgáon	419	416	31
9	*Pataudi*	*417*	*489*	*31a*
4	*Jind*	*415*	*326*	*31b*
3	*Kapurthala*	*413*	*377*	*31c*
31	Hazára	338	424	32

One of the most striking points about the figures is their extraordinary uniformity. The two extremes reached among the 32 districts of British Panjáb are 5·69 and 3·38; while 28 of the 32 lie between 5·15 and 4·19, the deviation being less than 19 per cent. The differences are so small that they may almost be said to be accidental, and any detailed examination would be unprofitable. But one fact may be mentioned which probably accounts for the position at the head of the list which the Hill States occupy. It is that throughout the Panjáb hills *begár* or forced labour is exacted, not by heads but by hearths; so that so long as brothers remain joint, they have to do collectively only as much *begár* as each of them would have to do if they separated. The result is, in Mr. Anderson's opinion, not so much that separation is prevented, as that it is concealed.

111. The Tibetan Family in Spiti.—The lowest figure reached would appear to be in Spiti, where the average is only 3·3 persons per family. The form which family life assumes in these wild Tibetan valleys is so peculiar that I make no apology for extracting the following description from Mr. Alex. Anderson's Census Report:—

"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti "by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in turn. Primogeniture prevails "in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and "other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *gonpa* (or monastery), where they are "entitled to maintenance. Should a *láma's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take pos- "session of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told "that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following "names[1]:"—

"*Kang chinpa*, or occupant of the big house, that is eldest son."
"*Kang chungpa*, or occupant of the small house, that is the father."
"*Yang chungpa*, or occupant of even a smaller house, that is the grandfather."
"The grandfather gets a field for his maintenance, but not from the *kang chinpa*. His own son, that is the father, is con- "sidered responsible, and not the grandson. *Dútalpa* is one who has nothing but a house, being literally a smoke-maker (*dut*= "smoke.)"

112. The Family in towns.—It will be noticed that the average family is smaller in towns than in villages in all but three districts, and that in many cases the difference is very considerable. This was only to be expected. Among the richer classes, indeed, a plurality of wives, concubines, and servants probably swell the town family to much larger dimensions than are reached in the villages. But this excess is more than counterbalanced by the number of men of the poorer classes who flock to the large towns in search of employment, leaving their families in the villages.

113. Tendency towards severalty.—The average number of souls per family in the three several enumerations of the Panjáb population is as follows:—1855, 4·53; 1868, 4·27; 1881, 4·56. This would seem to show that the tendency of the family had been, if anything, to increase in size. But I am not certain what was meant in 1868 by a "house," which corresponded with our "family," as their "enclosure" did with our "house." The circular instructions then issued defined a "house or family as those who live together and ordinarily cook their food at the same hearth;" and this is precisely the "family" of the present Census. But the same instructions direct that each house shall be numbered "by a rough ticket or by paint on the entrance;" and the writer of the Census Report dwells upon the distinction between masonry and mud "houses," and points out that the smaller number of souls in the average house implies "increased house accommodation, a sure indication of prosperity." There would thus appear to have been some confusion between the structural and the social units; and though the number of occupied buildings should

[1] *Kang*, house; *chin*, big; *chung*, small; *pa*=*wála* (Hindi); *yang*=*aur* or *par*, as in *pardáda* (Hindi), one beyond.

Part IV.—Distribution among Houses and Families.

be smaller, and not larger, than the number of families, and should therefore give a larger average number of souls, yet if unoccupied buildings were included—and there is nothing in either the instructions or the tables of 1868 to show how they were treated—the average number would be very largely reduced. I have already noticed that the number of souls per house has decreased in each successive Census; and combining the two sets of figures, we find that the number of families per house has also decreased as follows:—1855, 2·20; 1868, 1·55; 1881, 1·52. It is just possible that, as it becomes more and more the custom for a family when separating to move to a separate house, there is a tendency to put off the period of separation. But, as already explained, I do not think the comparison of the figures for houses has much meaning; and I do not believe that the average size of the family is really increasing. It is not only opposed to the general tendency to greater and greater separation of interests to which I have already alluded, but it is also opposed to the experience of all the officers who notice the subject. Thus Mr. Kensington of Hoshyárpur writes, and several other officers note the same tendency:—

"Under our rule it is getting very uncommon for large families to remain undivided. In less orderly times they lived together "for mutual protection, and unity was found to be strength. Strength is now less in demand. Under growing security the family "tie is giving way in the struggle for individual independence."

I believe that this is the natural course of events. I would only add that the family has probably already nearly reached its ultimate limits in the Panjáb, for our average of 4·56 souls only allows five children to every two married couples, assuming a husband and wife to start with in each family.

CHAPTER III.
FLUCTUATIONS OF POPULATION.

PART I.—HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.

114. General rate of increase of population[1].—The population of Panjáb British Territory—for till 1881 no Census had been taken in Native States—stood as shown in the margin at the three enumerations made in 1855[2], 1868, and 1881, the corresponding proportional figures per mille being given below the actual numbers so as to show the rate of increase. Thus it appears that the population has increased by 24·3 per cent. since 1855. But within the last 13 years of that period the increase has been only 7·1 per cent., while the corresponding increase during the equal interval which elapsed between the two first enumerations was 16·1 per cent., or considerably more than double that rate. The figures in the margin show the annual rate of increase of population for the principal Indian provinces and civilised countries, roughly calculated for purposes of comparison[3]. On the whole, the rate of increase of population in the Panjáb is not nearly so large as might have been expected in a Province not long ago rescued from something very like anarchy and brought under a civilised rule. In a country whose recent history, both physical and political, has been so varied as has been that of the Panjáb, the fluctuations and composition of its population can only be explained by reference to that history. Nothing of the nature of a historical retrospect was attempted in the report on the last Census; and I shall be excused if I briefly sketch the most prominent events which have in recent times affected the life of the people. A new generation of Englishmen now administer the Province; order is as unbroken and security of life and property as perfect as in the parts of India which have been longest under our rule; and it is not easy to realise that there are still five million persons alive in the Panjáb who might remember Ranjít Singh, or who were at any rate alive when he died, that seven millions, or nearly one-third of our population, were born under Sikh rule, and that old men still survive who have heard their fathers tell as eye-witnesses "strange stories of Nádir Sháh and his nameless deeds." We know that Ranjít Singh was a mighty monarch, we have heard of the iron sway of Sáwan Mal, and we find it difficult to conceive the true nature of the rule which was replaced by our own, and of the state of the country when it fell into our hands. [When I wrote Part I of this Chapter, I intended to discuss the detailed figures for migration and increase with reference to the previous history of the several districts on the lines indicated in note (3) to section 180, and in sections 181, 2, 3, 4. But before the Chapter was finished, the orders of Government limiting the time for the completion of the report were received, and I was compelled to abandon my intention. As Part I appears to me both interesting and useful, I print it as it stands, especially as some portions of it are referred to in the subsequent parts of the Chapter,

Year of Census.	Persons.		Males.		Females.	
1855	15,161,321		8,357,786		6,803,535	
1868	17,609,518		9,594,308		8,015,210	
1881	18,850,437		10,210,053		8,640,384	
1855	1,000	...	1,000	...	1,000	...
1868	1,161	1,000	1,148	1,000	1,178	1,000
1881	1,243	1,071	1,222	1,064	1,270	1,078

No. of years between the two last Censuses.	Territorial Unit.	Annual rate of increase.
	PUNJAB.	
13	1855 to 1868	1·3
26	1855 to 1881	0·9
13	1868 to 1881	0·6
10	Australasian Colonies	4·8
9	*Burmah*	*4·0*
10	United States	2·9
9	*Central Provinces*	*2·3*
9	*Assam*	*2·0*
10	England and Wales	1·5
14	*Berar*	*1·4*
3	Belgium	1·3
9	*Bengal*	*1·2*
10	Netherlands	1·2
5	Prussia	1·2
10	United Kingdom	1·1
8	Portugal	1·1
5	Germany	1·0
10	Sweden	1·0
	Italy	0·9
11	Austria	0·8
10	Switzerland	0·7
9	*North-West Provinces*	*0·6*
10	Norway	0·6
11	Austrian Empire	0·5
4½	France	0·4
9	*Bombay*	*0·1*
11	Hungary	0·1
9	*Madras*	*—0·2*

[1] The subject of this chapter naturally falls under two main heads, the fluctuations owing to the movements to and fro of the people, and the increase and decrease owing to births and deaths. These two matters are discussed in the subsequent parts of the chapter, and prefixed to each part will be found a discussion of the nature and accuracy of the figures with which it deals.

[2] See remarks on the figures of 1855 in the footnote to Section 27. The details of sex in the Sirsa district for 1855 are estimated by applying the proportion of the sexes for 1868 to the total population of the Settlement Census.

[3] The rates, other than those for the Panjáb, have been got by dividing the percentage of total increase by the number of years during which that increase took place. This gives too high a figure; but as the interval between the two enumerations is small, the *relative* magnitude of the figures is not affected for practical purposes of comparison.

and I have no time to rewrite and condense it. But I add this explanation, without which it would appear somewhat irrelevant to the scope of the Report.]

115. The Panjab during the 18th century.—The first half of the 18th century was one of unusual turmoil even for India; and as has ever been the case when fighting is going on, the Panjáb was in the very heart of the fray. As the century opened, the Sikhs, rapidly growing into importance as a military organisation, but as yet possessed of no national spirit to restrain their excesses, thirsting for revenge for the persecutions of the bigoted Aurangzeb and for the murder of the helpless family of their great Guru Govind, and prompt to profit by the dissensions which followed on the death of Bahádur Sháh, ravaged the whole eastern portion of the Province from the Jamna to the Satluj, and laid the northern and central tracts under contribution. The invasion of the great Persian freebooter Nádir Sháh followed close upon their punishment, and swept like a wave of death through the Panjáb, ravaging and destroying all that lay in its course. And the first half of the century was fitly closed by the famines of 1753 and 1759.

116. The latter half of the same century witnessed one continuous struggle between the Mahrattas in the east, the Durránis in the west, and the Sikhs in the centre, for the possession of the Panjáb plains, varied only by the rise and fall of petty marauding chiefs of every country under an Indian heaven, Rájpúts, Mughals, Jats, Biloches, Patháns, even Frenchmen and Englishmen, who saw in the decay of the Mughal empire and the universal anarchy which prevailed, an opportunity to rise to power and to amass wealth by war and rapine. Eight times within twice as many years did Ahmad Sháh invade the Panjáb; eight times had he to fight his way through the Sikh armies which sprang up on his path like Jason's foes; eight times was his departure from the Province the signal for the Sikhs and Mahrattas to fly at each other's throats; until even he gave up the struggle in despair, and left the Sikh *misls* to extend their conquests, always by hard fighting, till they were masters of the whole of the Panjáb from the Jamna to the Indus and from Kángra and Jammu to Hánsi and Multán, and, having won them, to quarrel over their possessions. The desolation which Ahmad Sháh's army carried in its route is expressed by the saying still current among the wild tribes of Montgomery: "What one eats and drinks is one's own; the rest is Ahmad Sháh's." During the intervals between his incursions the Mahrattas overran the country and took Multán and Lahore, and were presently followed by the Bhangi Sikhs—

"whose raids and cruelty live to this day in the memory of the peasants of Muzaffargarh." Meanwhile, "various men of influence made themselves independent, and exercised all the privileges of independent rulers as regards fighting with each other, and "robbing and murdering those weaker than themselves. Might was the only test of right, and in the absence of any general controlling authority the country became a prey to the ambition of rival chiefs struggling for supremacy."

It is impossible to open a history of any part of the Panjáb during these terrible fifty years, without finding every page occupied by one continuous story of war and bloodshed. The whole Province was in arms. Almost every considerable village or small town had its local chief, with a band of followers ready to fight for plunder or power; and the incessant turmoil in which these gentry kept the country was interrupted only when they united against a common enemy from without.

117. In the midst of all this misery came the "great famine," as the people still call it, of 1783.

In the east of the Panjáb "the country was depopulated, the peasants abandoning their villages and dying in thousands of "disease and want; the country swarmed with bands of thieves and highway robbers, and the state of anarchy was almost inconceivable." (*Griffin's Panjáb Rájas*). In the fertile and populous central districts "wheat sold at from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers for the "rupee, the people fled to Hindustán, Kashmír, and Peshawar, the seeds of the acacia and the cotton plant were greedily devoured, "so many died of starvation that bodies were thrown into the wells unburied, mothers cast their children into the rivers, and even "cannibalism is said to have been resorted to. The cattle nearly all died, or were eaten up by the starving Mahomedans. Many "ruins of old villages are traceable to this famine; and stories are still told of the extraordinary friendships which grew up among "the survivors, who clung together, sharing with each other everything available as food. The famine was followed by great "mortality from fever and ague, and a large proportion of those who had escaped starvation fell victim to disease." (*Saunders and Waterfield—Lahore and Gújrát Reports.*) Even in Hazára, which has escaped untouched by the many droughts which have since devastated the Panjáb, "this famine fell with terrible severity. Grain sold at $3\frac{3}{4}$ to $4\frac{1}{4}$ seers per rupee, and was not to be had "even at that price when the famine was at its height; and popular accounts describe the district as nearly depopulated." (*Wace.*)

118. The Panjab from 1800 A.D. to annexation.—With the beginning of the present century the eastern parts of the Province found rest, at least from external troubles. In 1803 the treaty of Sirji Anjangám made us masters of the Dehli and Hissár divisions; and in 1808 we confined the rising ambition of Ranjít Singh to the country west of the Satluj, and took the States of the Eastern Plains, with the exception of Kapúrthala, under our protection. The country immediately to the west of the Satluj also enjoyed comparative political peace, for the supremacy of Ranjít Singh was practically absolute. But on the border he gradually reduced to nominal subjection the tribes of the trans-Indus frontier, who had ever been impatient of the yoke, even when imposed by one of their own race and religion; while in the hills he fought with the Gúrkhas over the spoils of the ancient Rájpút kingdoms. During the first forty years of the century six famines of greater or less severity occurred, in 1802, 1812, 1817, 1824, 1833, and 1837. Those of 1802, 1817, 1824, and 1837 were less fatal and less general than those of 1812 and 1833, and were apparently confined to the east of the Province, where in 1841 an epidemic of fever reached such a height that "the crops died standing for want of people to cut them," and was succeeded in the following year by a drought of considerable severity. The famine of 1833 was almost equal in severity to that of 1783.

In the eastern and south-eastern districts "it forms the epoch from which old men fix the dates of events. In many villages no "land was even ploughed up, in but few was any seed sown, in none was a crop reaped. What little grass sprang up was eaten "by locusts. The cattle died, wheat rose to 8 seers per rupee, and the people followed their cattle; while crowds of emigrants from "the highlands to the west poured into the district to help the residents to starve" (*Karnál Report*). The people of Rohtak say of this famine:—"The shop-keeper hid in his house, the child wept over its meal" (*Fanshawe*). In the central districts the distress was not so severe, but "famine raged in Kashmír, and a great influx of people was the result, most of them only to die, "many came to sell their children who are still (1870) to be found in the houses of the prostitutes." (*Waterfield's Gújrát Report.*)

Six years of anarchy which succeeded the death of Ranjít Singh were terminated by the bloody war with ourselves; and so the Panjáb passed under English rule. What the state of the country was when it came into our hands, and what the nature of the rule which was superseded by our own, I shall now endeavour to indicate.

Part I.—Historical Retrospect.

119. State of the Dehli Territory at annexation.—The districts of Dehli, Gurgáon, Rohtak, and part of Karnál were, as already stated, acquired by us in 1803. The state of affairs to which our interference put an end may be conceived from the following extract from my Settlement Report of Karnál :—

"So ended in 1805 that terrible time called by the people the Sikh hurly-burly, or the Mahratta anarchy. Its horrors still live "vividly in the memory of the villagers. The Sikhs never really established their grasp over the country south of Pánipat, and they "held what they did possess only as feudatories of the Mahrattas. But the whole period was a constant contest between the two "powers; and the tract formed a sort of no man's land between their territories, and, coveted by both and protected by neither, was "practically the prey of the strongest and most audacious freebooter of the day, whether hailing from the Panjáb or the Deccan, for "nobody cared to spare for tomorrow what he might only possess for today. Even as early as 1760, Nádir Sháh had to approach "Dehli by way of the Doáb, as, owing to the constant passage to and fro of the Mahratta troops, the tract was so desolated that "supplies were unprocurable; and forty years later, when we took over the district, it was estimated that more than four-fifths was "overrun by forest, and its inhabitants either removed or exterminated. The arrangement of the villages in groups of small ham-"lets, sprung from and still holding sub-feudal relations with the large parent village, made the concentration of the population in a "few strongholds natural and easy; and out of 221 villages in *parganah* Karnál the inhabitants of 178 had been wholly driven "from their homes and fields. The royal canal had long dried up, and thick forest had taken the place of cultivation, and afforded "shelter to thieves, vagabonds, and beasts of prey. In 1827 Mr. Archer remarked that 'only a very few years had elapsed since "this part of the country was inhabited wholly by wild beasts.' Deserted sites all along the old main road still tell how even "the strongest villages had to abandon the spot where their fathers had lived for centuries, and make to themselves new homes on "sites less patent to the eye of marauding bands. The few large villages in which the inhabitants were collected were elevated far "above the surrounding plain upon the accumulations of centuries, were surrounded by deep ditches and high walls with forts at the "four corners, could only be entered by strong gateways with massive doors, were composed of lofty houses which turned their loop-"holed backs to the narrow winding streets, and were built almost entirely of brick. From these strongholds the people drove forth "their herds to pasture, while their servants tilled the scanty fields. Watchers on watchtowers and high trees throughout the jungle "constantly scanned the plains beneath; and on the approach of danger, men and cattle sought the shelter of the village, or found "yet greater safety in the pathless intricacies of the forest. Each group of villages was at deadly enmity with its neighbours; and "there are several instances where two contiguous villages, in memory of a blood feud dating from the Mahratta times, refuse to this "day to drink each other's water though otherwise on friendly terms. In 1829 the Civil Commissioner reported, and the Governor "General endorsed his conclusion, that the native administration took no concern in criminal justice or police any farther than as its "interference in those respects might be made subservient to its immediate pecuniary gains; and that the village communities, while "they held the property of their own society sacred, habitually committed depredations and aggressions on other villages or on travellers, "*and generally shared the plunder they obtained with the ruling power or principal local authority.* Revenue administration "there was none; the cultivator followed the plough with a sword in his hand, the collector came at the head of a regiment, and if he "fared well another soon followed him to pick up the crumbs."

Further removed from the boundary between the Sikhs and the Mahrattas, the condition of the country people was perhaps not so bad. Yet in Rohtak, 40 miles from Dehli, "what had once been a flourishing country had become, under the raids and rule of Afgháns, Sikhs and Mahrattas, more than two-thirds waste land."

The districts of Hissár and Sirsa, though nominally conveyed to us in 1803, were not practically taken possession of by us till some years later; a great part indeed not till 1837, when we resumed from the Sikhs what was practically a desert, inhabited only by a few tribes of marauding nomads. The history of this part of the Province under our rule is admirably told by Mr. Wilson in his Census Report of the Sirsa district; and his account forms so striking a picture of how a desert tract may develop under the influence of peace and order, that I give it as a postscript to this chapter. The story may be guessed from the figures in the margin.

Sirsa District.		
Years.	Population.	No. of Villages.
1800	...	35
1820	...	94
1840	...	331
1850	112,974	431
1858	152,182	...
1868	210,795	628
1881	253,275	635

120. Sikh rule in the Cis-Satluj States.—The Sikh States between our territory and the Satluj were, as I have already said, protected by our mantle from danger from without. But the condition of the Kaithal territory, which was nearest our border and therefore necessarily most influenced by our example, when it lapsed to us in 1843, may be gathered from the following extracts from Sir Henry Lawrence's report in his summary settlement of the tract :—

"Such was the desolation of portions of the district that, looking from the tops of the village towers, I could often see miles and "miles of good land without a single acre of cultivation. * * The people were accustomed to pay no revenue except upon "absolute compulsion. * * Kaithal was one year ago as lawless a tract of country as any in India; but something I hope has "been effected for its improvement. * * I may instance the Jat village of Chátar, which was formerly the very head-quarters "of opposition to authority, and is said never to have admitted a Sikh within its quickset hedge. It was reckoned able to turn out a "thousand matchlocks, and the four wards of the village were barricaded against one another. So bad a name had the place that "when I visited it in April I was attended by a hundred troopers and a company of infantry: when I went there in August I was "accompanied by a single horseman, and found the village one sheet of cultivation. * * As I was riding along the border "with Rája Sarúp Singh we heard and saw the husbandmen singing as they drove their cattle through the saturated fields The "Rája smiled and called my attention to their air of security, observing that if they had been so employed last year the chances "were that their cattle would have been carried off by some foraging party."

Five years later Captain Abbott, Settlement Officer, described the Sikh rule in the Protected States on the Ambála and Karnál border, which had just then been confiscated, in the following words :—

"The arm of the law, if law it can be called, was paralysed; no protection was given to property; indeed the State set the "example, and plundered without remorse. Cattle at graze were attended by bodies of armed men; wars and bloodshed were "frequent and common; and want of security caused the villagers to plunder in self-defence. Occasionally attempts were made "to extend cultivation by cuts from the streams, but these required a small dam across the channel which it was necessary to protect "by a tower; indeed, a well could not be worked without a tower in which the woodwork and bullocks were deposited during the "night, or on the approach of plunderers. The powerful villages only paid so much revenue as they found it convenient to do. Few "crimes were acknowledged, and such as were were punished by fine with imprisonment until payment. Open evidence was un-"necessary to conviction, the secret information of an informer was ample, and the fact of possessing the wherewithal more than "conclusive. Murder was punishable by fine; and cheating, forgery, and unnatural offences were considered good jokes."

121. The condition of the Hill tracts.—In the hills of Kángra and the neighbouring States the times had been no less troublous. The petty Rájas who ruled the country imitated their neighbours of the plains and fought freely among themselves, till in an evil moment one of them called in the Gúrkhas to his aid.

"The memory of those disastrous wars stands out as a landmark in the annals of the hills. Time is computed with reference "to that period; and every misfortune, justly or unjustly, is ascribed to that prolific source of misery and distress. The Gúrkhas "prepared to establish their success. Each party plundered the districts held by the other to weaken his adversary's resources. "The people, harassed and bewildered, fled to the neighbouring kingdoms. Other hill chieftains, incited by Sansár Chand's former

Part I.—Historical Retrospect.

"oppressions, made inroads with impunity, and aggravated the general disorder. For three years this state of anarchy continued; "in the fertile valleys of Kángra not a blade of cultivation was to be seen, grass grew up in the towns, and tigresses whelped in "the streets of Nádaun." (*Barnes' Kángra Settlement Report.*)

The burden was too heavy to be borne, and in 1809 Ranjít Singh was called in. Under the Sikh rule which succeeded in Kángra, the whole country was farmed out to *Kárdárs* of foreign race and religion.

"The Kárdár was a judicial as well as a fiscal officer. But his fiscal duties were most important. Corrupt judgments or an in- "sufficient police were evils which might be overlooked, even supposing that they excited attention; but a Kárdár in arrears was an "offender almost beyond the hope of pardon. The problem of his life was therefore to maintain cultivation at the highest possible "level, and at the same time to keep the cultivator at the lowest point of depression. The burden of the people was as heavy as "they could bear; the utmost limits of toleration had been attained. A native collector is too discreet to ruin his tenants; but he "will proceed to any length short of actual destruction His policy is to leave nothing but a bare subsistence to the cultivator of "the soil. But the assessment was generally equal; and the burden, heavy indeed according to just and liberal principles, was still "impartially distributed." (*Ibid.*)

In the hill country east of the Satluj, namely in Simla and all the Hill States except Chamba, Mandi, and Suket, the Gúrkhas held sway and horribly oppressed the people, till in 1816, after the Gúrkha war, we took the tract under our protection. The three States just mentioned, with Kúlu, remained practically independent till within a few years of our annexation of the Panjáb. Mr. Lyall thus describes the rule in Kúlu:—

"The Rájas were petty despots in league with the priests, often cruel and avaricious, and recognising very faintly any law "or custom; and they and their favourites did much as they liked, or as their jealousy or avarice prompted them. A man's "ancestral house and lands were sometimes confiscated and transferred for no fault. To seem to be well-to-do or influential was "to be in danger. As an example, in 1862 a large sum of money was accidentally exhumed. On enquiry it appeared that it belonged "to a family of which the women were hereditary foster-mothers to the royal family, and which had thus acquired wealth and influence. "Three generations ago, on some slight pretext, the Rája suddenly seized the whole family and buried them all alive, men, women, and "children, probably because the hidden treasure was not forthcoming. The only survivors were a woman and her infant, who escaped "because the mother happened to be serving at the time as wet-nurse in the palace. The number of women burnt at a Rája's funeral "was often prodigious. Quite as great tyranny, however, prevailed in other petty hill states."

There is a village on the border between Kúlu and Bashahr called Pandrabís or "Fifteen-twenty," and which was so named because neither of these two rival states could hold it for longer than 15 to 20 days at a time.

122. Sikh rule on the Frontier.—If such was the state of affairs among the comparatively peaceable population of the east and north of the Province, it may be imagined what was the condition of the frontier, where wild hill tribes, still many of them semi-savage, accustomed to assert their independence even of the Kábul kingdom, and habitually fighting one with another for sheer love of the game, were brought under the rule of the hated Sikh. Even Ahmad Sháh—

"collected tribute by an army sent periodically to extort it at the sword's point;" and as the Durráni power over the frontier grew weak, "his quondam vassals in the Indus Provinces grew stronger, till one by one each declared himself independent and began to "make war on his neighbour, only to fall an easy prey a few years later to the devouring Sikh. The present century opened with a "general scramble for territory. Each group of villages was a little independent State, now warring with its neighbours, now at "peace, now gaining and now losing territory. Might was right, and the general law of the land was Islám corrected by assassina- "tion. Between 1823 and 1845 the country was every second or third year invaded by a large Sikh army, which harried their fields, "trod down their harvests, burnt their houses, and inflicted injuries which it took the intervals of peace to repair." (*Thorburn.*)

Sir Herbert Edwardes thus describes the state of the country in 1847:—

"The Bannúchis are bad specimens of Afgháns. Could worse be said of any human race? They have all the vices of Patháns "rankly luxuriant, the virtues stunted. Except in Sindh I have never seen such a degraded people. They are not of pure descent "from any common stock, but represent the ebb and flow of might, right, possession, and spoliation in a corner of the Kábul empire "whose remoteness and fertility offered to outlaws and vagabonds a secure asylum against both law and labour. Let the reader "take these people and arm them to the teeth; then, throwing them down in the beautiful country I have described, bid them "scramble for its fat meads and fertilizing waters, its fruits and flowers; and he will have a good idea of the state of landed pro- "perty and laws of tenure as I found them in 1847. Owning no external allegiance, let us see what internal government this "impatient race submitted to: in truth none. Freed from a king they could not agree upon a chief—but every village threw a mud "wall around its limits, chose its own *malik* (master), and went to war with all its neighbours."

And Mr. Thorburn says of the same parts—

"At that time most of the bed of the Indus (now a sheet of splendid cultivation) was a jungle of trees and tiger grass in which "the sportsmen of both banks used to drive pig, hog-deer, and other game. To contrast the difference between 1850 and 1877 in a "few words, I may say that since the former year cultivation has more than doubled, population has increased 20 per cent., "7,000 nomadic and mostly pastoral Wazíri have grown into 14,000, holding 60,000 acres of cultivated land, and crime has fallen to "the level of an orderly district like Sháhpur. Instead of one high road of 60 miles in length, and destitute of bridges, there are now "300 miles of high roads with scores of masonry bridges; and finally, instead of a restless suspicious population, there is now a quiet "law-abiding trustful people, the great mass of which is, I honestly believe, thoroughly loyal."

123. In Pesháwar the state of things was even worse:—

"From 1800 to 1820 Pesháwar remained in a constant state of excitement and confusion, passing from one ruler to another, "none of whom could exercise much real control over its wild occupants, and the hill tribes transferring their allegiance to the "highest bidders."

The Sikh occupation brought no alleviation—

"The periodical visits of the Sikhs were calamitous to the people: their approach was the signal for the removal of property "and valuables and even of the window and door-frames from the houses; crowds of women and children fled frightened "from their houses, and the country presented the appearance of an emigrating colony. As the hated host advanced they overran "the neighbourhood, pillaging and destroying whatever came within their reach, and laying waste the fields. There is scarce "a village from the head of the valley to the Indus which has not been burnt and plundered by the Sikh Commander; his visitations "were held in such awe that his name was used by mothers as a term of affright to hush their unruly children; and at the present "day, in travelling through the country, old grey beards with many scars point out the hills over which they were 'chased like sheep "by the Singh,' and young men show where their fathers fought and fell. Destruction was so certain that the few villages which from "the extreme difficulty of their positions were either passed by the enemy or, resisting attack, were but partially destroyed, claimed a "triumph, and came to be looked upon as invincible.

"But the people of this unhappy country did not enjoy peace, even during the respites which the withdrawal of the Sikhs "afforded them; and it is hard to say whether they suffered most from those terrible but passing invasions, or from the bitter feuds "which followed them, arising out of hostile acts committed towards each other, either to find favour from the invaders, or to "gratify personal feelings of hatred and revenge; for, as is common with people in such a depraved condition, they had no scruple "in betraying each other for such purposes, and as spies or informers in bringing the Sikh scourge upon their neighbours with

"a baseness from which their ancestors would have revolted." One of the terms on which the Chamkani chief held his tenure of the Sikhs was, "the annual production of twenty Afrídi heads; and the old man relates without a blush the treacherous methods he "was sometimes compelled to adopt to fulfil the conditions of his tenure." (*James' Peshâwar Report.*)

124. The state of the Cis-Indus and Salt-range Tracts.—On this side of the Indus the people were more peaceful; but this only made them easier subjects of extortion.

"A great portion of the country was farmed out to grantees who possessed judicial and executive authority within the limits of "their grants, and were quite independent of the local officials. They were almost invariably non-residents, and put in agents, "known as Hákims, to manage their estates These Hákims were more or less in the habit of raiding on one another and "lifting cattle; and the country till the time of Sáwan Mal was generally in a disturbed state." (*Tucker's Derah Ismáil Report.*)

Sir Herbert Edwardes thus describes the inhabitants of the Thal or sandy plain between the Indus and the Jahlam-Chanáb as he found them at annexation:—

"The men, stout, fierce, and fearless of man or beast, clad in shaggy cloaks of brown camel's hair, drive out the herds "to feed, and, with long matchlock in hand, and burning match, lie full length along the ground and listen for strange foot-"falls on the horizon. Should an enemy approach, the discharge of a single matchlock would be heard over the whole plain, "and summon thousands of the tribe to the point where danger threatened or plunder allured. Such were the people whose gipsy-"like encampments strewed the Thal at the time I speak of."

In the Salt-range tract—

"anarchy had reigned for centuries, and from the oldest times the district had been overrun by hordes of invaders, from Greeks to "Afgháns. They swept through it and disappeared. The temporary desolation, the plundered homes, the deserted homesteads were "all things of the hour, and are now forgotten. But it was the rule of the Sikh Kárdárs, too far off from Lahore to be under any "check, that reduced the Rájpút and Gakkhar alike to their present state of poverty. Their rule was a military despotism, and "their aim to exterminate all classes and families with any pretension to ruling power, and their strongest measures were accord-"ingly levelled against the Gakkhars, and all the gentry who shared with them in the management of the country. Accordingly, "we find them mere exiles or reduced to abject poverty, insomuch that they are now often compelled to become tenants under their "former ploughmen." In the years preceding annexation—"the high roads were universally unsafe. Passing through the limits "of different tribes travellers and caravans had to satisfy the rapacity of each by paying black mail, or they had to submit to be "plundered, outraged, and ill treated, happy sometimes to escape with life." (*Cracroft and Brandreth—Ráwalpindi and Jahlam Reports.*)

125. The Sikh rule in the central districts.—In the centre and south-west of the Province the Sikh rule was stronger and more equitable. In the earlier days, indeed, previous to and during the growth of the *misls,* it was nothing better than an organised system of massacre and pillage. But as the Sikhs grew into a people and a national spirit developed, self-interest, if nothing higher, prompted a more moderate government. Still, as Sir Robert Egerton recorded, the Sikh population were soldiers "almost to a man," and their one object was to wring from the Hindu and Mahomedan cultivators the utmost farthing that could be extorted without compelling them to abandon their fields. The Rájpút especially, who had refused to join the ranks of an organisation in which his high caste was disregarded, was the peculiar object of their hatred and oppression. Not to be for them was to be against them, and all who had any pretensions to wealth or influence were mercilessly crushed. They promoted and extended cultivation as far as was possible under a system which held forth the minimum of inducement to the cultivator; but they acknowledged nothing higher than the husbandman, they respected no rights and they recognised no property where such respect or such recognition conflicted with their pecuniary interests, and he who was not a Sikh, and therefore a soldier, was only valuable in so far as he could be utilised as a payer of revenue. Their rule was just and even, in that they meted out oppression to all with an equal hand.

The whole country was farmed out to Jat Kárdárs who were responsible to the State for a certain annual amount of revenue, and for nothing else: and beyond that amount, itself always increasing as cultivation spread, anything that they could extract, no matter by what means, was their own. Fixity of demand was unknown. The share of the gross produce nominally taken was one-half; but to this were added numberless cesses. Mr. Wynyard enumerates 38 of these, of ever-varying nature and amount. Mr. Purser says of the Sikh rates—

"It may be as well to explain that these rates mean nothing, for if the fundamental principle of the Sikh system was that the "Government should take as much as ever it could, as often as it could, and whenever it could, the principle that a spade should "on no account be called a spade was only second in importance to it, and was much more rarely violated. The advantages of this "were that the people were made to believe that great favours were being bestowed on them while they were being taxed as "heavily as possible, and that the subordinate officials were able to plunder the Government to their heart's content, as no one knew "what their accounts meant. Thus a man would be charged six rupees for six *kanáls* of cotton. The generous Kárdár remitted "half as an act of grace, and then added ₨4-1-6 on account of extra cesses."

Sir Richard Temple, one of the most able apologists of the Sikh rule, finds nothing better to say of it than that, though oppressive and extortionate, it was orderly, and "generally abstained from wanton cruelty; that it was not an unmixed evil; and that the condition of the people was not wholly pitiable." Other officers speak of it less favourably. Mr. Purser thus describes the state of affairs in Montgomery, next door to the capital of the Province—

"The villages seem to have been farmed to the highest bidder. As might be expected from such a system, oppression flourished. "There was very little security either. The people had only two ways of protecting themselves, the first was to go to Lahore "and complain; the second was to murder the Kárdár; neither was very satisfactory, as the result was only to introduce a still "more rapacious party on the scene. The ruins of old forts are still numerous in the district. Wells used to be provided with little "towers to which the cultivator might fly on the approach of danger. A couple of matchlocks were kept in them, and beneath "them was an enclosure for cattle. Thus cultivators carried on their work. Ranjít Singh had a police station at Kalúla, and there "was another belonging to Baháwalpur at Tibbi, four miles off; yet the country was so unsettled that people scarcely dared to cross "between the two if they had anything worth stealing with them. About 1830 Diwán Sáwan Mal obtained charge of the greater "portion of the district. His rule was decidedly vigorous; at first villages in which serious crimes took place were burnt as examples; "the track law was strictly enforced. He had canals dug, and by light rents and a just administration caused large areas to be "brought under cultivation. The tribes of the Rávi were, however, not to be weaned from evil ways in a hurry, and in 1843 they "were out and plundered half the country. The Wattus of the Satluj were very little better."

126. Sawan Mal's Administration.—The Sikh system probably appears to greatest advantage as worked by Sáwan Mal, the great administrator of Multán, who held sway over the south-western plains of the Province. Much has been written about his beneficent rule, and he is held up as having been under the Sikhs what Todar Mal was under the Mughals; and there is no doubt that by the judicious expen-

diture of capital, by systematically giving the land which was Peter's to any Paul who would pay more for it, and by his untiring energy and exertions in the cause of his pocket, he did very much to develop and extend agriculture in the territory which he administered. Yet hear Mr. O'Brien's description of his system as worked in Muzaffargarh, within sight of his capital:—

"Diwán Sáwan Mal's Government was better than anything that had preceded it. Its sole object was the accumulation of wealth "for the Diwán. The execution of public works, the administration of justice, and security of life and property were a secondary "consideration, and were insisted on only because without them agriculture would not prosper, and the revenue would not be paid. "When one examines his numerous cesses, and sees how he levied dues to pay the people's alms and perform their religious duties, "and then paid the poor and the Bráhmans what he thought a fair amount and pocketed the rest; how he levied a cess in return "for keeping his word; and how he encouraged his officials to take bribes and then made them duly credit the amount in the public "accounts,—one's admiration for the great Diwán is less than it would be if based on written history."

In Jhang "the extortionate tyranny of the Sikhs gave rise to a new species of right. The broken-hearted cultivator of the "land, who was also the proprietor, finding the demands and exactions on account of revenue absolutely unbearable, made over the "proprietary share of the produce, and with it the responsibility for the revenue, to some influential man whom the Government "treated with consideration. The contract was terminable at the will of either party, but the power was seldom if ever exercised. "The proprietor would not be anxious to regain his rights, symbols more of misery than of benefit; while the contractor, paying "perhaps nothing, or only at the most favourable rates to the exchequer, would be in no hurry to renounce an easy and lucrative "source of income. But had the contractor lost his influence with the Governor, and been squeezed for revenue as an ordinary "agriculturist, he would have thrown up his contract, and the original proprietor would not have thought of raising any objection. "Viewed in the light of our present revenue administration, the contract seems a very one-side transaction; but at the time "it was made the consideration was material and valuable, *viz.*, protection from the extortionate demands of the Sikh farmer. It "is difficult to form any very clear idea as to the degree of the severity of the revenue demand in Sáwan Mal's time. It varied "with the mood of the local Governor. Múl Ráj, who was for some time in charge of Jhang, was most tyrannical and oppres- "sive in his exactions, while the fiscal administration of Rája Guláb Singh is still execrated by the people as the acme of extor- "tionate taxation. Other Kárdárs were milder. The worst point of the Sikh rule in the eyes of the agriculturist was, that the "Kárdárs never hesitated to impose arbitrary fines whenever they found that a man had contrived to save money in spite of the land "revenue demand." (*Steedman.*)

127. The Panjab under English rule.—What wonder that, when they came into our hands, Sirsa and the greater part of Hissár were almost uninhabited, Karnál, Rohtak, South Ambála and Fírozpur, once covered with rich cultivation, were largely waste or jungle, and Sháhpur "an almost ruined and deserted tract of country," while the now fertile valleys of the Indus and the Chanáb were in many parts covered with impenetrable forest inhabited only by wild beasts. At that time there were no canals beyond a few inundation channels on the Indus and Lower Satluj; since then we have spent four and a half million sterling on Government canals, and have encouraged the formation of some hundreds of miles of smaller irrigation channels by private enterprise. There were then no communications worthy of the name; we now have 1,500 miles of metalled and 23,000 of unmetalled roads, and have spent nineteen millions sterling on Railways. In those days "the badness and insecurity of the roads and the levy of vexatious transit and customs dues prevented exportation of grain to any distance," and the people of one district starved for want of food while plenty reigned in parts of the Province not very far distant; there is now no import duty save on salt, and that taken on only a single line along our western frontier. We have substituted a fixed and moderate, if inelastic, assessment of land revenue for a demand about which the only certainty was that it would be excessive. I quote the Administration Report for 1872-73:—

"The Sikhs often actually took as much as one-half the gross produce of an estate, besides a multitude of cesses: our demand "never exceeds one-sixth, is frequently not more than an eighth, a tenth, or a twelfth, and in some cases not more than a fifteenth "of the average gross produce, valued at average prices for a period of 20 to 30 years."

Above all, we have replaced murder and violence by peace and order, and the traveller now sings with full pockets, for the robber is in gaol. No more striking example of the effect which order and tranquillity had upon the Province can be adduced than the fall of prices which ensued immediately upon our taking the Panjáb, and no better proof can be given of the development which it has undergone in our hands than the rise which those same prices have since experienced; for the high prices of the Sikh rule were rendered inevitable by the discouragement which anarchy and oppression offered to production, while the high prices of the present day are rendered possible by the connection of the Panjáb wheat fields with the markets of India and of the world. I give below the average prices of wheat and gram in the Panjáb in pounds per rupee from 1841 to 1880, with five-yearly averages.

Abstract No. 19, *showing* **Prices of Grain** *from* **1840** *to* **1880.**

Year.	Wheat.	Gram.	Year.	Wheat.	Gram.	Year.	Wheat.	Gram.
1841	52	58	1856	65	94	1871	43	44
1842	66	77	1857	77	103	1872	40	42
1843	63	75	1858	81	106	1873	43	56
1844	60	74	1859	81	99	1874	48	65
1845	54	68	1860	59	65	1875	49	62
1846	49	56	1861	35	39	1876	55	74
1847	48	59	1862	55	56	1877	42	51
1848	62	65	1863	63	71	1878	29	30
1849	52	48	1864	56	69	1879	25	29
1850	58	71	1865	46	55	1880	29	35
1851	85	100	1866	47	59			
1852	80	89	1867	45	49			
1853	69	98	1868	37	41			
1854	63	81	1869	28	26			
1855	76	113	1870	32	35			

Five-yearly Averages.

Year.	Wheat.	Gram.
1841 to 1845	59	70
1846 to 1850	54	60
1851 to 1855	75	96
1856 to 1860	73	93
1861 to 1865	51	58
1866 to 1870	38	42
1871 to 1875	45	54
1876 to 1880	36	44

Part I.—Historical Retrospect.

128. Principal events since annexation.—Since annexation the history of the Province has been one of unbroken peace,—for of the terrible wave of mutiny which swept over Hindustán in 1857 only a few ripples reached the Panjáb—and of prosperity interrupted only by famine and pestilence, two evils whose terrors diminish at each return, as the spread of knowledge among the people and the development of resources enable us to cope with them ever more and more effectively. In 1851-52 there was a drought almost amounting to famine, attended with "infinitely disastrous" effect on the crops. In 1860, famine raged to the east of the Satluj, and wheat rose at Dehli from 24 to 8 seers per rupee in a single twelve-month.

"The effects of the previous drought, and of the confusion which had reigned in the mutinies, soon became visible. Women "and children were to be seen in crowds picking wild berries for food. Herds of cattle perished, and general emigration from the "famine-stricken tract took place. The mortality from starvation was considerable." (*Administration Report.*)

Relief was then for the first time organised by Government. In Rohtak 900,000 people were relieved; in Karnál 22,000 were fed in a single month. The famine was still more severe in Bíkáner and Márwár and across the Jamna, and thousands of hunger-stricken fugitives swarmed into the Panjáb. The Rohtak people thus commemorate in ballads the distress that prevailed:—

"In the beginning of the famine died the menials, in the middle the village artisans, in the end the Banyas. A rupee became "worth eight annas, grain sold as pistachio nuts and wheat as raisins. The traders collected rotten grain and sold it dear, their "scales broke and their weights wore away with constant use. The trader lived and the ryot died. The carts were useless for the "oxen were dead, and the bride went to her husband's home without due formalities." (*Fanshawe*).

The contrast between the resources then at the disposal of Government and those now available is marked by the following sentence in the Administration Report in the year 1861, a year of abundant harvests:—

"The granaries of the Panjáb had been thoroughly exhausted by famine, and the new harvests were closely stored and "jealously husbanded. *At one time solicitude was felt regarding the supply of grain for the troops at Pesháwar, but the crisis "was surmounted.*"

In 1868-69 another famine of far greater severity devastated the same tract, and brought in its train fever, cholera, and small-pox. Finally rain at the end of 1869 alone "saved the Province from a famine worse than that of 1783, which would have desolated the country." Wheat rose to from 8 to 9 seers per rupee, nearly ten million persons received a day's rations, and half as many more were employed on relief works. In Karnál alone two million souls were fed, and the daily average for April 1869 reached 14,000. Notwithstanding this, the loss of life by actual starvation is believed to have been considerable.

"Hundreds of people are in a state of semi-starvation, never getting enough to eat from one day to another. Not a leaf is "to be seen on the trees that have, while they lasted, made a wretched substitute for fodder for the cattle. Skeletons of cattle in all "directions, empty huts, and lean countenances of people remaining in villages, indicate a state of misery fully justifying the relief "granted. Sixty-five thousand cattle have died and saved the menials from starvation."

The famine was followed throughout the whole Province by a "terrible epidemic of a very fatal fever" and by cholera. The monthly deaths in some districts rose to six and seven times the average number. Again, in 1877-78, drought prevailed east of the Satluj, which only narrowly escaped rising to the horrors of a famine. Relief was given promptly and effectively, and the "period of danger and anxiety" passed away. But the mortality among the cattle was terrible, far greater than on any previous occasion. In Rohtak—

"the aspect of the country was desolate in the extreme. There was literally *no* crop in the unirrigated parts; in a ride of 20 "miles not even two or three plots were to be seen. The grass had wholly disappeared, and the agriculturists lost 176,000 cattle, "a loss which it will take the district many years to recover." The people again expressed their troubles in song—"An ox sold for a "piece of bread, and a camel for a farthing. The year '34 has destroyed the stock of oxen and buffaloes. The year '34 has killed "34 of the (traditional) 36 castes; only two have survived, the trader and the butcher, the one by his scales the other by his knife."

And the fever which seems ever to follow in the steps of famine was more severe than usual, and again spread far beyond the limits of the scarcity. The Government reported of Jálandhar, Lúdhiána, and Fírozpur, that—

"the mortality from fever was enormous, and at one time the whole population seemed to be fever-stricken. The cantonment of "Fírozpur was almost deserted, and the English residents were hardly able to procure the necessaries of life; there were no "servants available for menial duties, and no artisans for ordinary work."

129. Progress of the Province since annexation.—Notwithstanding these visitations, the Province has made steady and rapid progress. Unfortunately there are few figures available for the years previous to 1868, when statistical inquiry may be said to have begun in the Panjáb. But Abstract No. 20 on the opposite page will give some idea of the progress made since then. No doubt many of the figures are inaccurate, and in some cases they are not strictly comparable, having been compiled on different data. But they show clearly enough the general advance. Some of the more prominent features of the development which the Province has undergone since annexation may be thus summarised. At annexation the only permanent canal open was the Western Jamna, irrigating Karnál and Dehli which had already been some fifty years under our rule. It then irrigated some 625 square miles; in 1869 it irrigated 750, and in 1877, 800 square miles. It has just been extended to a new tract of country. The Bári Doáb canal was begun in 1850, irrigated 470 square miles in 1869, and 675 in 1877. The Sarhind canal is just opened and will water 1,200 square miles. Of inundation canals not quite 800 miles of channel were open at annexation. The Government inundation canals now reach 1,500 miles; they watered 880 square miles in 1869, and nearly 1,500 in the late drought. Besides these, inundation canals constructed by private enterprise, for the most part since 1869, water a further area of 240 square miles. At annexation there were, of course, no railways, telegraphs, or organised post, no municipal institutions, and no public press; Government education was unknown, while the private schools were of the most inferior description; and the administration of justice was, to say the least, in a rudimentary state. The first railway was opened in 1862, in 1868 there were 468, and in 1880 there were 1,056 miles open; in 1868 there were 760 miles of wire open for messages, while there are now 5,050; in 1868 there were ten millions, and in 1880 twenty-two millions of letters carried by the post; in 1868 there were 860 miles of metalled and 18,000 of unmetalled roads open, which have since increased to 1,500 and 23,000 miles respectively. Since 1863, municipal institutions have been developed disposing of a yearly income of over a quarter of a million sterling, and a native press has sprung into existence; while we educated 72,000 scholars in 1868 and 168,000 in 1880. With all this

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material progress our police establishment has decreased since 1868, while the value of the suits decided by our Courts has nearly doubled.

Abstract No. 20, *showing quinquennial* **Statistics of Progress** *from* **1863** *to* **1880.**

DETAILS.	Actual Figures.				Percentages.			
	1863.	1868.	1873.	1878-80.	1863.	1868.	1873.	1878-80.
Cultivated, square miles	...	31,513	35,377	36,756	...	100	112	117
Irrigated " "	...	9,350	10,343	11,170	...	100	111	119
Square miles irrigated by Government canals	1,195	1,758	1,768	2,364	68	100	101	134
Assessed Land revenue, £ sterling	1,882,876	2,170,929	2,208,820	2,235,950	87	100	102	03
Number of Kine	6,746,561	6,797,561	6,570,212	6,121,417	99	100	97	90
" Sheep and Goats	...	3,803,819	3,849,842	3,864,013	...	100	101	102
" Camels	...	148,582	165,567	125,584	...	100	112	85
Metalled roads, miles	...	859	1,036	1,467	...	100	121	171
Unmetalled " "	...	18,193	19,762	23,156	...	100	109	127
Railways "	32	293	468	1,056	11	100	160	360
Police Staff	...	23,182	20,038	20,168	...	100	86	87
Prisoners convicted	18,465	38,654	39,512	40,055	48	100	102	104
Civil Suits, number	97,768	151,698	225,270	255,092	64	100	149	169
" " value in £ sterling	621,531	843,777	1,032,421	1,488,446	74	100	122	176
Municipalities, number	2	77	128	195	3	100	166	254
" income in £ sterling	...	...	190,397	266,780	...	...	100	139
Value of manufactures in £ sterling	...	3,773,368	5,306,422	12,495,547	...	100	141	331
Dispensaries, number	41	92	121	184	45	100	132	200
" patients	261,527	471,511	825,883	1,368,429	55	100	175	291
Schools, number	...	1,806	1,422	2,098	...	100	79	116
" scholars	...	72,337	75,050	167,921	...	100	104	232
Newspapers	2	13	22	36	15	100	170	277
Periodicals	...	11	14	76	...	100	127	691
Letters carried by post	7,027,831	9,887,643	13,420,316	22,165,676	71	100	135	224

130. Annual chronicle.—The facts and figures discussed in the preceding paragraphs will enable the reader to estimate with some degree of accuracy the advance in prosperity and the general development of resources which have taken place in the Panjáb since it fell into our hands. But in order to explain the fluctuations in population which the Census figures disclose, it will be necessary to exhibit briefly the character of the several years which have intervened between the successive enumerations. No description or discussion is needed; and Abstract No. 21 below, which shows for each year the leading vital statistics, the rainfall, and the price of food, and the notes appended to which sum up in a few words the nature of the seasons and such events as have affected the movements or increase of the population, present in a concise and convenient form the facts to which reference will have to be made, not only in this chapter, but still more when we come to discuss the age statistics. The vital statistics are notoriously imperfect; those of births more so than those of deaths, and those for the whole Province more so than those for municipalities. The earlier figures are probably far less correct than the later ones, and especially the earliest figures of all, when registration was in its infancy. But though the general increase in the rates is largely due to improvement in registration, yet that improvement has been gradual and constant, and sudden fluctuations in the figures are almost certainly due to actual fluctuations in the facts. The figures at least never err by being in excess of the truth; and as the tendency year by year is to reduce the number of unreported births and deaths, any *decrease* in the rates must be real.

Abstract No. 21, *showing annual* **Vital Statistics, Rain-fall, and Prices** *from* **1862** *to* **1880.**

	1862.	1863.	1864.	1865.	1866.	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	Averages. 1862 to 1867.	1868 to 1872.	1873 to 1877.	1878 to 1880.	1862 to 1880.
Deaths from cholera in thousands	No figures available.					43	1	9	...	...	9	...	...	6	6	...	...	26	...	...	4	2	9	7
Deaths from fever in thousands						174	151	273	275	214	265	220	191	280	351	219	441	473	328	...	236	252	414	275
Deaths from small-pox in thousands						31	24	53	27	26	24	26	12	14	10	12	40	50	9	...	31	15	33	26
Total deaths in thousands						313	268	454	419	363	431	357	317	447	497	351	629	673	473	...	387	394	592	428
Death rate per mille of population	No figures available.					...	15	26	24	21	25	20	18	26	28	20	36	38	27	...	22	22	34	25
Average death-rate of Municipal towns						...	...	34	31	31	40	33	29	41	45	29	58	55	30	...	34	35	48	38
Average birth-rate of Municipal towns						...	...	...	...	31	30	29	37	40	37	36	34	25	32	...	31	36	30	33
Average rain-fall in inches for the Province	34	37	30	27	23	29	25	25	26	27	30	28	24	36	33	26	29	23	24	30	27	29	25	28
Average rain-fall in inches for the Delhi Division	47	41	25	29	28	34	17	22	24	32	33	43	33	38	27	17	29	29	27	34	26	32	28	30
Average rain-fall in inches for the Hissár Division	22	27	16	23	13	21	10	14	16	12	24	16	12	24	21	14	21	15	13	20	15	17	16	18
Price of wheat in lbs. per rupee	55	63	56	46	47	45	37	28	32	43	40	43	48	49	55	42	29	25	29	52	36	47	28	43
Price of gram in lbs. per rupee	56	71	69	55	59	49	41	26	35	44	42	56	65	62	74	51	30	29	35	60	38	62	31	50

Note.—These figures refer to British territory only.

1849 to 1854 *Crops* unusually good. *Prices* extraordinarily low.

(*1st Census*) . **1855** *Season* 1855 dry and unfavourable.

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1856 *Crops* not good. Some *sickness* and murrain.
1857 *Crops* specially abundant. Health good. *Mutiny.*
1858 Sindh, Panjáb and Dehli *Railway* begun. *Dehli Territory* transferred to Panjáb.
1859 *Drought* in the East. 114 miles of Bari Doáb *Canal* opened.
1860 *Famine* in Dehli, Hissár and Ambála divisions. Considerable *mortality* (see sec. 128). Submontane zone had good *crops*, and benefited by high *prices*. Inundation *Canals* in progress on the Indus and Satluj.
1861 *Rains* generally sufficient. *Crops* good. *Prices* still at famine rates. Main Line and distributaries of Bári Doáb *Canal* opened. *Railway* from Amritsar to Lahore opened (32 miles).
1862 *Rains* good. *Crops* most abundant. *Health* good. Government Inundation *Canals* started in Deraját.
1863 *Rains* favourable. *Crops* good. *Railway* from Multán to Sher Sháh opened (11¼ miles).
1864 *Rains* not good. *Crops* below average, but made up to people by high *prices*. *Health* unusually good.
1865 *Favourable year* for cultivators. *Rains* somewhat scanty, especially in south-west; but very seasonable. Scarcity in Bengal and Kábul caused high *prices*. S. P. D. *Railway* opened from Lahore to Multán (208 miles). *Baháwalpur* taken under English management.
1866 *Rains* poor. *Crops* below average. Some *distress* in Multán and Deraját. *Cattle* suffered.
1867 *Rains* good. *Cholera* very general and fatal; worst in Amritsar, then Kohát, Hissár, Sirsa, Gurgáon, Hazára, Firozpur. S. P. D. *Railway* opened Amritsar to Beás (17 miles).
(*2nd Census*) **1868** *Famine* confined to the east of the Panjáb and Baháwalpur (see section 128). *Health* bad. Terrible mortality especially from fever.
1869 *Famine* terribly severe east of Satluj (see sec. 128). *Health* very bad. Terrible epidemic of fever. Small-pox and cholera; great mortality almost all over the Province. S. P. D. *Railway* opened from Jálandhar to Beás and from Jagádhri to Ludhiána (125 miles).
1870 *Rains* moderate but seasonable. *Crops* plentiful. *Prices* still high. *Health* very good, and remarkable freedom from epidemics. S. P. D. *Railway* opened Jálandhar to Philaur (32 miles) thus completing from Dehli to Lahore. Sarhind *canal* begun.
1871 *Rains* abundant on the whole but badly distributed. *Crops* on the whole good, though great *distress* from drought in south and south-east, and in Sirsa crops utterly failed. *Prices* lower. *Health* much improved, but still remains of fever epidemic. Punjab Northern and Indus Valley State *Railways* begun.
1872 *Rains* unusually heavy. *Crops* good. *Prices* falling. *Health* not good. Bad fever epidemics. Some cholera in eastern and sub-montane districts. Sirhind *canal* in vigorous progress.
1873 *The most prosperous since annexation. Rains* good. *Harvests* the largest known for years though not so good in Dehli and Hissár divisions. *Prices* did not rise, though 118,000 tons of grain sent to Bengal famine. *Health* very good. Rájpútána State *Railway* opened Dehli to Rewári (52 miles).
1874 *Rains* scanty in parts, but *crops* abundant. *Prices* fell. *Health* unusually excellent. Panjáb Northern State *Railway* opened to Wazirábád (62 miles). Rájpútána *Railway* opened to through traffic. 213 miles of *canals* to water 100,000 acres made in Firozpur.
1875 *Rains* extraordinarily heavy except in south-west. *Crops* good except in Multán and perhaps in Dehli division. *Health* very bad especially in west of Panjáb. Cholera in Dehli division. Panjáb Northern *Railway* opened Wazirábád to Jahlam (41 miles). *Canals* to water 44,000 acres made in Firozpur.
1876 *Rains* fairly good. *Crops* good. *Prices* fell though great export to Madras famine and Europe. *Health* worst since registration began. "Unprecedented and *excessive mortality*." Terrible fever epidemic, worst in central and sub-montane districts. Cholera to north-west, centre, and in east. Swát *canal* begun. 130 more miles of canals made in Firozpur, and new canals to water 34,000 acres in Montgomery.
1877 "*A year of danger and anxiety.*" *Rains* very bad. *Crops* bad. Famine just escaped. Worst distress in Dehli, Hissár, Deraját Divisions and whole submontane tract from Ambála to Pindi; and in districts bordering on Kashmír, which had poor crops and were crowded with fugitives from Kashmír famine. *Famine* in Kashmír, Bombay and Madras. *Prices* very high. *Health* good except in central districts and Multán.
1878 "*A calamitous year*, with unprecedented sickness, poor harvests, slackness of trade, and great though not universal distress." *Rains* very bad. *Crops* bad especially in south; distress almost amounted to famine in Dehli, Hissár, and Pesh war divisions and in Derah Gházi Khán. *Prices* at famine rates owing to *Kábul campaign* which also raised prices of labour. *Famine* in Kashmír. *Health* abnormally bad; worst since registration began. Terrible fever epidemic in all districts east of Lahore except Hissár division. Panjáb Northern *Railway* opened broad gauge to Jahlam and vigorously pushed on. Indus Valley Railway opened to through traffic.
1879 *Rains* bad. *Crops* below average. *Prices* high; but great demand for labour owing to *Kábul campaign* and to vigorous prosecution of Panjáb Northern State *Railway*. *Health* worse than in 1878. Fever, small-pox, and cholera epidemics; worst in all districts east of Lahore except Hissár division, and in Pindi and Jahlam. *Road* from Pindi to Thal being rapidly constructed. Panjáb Northern *Railway* opened Jahlam to Pindi and Miani branch (124 miles).
1880 *Rains* bad. *Crops* much below average except in Amritsar, Jálandhar and Ambála divisions. *Prices* still high. *Health* fairly good, though fever general as result of past distress and epidemic. Panjáb Northern State *Railway* opened Pindi to Attak (63 miles).
(*3rd Census*)

131. Contrast between the two inter-Census periods.—A glance at the résumé given above will at once make evident the reason why the increase of population between 1868 and 1881 was not only so much smaller than that between 1855 and 1868, but so absolutely small in itself when the progress made in other respects is taken into consideration. The most marked feature of vital statistics in India is the incessant and violent fluctuations which characterise them. In England the birth and death-rates vary from year to year by decimals per thousand: in India, by considerable percentages of their total amount. Nor is this to be wondered at, in the Panjáb at least. The population of the Province may be said, speaking in the roughest possible manner, to be composed as shown in the margin. Of the whole population not less than 53·8 per cent. depend primarily for their subsistence upon the produce of the soil, while a further 31·7 per cent. earn a most precarious livelihood; and of these latter some two-thirds are dependent upon the rural population. Thus failure of rain at once attacks the means of existence of some three-quarters of the population, while another tenth, dwellers in towns, suffer from the smallest rise in prices, and are peculiarly liable to epidemic disease. Taking the population as a whole, the standard of living is exceedingly low; wealth, in the European sense of the word, is almost unknown outside the cities, and in the cities outside the mercantile classes; and the margin left after the bare necessities of life have been provided for is often narrow beyond conception. Thus a very slight decrease in the yield of the harvest, a very small rise in prices, a very small tendency to agricultural distress, at once plunges a considerable proportion of our population into absolute want; while anything approaching real drought or famine deprives the great bulk of the people of the present means of subsistence, and finds them without any accumulated resources from which to supply them. But of all Northern India, the lower plains of the east of the Panjáb, which include 28 per cent. of the whole population of the Province, are the portion most liable to excessive variation of season and to destructive failure of rain. They lie on the border land between the area of fairly certain rainfall where failure is but seldom to be apprehended, and the area of normal drought where failure is comparatively immaterial, as cultivation is impossible save where irrigation renders it independent of the seasons. Their rainfall

Number per mille following each occupation.	
Government service, &c.	27
Higher professions	8
Holy men	16
Shop-keepers	59
Servants	15
Landowners	301
Tenants	191
Joint cultivators	14
Field labourers	16
Herdsmen, &c.	16
Town artisans	20
Village artisans and menials	190
Pedlars, &c.	4
Carriers	13
Coolies and miscellaneous workers	68
Beggars, gipsies, &c.	42
TOTAL	1,000

Part I.—Historical Retrospect.

is sufficient on the average to attract a dense agricultural population; but at not very long intervals it fails entirely, and plunges the whole of that population into want. The area protected by irrigation, yearly extending, is as yet but a fraction of the area under the plough. Add to these conditions the universal ignorance of the most elementary rules of sanitation, the prevalence of ideas as to privacy which render it impossible to enforce those rules even in large cities, the peculiar constitution of the village, described in sections 62-3, which closely assimilates the insanatory conditions of rural to those of urban life, the difference being one of degree only and not of kind, and the liability of oriental countries to scourges, such as cholera and small-pox, which are happily almost unknown in Europe; and it follows as an almost necessary consequence that the Panjáb death-rates, and with them the birth-rates, fluctuate violently. The normal course of events seems to be something of this sort. The rains fail and distress ensues; next year the rain fails again and famine devastates the country, while immigrants pour in from the even less favoured tracts which surround us, and cast an additional burden upon resources already insufficient to meet the needs of the resident population. The famine is followed by virulent epidemics of fever and cholera, the old and the young die, literally like flies in autumn, while too many succumb even in the prime of life, the death-rate mounts to an appalling figure, and births decrease in number. Favourable seasons follow; the population, purged of its weak and sickly elements, exhibits a marvellous recuperative faculty, and all prospers till the swing of the pendulum brings with it a return of famine and pestilence. The periodical nature of these visitations is most marked. The years of distress in the Eastern Panjáb have been of late as shown in the margin.

Year.	Nature of Famine.	Interval.
1783	Terrible	
1802	Moderate	19 = 10+9.
1812	Severe	10
1817	Slight	5
1824	Severe	7
1833	Terrible	9
1842	Slight	9
1851	Moderate	9
1860	Severe	9
1869	Terrible	9
1877	Moderate	8

132. Now the Census of 1855 was taken exactly half-way between two of these periodical famines; annexation had only preceded it by an interval of six years, and its effects had scarcely had time to make themselves felt. The four years which followed were years of fair harvests and untroubled by pestilence. Then came the famine of 1860, not one of the worst kind, which only lasted one year and was confined within narrow limits. After it followed seven years of quite exceptional prosperity, and immediately at the end of them, on the 10th of January 1868, the last Census was taken. The population was then at its highest point. The terrible famine of 1869 followed, with two years of failure of crops and exceptional mortality. Seven more favourable years followed, to be again succeeded by the drought of 1877, which, if it did not reach actual famine pitch, has been succeeded by three years of sickness, war, agricultural distress, and high prices,—which last, though a sign of increasing prosperity, tell with terrible severity upon the poorer classes till wages have had time to adjust themselves to the altered conditions,—such as have not been paralleled since our occupation of the Province. And at the close of this period of distress, just as better days were dawning, came the present Census. The enumeration of 1855 was made when the pendulum was midway, and before the Province had had time to develop; that of 1868 was made when the pendulum was at its highest point; that of 1881 when it was at its lowest. I believe that the population has decreased considerably since the beginning of 1878, and that if the Census had been taken in 1877 the figures would have shown a rate of increase far nearer that which obtained between 1855 and 1868; and the statistics of age, which I shall discuss later on, bear me out in this conclusion. Part of the difference is probably due to the Census of 1855 having been far more defective in comparison with that of 1868 than was that of 1868 as compared with the present enumeration; and this is a point which I shall return to presently. But there is little doubt that the small rate of increase which the figures of 1881 show when compared with those of 1868 is in great measure due to the peculiar juncture at which the respective enumerations were made.

PART II.—MIGRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

133. The Tables and Figures.—The facts regarding the movements to and fro of the people of the Panjáb are deduced from the figures of Tables X and XI in Appendices A and B, which show the birth-place of each person living in the Panjáb at the time of the Census. Somewhat similar tables have been prepared in the other Provinces of India, and the two together enable us to determine the extent of migration to and from and within the Panjáb. I have described at length in the Chapter on Compilation in Part II of this Report the manner in which I classified the birth-places. Some degree of uncertainty attended some of the entries; but the numbers affected by it are so small that, so far as compilation goes, the figures may be taken as practically correct. I think, too, that the returns of birth-place in the original schedules may be looked upon as trustworthy. There was at any rate no possible inducement to make intentionally wrong entries. In the case of nomad tribes and perhaps in some other instances, as where the person was brought while still living to his present home by parents now dead, it is probable that the real birth-place was not always known; and in such cases the tendency would naturally be to return the individuals as born in the place in which they were then living. But I believe that the figures on the whole possess a high degree of accuracy. As they stand, however, in Table XI, they are material rather than results, and but little meaning can be extracted from them without some sort of calculation. Moreover they do not distinguish between urban and rural population. I have accordingly given in Appendix C certain supplementary tables which exhibit the results in a more intelligible form. Thus supplementary Table C shows the proportional distribution of the population of each district under certain main heads of birth-place. Supplementary Table D shows the proportional distribution by residence among the various districts of the immigrants from each main head of birth-place. Supplementary Table E gives main details of birth-place separately for urban and rural population, Tables X and XI being for total population only. Supplementary Table F shows the gain or loss by migration to each district and state separately for persons, males and females. Supplementary Table G shows the movements of population of both sexes between districts, while supplementary Table H gives similar figures for males and females separately. A few of the detailed figures for emigration are mere estimates, and the method of framing these is explained fully in section 154. The general results will be found summarised in abstract No. 23 on page 61. It must be remembered that all these figures include all persons now living; and it is probable that some at least of the migration took place before our annexation of the Panjáb, and much of it before the Census of 1868.

134. The several types of migration.—Migration may be roughly referred to four different types :—

(1) *temporary*, due to a local failure of grass, or even of food, driving the people to seek the one or the other in more favoured districts; to a temporary demand for labour on public works or for transport purposes attracting a large number of labourers to a particular locality, and the like.

(2) *periodic*, due to the changing seasons which drive men to and fro between the cool mountains and the warm valleys and plains, or from the scorched-up steppes to the grassy river banks and lower hills, and which send them forth for purposes of carriage, trade, and so forth.

(3) *permanent*, where overcrowding or distress on the one hand, or physical or political advantages on the other, drive away from one district and attract to another people who settle down permanently on the land.

(4) *reciprocal*, where, in the absence of any local attractions to induce movement from either quarter, persons pass from one district to another and are replaced by others moving in the opposite direction. This form is largely peculiar to the east of the Province, and will presently be discussed.

These four types can in great measure be distinguished by the varying proportion of the sexes among the migrants, the males being largely in excess in temporary and less so as a rule in periodic migration, the proportion being fairly normal in permanent migration, while in reciprocal migration the females greatly predominate. But of course each type shades off into all the others; indeed it may often be said to produce them, for people will more readily settle temporarily or permanently where friends and connections have preceded them; two or more types are generally present side by side; and the proportion of the sexes can only be taken as a very rough indication of the general nature of the migration, and of the type which prevails most largely.

135. In temporary migration the younger men generally go alone with their cattle, or in search of work, leaving the women, children and aged of both sexes behind. It is only when distress from famine has reached a very high pitch that whole families wander in search of food. But in the great grazing grounds of the Western, and of the south-western portions of the Eastern Plains, the family not unfrequently moves in a body with its cattle in search of pasture.

Periodic migration takes place perhaps most largely between Afghánistán and the Panjáb, and is described in Section 142 where the immigration from beyond our western border is discussed. But even within the Province the change of seasons is not without its effect upon the distribution of the population. Every year many inhabitants of the lofty ranges of Barmor in Chamba leave them to winter in the warmer valleys of Kángra, while people from Láhul similarly move into Kúlu with their families for the cold weather. Every year as the growing heat of the later spring months dries up the pools and withers the grass of our great grazing grounds, the young men move off with the cattle to the river banks or to the valleys which lie among the lower ranges of hills, returning when the rainfall of autumn has filled the ponds and restored the herbage, often accompanied by the cattle which the rising waters of the rivers have driven from their banks. On the frontier and in the mountains the migrating tribes are semi-nomad, and a very considerable proportion, if not the whole of the women, accompany the camps or caravans; but within the Province the cattle are generally attended by men only.

The ordinary course of permanent migration is something in this wise. A family finds its ancestral lands insufficient for its increasing numbers, or is unable to obtain local employment for all its members; and a son, accompanied perhaps by a cousin or two, goes off in search of land or work to where he knows that cultivators are in demand, or where perhaps a married sister offers him a welcome. He becomes a tenant, and after a time perhaps an owner, and sends for his wife to join him in his new home. Her brothers and cousins follow her on the same errand which brought her husband to the place, knowing

Part II.—Migrations of the People.

that they will find friends. Her sons look for wives and her daughters for husbands to the neighbourhood of the old home; and so a small colony is formed which serves as a nucleus for further immigration. As time goes on the colony expands, its numbers increase, immigration ceases or assumes the reciprocal form, until at length the ties connecting the colony with the people of the neighbourhood grow stronger and those with its original home relax, and wives are no longer sought for at a distance.

136. Reciprocal migration.—Reciprocal migration of some sort is of course always occurring between neighbouring districts. But the special form to which I have given the name is almost peculiar to the east of the Panjáb, where it is caused by the marriage customs which there obtain. In this part of the Province a large proportion of the population is Hindu, while in the villages at least the Musalmáns still observe the old tribal restrictions upon intermarriage. These restrictions, and indeed the whole ceremonial of betrothal and marriage, are obviously based upon marriage by capture, as will be pointed out in the sketch of the tribal and social organisation of the people which will form a part of my Chapter on Caste. The cardinal rule is that a man must not marry into his own, his mother's, or his father's mother's tribe or clan, and in some parts the mother's mother's tribe is also excluded. As the distribution of the people is essentially tribal these restrictions generally forbid marriage in any of the neighbouring villages, and the wife has to be brought from a distance. But they are not the only restrictions. What is called *símjor ki birádari*, or kinship based upon a common border, is no less a bar to intermarriage than is actual blood-relationship, and a man may not marry a woman from a village marching with his own whatever the tribe to which she belongs. And though the actual prohibition extends only to conterminous villages, the feeling and custom of the country carry the rule to a further development and prescribe that a wife shall not be taken from the immediate neighbourhood. The *janet* or *barát*, the formal procession of male relations or friends which accompanies the bridegroom to the house of the bride, assists in the wedding ceremonies, and brings back the newly married pair in triumph, is no mere empty form. It is a solemn function, a high festival to all concerned, and attended with very considerable expense; and the greater the distance which it has to travel to the house of the bride, the greater is the *éclat* which attends the marriage. The importance attached by the people to the idea of distance as legitimizing marriage is shown by the remark of a villager, who explained to me that he could not marry a woman of his own tribe, "No! not even if she lived a hundred miles off!"

137. In the towns these ideas are less prevalent; while in the western parts of the Province, where the people are far more thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Islám, it is often the case that the only restrictions imposed upon intermarriage are those very lenient ones prescribed by the law of Mahomet, while tribal feeling, the rights of succession which Islám allows to females, and regard for the social standing of the tribe, lead to a great deal of intermarriage within a very narrow circle of relationship. But where, as in the villages of the east, the wife must be brought from a distance, it is obvious that a large interchange of brides will take place across the purely artificial boundary of a district or province. And it is this interchange which is the cause of so much reciprocal migration in our eastern districts. I cannot say where the custom changes; indeed it would probably be very difficult to draw any exact line. But the figures of Abstract No. 22 on the next page show the immense difference between the east and the west of the Panjáb in this respect.

I have drawn a line across the table below Fírozpur, which very fairly separates the eastern from the western districts of the Province. Above this line the total migration is enormously larger in proportion to population than it is below it, while the proportion of females among the migrants is enormously higher. In both respects the figures are highest for the districts furthest east, and decrease as a rule as they approach the centre. The proportion of females born out of the district among the rural population is as a rule larger than the corresponding proportion of males above the line, and smaller below the line, while the same holds good to some extent even among the urban population. Precisely the same features are observable in the figures for Native States given at the bottom of the abstract. In Kángra and the Hill States the migration of females is not nearly so marked as in the districts which border on them; and we may conclude that reciprocal migration is most prevalent in the extreme east of the Province, but obtains markedly throughout the Eastern Plains and sub-montane districts, though it does not apparently extend to the Hills proper, and is almost unknown in the Western Plains and the Salt-range Tract. In a word, it obtains throughout the Panjáb plains where the population is Hindu or Sikh, and disappears with the predominance of Islám. The figures given in section 149 also exemplify the distinction between reciprocal and other types of migration. Of course this form of migration is really as permanent as any other; but I call it reciprocal to distinguish it from that form, to which alone I apply the term permanent, which consists primarily of a movement of males in one direction rather than of an exchange of females in both directions. The name is not a good one; but I have been unable to find a better. I need hardly say that each of these two forms necessarily induces and is accompanied by the other.

138. Extra-Provincial Migration.—Abstract No. 23 on page 61 gives the figures for migration to and from the Panjáb worked out from the provincial birth-place tables of the present Census. No figures for emigration from the Panjáb to places beyond the scope of the Census operations, that is to say to Kashmír, Nepal, and all places outside the Indian empire, are available; but I think it may safely be assumed that any such emigration that may have taken place within the lifetime of the present generation is so small that it may be entirely excluded from consideration. The emigration from the Panjáb to colonies beyond the seas under the emigration rules is wholly inappreciable, as is shown by the figures in the margin kindly furnished me by the Revenue Department of the Government of India.

Year.	No. of Emigrants.
1876 . . .	51
1877 . . .	69
1878 . . .	40
1879 . . .	139
1880 . . .	762
1881 . . .	810*

* The Deputy Commissioner of Dehli, however, says that 948 emigrants were recruited in his district alone during 1881, the total up to that year having been 885. The emigrants are chiefly taken from the Eastern districts.

Part II.—Migrations of the People.

Abstract No. 22, *showing the* Proportions of the Sexes *among* Migrants *for* Districts.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
				Proportion per 1,000.						
						Born out of the District.				
						Villages.		Towns.		
Territorial Unit.	Total Population.	Total Migrants.	Female Migrants.	Migrants to total Population.	Females to Migrants of both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Territorial Unit.
Dehli	643,515	259,658	154,978	403	597	124	309	287	266	Dehlí
Gurgáon	641,848	249,139	161,800	390	649	101	254	204	329	Gurgáon
Karnál	622,621	185,379	117,667	298	634	93	221	168	228	Karnál
Hissár	504,183	181,600	94,075	360	518	223	199	266	314	Hissár
Rohtak	553,609	178,145	120,691	322	677	98	261	137	283	Rohtak
Sirsa	253,275	122,511	58,831	484	480	353	362	496	494	Sirsa
Ambála	1,067,263	224,077	130,210	219	557	61	98	291	243	Ambála
Ludhiana	618,835	177,073	113,337	286	640	74	199	238	291	Ludhiana
Jálandhar	789,555	192,743	116,272	244	603	71	160	184	229	Jálandhar
Hushyárpur	901,381	178,150	107,773	198	605	34	92	187	164	Hoshiarpur
Kangra	730,845	72,985	35,310	100	484	44	48	181	112	Kangra
Amritsar	893,266	236,723	127,067	265	537	61	143	316	283	Amritsar
Gúrdaspur	823,695	189,913	113,587	231	598	63	128	154	213	Gurdaspur
Sialkot	1,012,148	209,278	112,767	206	539	57	107	219	191	Sialkot
Lahore	924,106	265,289	126,619	287	477	133	170	382	384	Lahore
Gujranwála	616,892	125,544	66,046	204	526	57	93	172	197	Gújranwála
Firozpur	650,519	200,958	105,958	309	527	144	202	428	379	Firozpur
Ráwalpindi	820,512	118,073	33,311	144	282	94	40	561	347	Ráwalpindi
Jhelam	589,373	77,999	29,572	132	380	59	46	395	248	Jhelam
Gujrat	689,115	88,157	44,253	128	502	46	66	119	145	Gujrat
Shahpur	421,508	61,030	27,483	145	450	61	59	77	73	Shahpur
Multán	551,964	72,648	25,853	132	356	85	58	291	162	Multán
Jhang	395,296	54,677	22,668	139	415	46	46	68	48	Jhang
Montgomery	426,529	80,345	35,938	188	447	85	84	193	130	Montgomery
Muzaffargarh	338,605	38,216	14,828	113	388	91	71	124	89	Muzaffargarh
Dera Ismáíl Khan	441,649	63,200	25,323	143	401	115	106	187	73	Dera Ismáíl Khan
Dera Ghází Khan	363,346	38,271	13,945	106	364	68	52	219	89	Dera Ghází Khan
Bannú	332,577	39,953	14,474	120	362	74	54	387	138	Bannu
Pesháwar	592,674	90,112	23,246	152	258	105	51	405	175	Pesháwar
Hazára	407,075	36,832	13,582	90	369	55	43	368	199	Hazára
Kohat	181,540	39,483	11,627	217	294	193	108	608	314	Kohat
Total British Territory	**18,850,437**	**1,625,017**	**841,073**	**86**	**516**	**36**	**50**	**152**	**120**	**Total British Territory**
Patiala	1,467,433	406,134	274,634	277	676	69	208	96	178	Patiala
Nabha	261,824	127,084	90,344	485	711	124	400	240	546	Nabha
Jind	249,862	127,071	83,106	509	654	174	374	250	345	Jind
Kapurthala	252,617	89,087	57,424	353	645	115	281	208	411	Kapurthala
Faridkot	97,034	45,118	25,536	465	566	250	390	222	323	Faridkot
Total Eastern Plains	*2,522,546*	*625,770*	*401,736*	*248*	*642*	*80*	*191*	*114*	*191*	*Total Eastern Plains*
Baháwalpur	573,494	83,387	34,007	145	408	93	75	100	70	Baháwalpur
Hill States	*765,643*	*52,949*	*22,497*	*69*	*425*	*44*	*32*	*299*	*246*	*Hill States*
Total Native States	**3,861,688**	**750,948**	**451,366**	**194**	**601**	**74**	**136**	**120**	**175**	**Total Native States**
Total Province	**22,712,120**	**1,062,638**	**488,203**	**47**	**460**	**23**	**27**	**116**	**79**	**Total Province**

NOTE.—" Migrants " includes both immigrants into and emigrants from the District.

Part II.—Migrations of the People.

Abstract No. 23, *showing* Migration from and to the Panjab.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	1
Serial No.	Province or Country.	Emigration from the Panjab.			Immigration into the Panjab.			Proportions per mille of total Emigration and Immigration. Emigration.			Immigration.			Number of Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.			Number of Males per 1,000 of both Sexes.		Net gain to the Panjab by Migration. Figures.			Per Mille.			Serial No.
		Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Emigrants.	Immigrants.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	
1	North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	141,548	68,386	73,162	261,446	142,519	118,927	498	482	514	342	339	346	542	478	615	481	546	119,898	74,133	45,765	249	266	227	1
2	Rájputána *	81,710	29,884	51,826	233,542	116,327	117,215	288	211	364	305	276	341	349	258	443	366	497	151,832	86,443	65,389	316	310	324	2
3	Bombay proper	4,740	3,552	1,188				17	25	8							749								3
4	Sindh	29,316	20,584	8,732	4,780	3,156	1,624	103	145	61	6	8	5	7,402	7,991	6,255	702	660	—30,599	—22,065	—8,534	—64	—79	—42	4
5	Bombay Feudatory States.	1,323	1,085	238				5	8	1							822								5
6	Bengal	8,134	6,136	1,998	8,203	5,158	3,045	29	43	14	11	12	9	992	1,190	664	755	629	69	—978	1,047	...	—4	5	6
7	Central India	6,777	4,475	2,302	3,531	1,930	1,601	24	32	16	5	5	5	1,948	2,318	1,439	660	547	—3,246	—2,545	—701	—7	—9	—3	7
8	Central Provinces	2,834	2,028	806	1,441	961	480	10	14	6	2	2	1	1,967	2,110	1,680	717	667	—1,393	—1,067	—326	—3	—4	—2	8
9	Haidarabad	2,740	2,035	705	1,276	784	492	9	14	5	2	2	1	2,147	2,596	1,433	743	613	—1,464	—1,251	—213	—3	—4	—1	9
10	Ajmere	2,339	1,595	744	93	59	34	8	11	5	...	...	...				682	635	—2,246	—1,536	—710	—4	—6	—4	10
11	Baroda	1,479	990	489	77	58	19	5	7	4	...	...	...	4,848	5,032	4,451	669	754	—1,402	—932	—470	—3	—3	—2	11
12	Other Indian Provinces.	1,330	1,063	267	892	608	284	4	8	2	1	1	...				799	682	—438	—455	17	—1	—2	...	12
	Total (1 to 12)	**284,270**	**141,813**	**142,457**	**515,281**	**271,560**	**243,721**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**674**	**645**	**708**	**552**	**521**	**584**	**499**	**527**	**231,011**	**129,747**	**101,264**	**480**	**465**	**502**	
13	Kashmir	No	Cens	us.	113,657	60,138	53,519	...	...	...	148	143	156	...	...	...	...	528	113,657	60,138	53,519	236	216	266	13
14	Nepal				2,660	2,073	587	...	...	...	3	5	2	...	...	...	...	779	2,660	2,073	587	6	7	3	14
	Total Indian Empire.†	**284,270**	**141,813**	**142,457**	**631,598**	**333,771**	**297,827**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**825**	**793**	**866**	**450**	**425**	**478**	**499**	**528**	**347,328**	**191,958**	**155,370**	**722**	**688**	**771**	
15	Afghánistan	No	Cens	us.	112,690	69,538	43,152	...	...	...	148	165	125	...	...	...	...	615	112,690	69,538	43,152	235	249	214	15
16	Bilochistan				1,478	856	622	...	...	...	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	578	1,478	856	622	3	3	3	16
17	Other parts of Asia				1,309	1,051	258	...	...	...	2	3	1	...	...	...	...	803	1,309	1,051	258	3	4	1	17
	Total Asia†	**284,270**	**141,813**	**142,457**	**747,075**	**405,216**	**341,859**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**977**	**963**	**994**	**381**	**350**	**416**	**499**	**542**	**462,805**	**263,403**	**199,402**	**963**	**944**	**989**	
18	Europe	No	Cens	us.	17,824	15,542	2,282	...	...	...	23	37	6	...	...	...	...	873	17,824	15,542	2,282	37	56	11	18
19	Other quarters				133	72	61	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	542	133	72	61	...	...	...	19
	Grand Total	**284,270**	**141,813**	**142,457**	**765,032**	**420,830**	**344,202**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**371**	**337**	**414**	**499**	**549**	**480,762**	**279,017**	**201,745**	**1,000**	**1,000**	**1,000**	

The **Emigration** *from the* **Panjab** *into the* **North-Western Provinces, Bombay,** *and* **Sindh** *is thus distributed between* **Panjab British Territory** *and* **Native States**:—

Emigration from Panjab into	From British Territory. Persons.	Males.	Females.	From Native States. Persons.	Males.	Females.
North-Western Provinces.	140,242	67,532	72,710	1,306	854	452
Bombay proper	4,685	3,520	1,165	55	32	23
Sindh	17,490	13,686	3,804	11,826	6,898	4,928

* Emigration figures for the two States of Bikáner and Jodhpur are estimated (see section 154), no Census figures being available.
† Excluding unspecified birth-places.

Part II.—Migrations of the People.

The general results may be summarised thus :—

	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Total population of Panjáb	22,712,120	12,322,356	10,389,764
Deduct—Birth-place doubtful or unspecified	13,336	11,792	1,544
Birth-place specified	22,698,784	12,310,564	10,388,220
Deduct—Immigrants born out of but now living in the Panjáb	765,032	420,830	344,202
Born in and now living in the Panjáb	21,933,752	11,889,734	10,044,018
Add—Emigrants born in but now living out of the Panjáb	284,270	141,813	142,457
Total born in the Panjáb and now alive	22,218,022	12,031,547	10,186,475

That is to say, taking the total number of souls born in the Panjáb and now alive as 1,000, we have—

	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Born in the Panjáb	1,000	1,000	1,000
Of these, have emigrated to other countries	13	12	14
Leaving still dwelling in the Panjáb	987	988	986
Who have been supplemented by immigrants from other countries	35	35	34
Giving as the present population of the Province	1,022	1,023	1,020

Thus if there had been no migration to and fro, we should have had only 1,000 persons for every 1,022 we now have; or our loss would have been 480,762 souls, of which 279,017 would have been males. Of our net gain by migration, Rájpútána gives us 32, the North-Western Provinces 25, Kashmír 24, Afghánistán 23, Europe 4, and other countries 1 per cent.; these figures amount to 109, the surplus 9 per cent. being balanced by a loss of 7 per cent. to Bombay, and of 2 per cent. to other Indian Provinces. We have sent away to other countries as many females as males, while we have received from them 55 males for every 45 females.

139. Immigration from outside India.—The immigration from beyond the limits of Asia is of course almost wholly confined to the English officials and soldiers who come here in the service of Government. Full details will be found in Table X, Appendix A. Out of a total of 17,957 souls, no fewer than 17,590 hail from the United Kingdom. It is curious, however, to note how many European and even African, American, and Australasian countries have contributed to our western population. Roumania and Servia are the only European States that are not represented. South America is the only great division of the world that does not contribute, if indeed its contribution be not concealed under the heading "America, part unspecified." Of this western immigration, 87 out of every 100 souls are males. The figures of Table XI, Appendix A, page 19, and of Supplementary Table E, Appendix C, show how almost entirely they are confined to the great cities and cantonments. Only 817 out of 17,875 souls in British Territory are to be found in the villages.

140. Of the immigration from non-Indian Asia all but some 3 per cent. comes from Afghánistán. This I shall discuss separately. Bilochistán (see column 116, Table XI) only sends us 1,478 souls, of whom 622 are females. These are almost wholly confined to Derah Ghází Khán, and are hill-men, not British subjects, who spend the hot weather in the valleys of the Sulemáns beyond our frontier, but are driven down with their families by the cold of the winter months to pasture their herds in the plains between the mountains and the Indus; and they were found at the time of the Census almost entirely in the villages. I should have expected the number to be more considerable. But it is well known that the cold weather is the season of birth, and many of the members of those clans who are in the habit of wintering in our territory were no doubt really born there, and have been correctly returned. Next to Bilochistán comes Tibet, (column 122, Table XI), which sends us 706 souls, 623 of whom are males, and all but 20 of whom are to be found in Simla and the mountain territories of Patiála and the Hill States which immediately surround Simla. These men are Ladákhi coolies who find employment on the hill roads of Simla as navvies and quarrymen [1]. They are strong but stupid, and not to be compared with the Hazára coolies to be mentioned presently. The immigration from other Asiatic countries outside India is quite insignificant in amount, though here again the variety is strikingly great. The marts of Amritsar, Dehli, and Lahore have attracted traders from Arabia, Persia, Afghánistán, Bukhára, Yárkand, Túrkistán, Mongolia, Chinese Tartary [2], Siam, and the Straits Settlements (see Table X). The temporary nature of the immigration is shewn by the enormous proportion of males, who number 80 out of every 100.

141. Migration within the Indian empire is naturally largest between the Panjáb and those States or Provinces which adjoin it, namely, the North-West Provinces, Rájpútána, Bombay (Sindh), and Kashmír. These will be described presently. In all other cases except Bengal, emigration largely exceeds immigration. This is probably due in great part to the fact that to the Panjáb belong two of the most warlike races of India, the Sikhs (for the Sikhs may almost be called a people) and the Afgháns, and that there is a demand for these and perhaps for other races of the hardy Panjáb peasantry to be employed in military service. It will be noticed that in the case of each one of the Provinces under discussion, the proportion of males is not only large among emigrants, but much larger than it is among immigrants, with the single exception of Nepal into which there is probably little or no emigration from the Panjáb, and the immigrants from which are almost wholly Gúrkha troops which form a portion of our army. The details of

[1] Ladákh is politically a part of the kingdom of Kashmír, and geographically a part of the country of Tibet. It is probable that the great majority of the Simla immigrants who have returned their birth-place either as Kashmír or as Tibet are either Ladákhis, or Báltis from beyond Ladákh.

[2] It is very probable that most if not all of the persons returned as having been born in China (*Chín*) were born in Chinese Tartary, and not in China proper.

Part II.—Migrations of the People.

immigration will be found in columns 85 to 112 of Table XI. A good many of the apparent immigrants are not improbably persons who were born abroad while their parents were on service. In the case of Bengal emigration and immigration are almost exactly balanced. The immigrants are largely clerks and army agents, and are almost confined to the districts in which cantonments exist; they are chiefly males. Among the emigrants the sexes are much more evenly balanced. It must be remembered that our figures refer to all living inhabitants of India; and that much of the emigration may have preceded our annexation of the Panjáb.

142. **Immigration from Afghanistan.**—I now turn to the migration to and from the countries or provinces which march with the Panjáb, and I shall begin with Afghánistán, the figures for which will be found in column 113 of Table XI. The first remark I have to make is that a Census taken in the summer would give very different results from one taken, as was that of 1881, during the winter months. All along our Afghán border the hill-men, like the Biloches just mentioned, winter in considerable numbers in British territory, coming down in the autumn with their families and flocks, or to their lands which they cultivate only in the cold weather, and returning to their mountain fastnesses before the heat of our Indian summer. Many hundreds of these men are also engaged in the local carrying trade in salt, wood, and petty merchandise, which is always far more active in the winter than in the summer months. Moreover, year by year, as soon as the autumn sets in, many thousands of coolies from the Hazára country beyond Kábul come down into the Panjáb in search of labour on roads, canals, or other public works, or as well-sinkers, wall-builders, and the like.

About the same time the great Pawindah caravans, having fought their way through the wild tribes beyond our border, arrive on the Derah Ismáíl frontier laden with the merchandise of Bukhára and Kandahár, many of them with their families and herds who come in search of pasture as much as for purposes of trade[1]. In the Census year an enumeration made with special care at the mouths of the gorges by which the caravans cross the Sulemáns showed that 49,392 Pawindahs entered the Panjáb, of whom 17,173 were females. Many of the men pass on with their laden camels to the marts of Hindustán and the eastern and southern Panjáb; but the women and children, and perhaps a majority of the men, scatter over the plains on either side of the Indus, and establish themselves with their flocks and herds in temporary encampments. There they remain till returning spring brings back the merchants, now supplied with the produce of India and Europe, and the caravans once more start on their westward journey.

143. In the year of the Census special circumstances combined to make the temporary immigration from Afghánistán into the Panjáb quite exceptionally large. On the one hand several successive seasons of drought beyond the border had caused great distress, and had driven the hill-men in unusual numbers into British Territory in search of employment; while on the other hand the exigencies of the Kábul campaign had created an extraordinary demand for labour, and had driven wages up to a level which they had probably never reached before in the Panjáb. The Panjáb Northern State Railway in Peshâwar and Râwalpindi and the Thal road in Kohát were being pushed on with extraordinary vigour, while the Swát canal in Peshâwar was in course of excavation. Some of this work was so situated that none but border men could have executed it in safety. The figures show the results of this combination of circumstances.

But besides this temporary immigration, there has been of late years and still is a tendency on the part of the hill-men, slight as yet but apparently slowly increasing, to settle in British Territory. It is not to be expected that even such inducements as we can offer in a fertile soil and security of life and property, should at once prevail upon the wild and semi-savage tribes of our Afghán border to exchange a life of dangerous freedom for one of secure subjection to a rule of irksome regularity and monotonous absence of incident. Yet the little land that is still available in British Territory is even now eagerly sought after, and by slow degrees the trans-border tribes are spreading, whenever opportunity offers, into our districts. The Wazíri in Bannú and the Bár-Mohmand in Peshâwar are notable instances; and the same process is going on in a less marked degree along the whole length of our border. A less satisfactory cause of permanent immigration is the ruthless manner in which blood feuds are prosecuted in independent territory, many men who have incurred the enmity of their neighbours finding refuge within our dominions.

144. *Supplementary Tables C and D of* Appendix C show the distribution of the Afghán immigrants, and the proportion they bear to the population of each district. The figures may be summarised thus, neglecting districts which do not contain 1 per cent. of the total number of immigrants.

Districts.	Percentage of total Afghan immigrants living in the district.	Percentage of total population who are immigrants from Afghánistan.	Number of males among every 100 immigrants of both sexes.
Ráwalpindi	1·94	0·27	86·8
Derah Ismáíl Khan	25·70	6·56	52·1
Derah Ghâzi Khan	2·81	0·87	66·5
Bannú	10·13	3·40	59·9
Peshâwar	31·85	6·06	65·8
Hazára	6·42	1·78	58·7
Kohát	16·33	10·14	60·6
	95·18		

The low percentage of males in Derah Ismáíl Khan shows how largely the immigrants are made up either of permanent settlers or of *pawindahs*, who, being pure nomads, are always accompanied by their families. Table XI shows that while 32,219 male and 17,173 female *pawindahs* entered the district, only 15,068 males and 13,886 females returned themselves as having been born in Afghánistán. As the *pawindahs* spend nearly half of every year in British Territory, many of them were doubtless born there; while as already explained, a portion of the men travel all over the country, and the remainder together with the women scatter up and down the Indus in search of pasture. The enormous proportion of males to females in Ráwalpindi show that in this, the furthest district from the frontier, the immigrants were largely coolies, probably chiefly from Hazára,

[1] For a further account of these soldier merchants, see the description of the Patháns of Derah Ismáíl in the Chapter on Castes.

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engaged on public works. The next highest percentage is in Derah Gházi which does not march with Afghán territory at all, and where the Deputy Commissioner reports that the immigrants were chiefly people driven by distress to wander in search of work. In Peshávar the large gangs of labourers, again chiefly from Hazára, raise the percentage of males; while in Kohát the proportion is lowered by the unusually large number of graziers who were with their families and flocks in the district at the time of the Census. In Bannu and Hazára where no works were in progress, and where the border tribes have extensive settlements in our territory, the percentage of males is naturally low. The figures of Abstract No. 24 below show how largely the immigrants from Afghánistán were found in the villages of our districts, and more especially the female portion. The urban immigration is largest in the commercial and military centre of Peshávar, while in Pindi the extended nature of the works upon which the immigrants were engaged brought them within the rural enumeration.

Abstract No. 24, *showing* urban and rural Immigration *from* Extra-Indian Asia.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	2	1
		Immigration from Extra-Indian Asia.																			
		Persons.						Males.						Females.							
					Total.						Total.						Total.				
Serial No.	Districts.	Afghanistan.	Bilochistan.	Other parts.	Total.	Living in Towns.	Living in Villages.	Afghanistan.	Bilochistan.	Other parts.	Total.	Living in Towns.	Living in Villages.	Afghanistan.	Bilochistan.	Other parts.	Total.	Living in Towns.	Living in Villages.	Districts.	Serial No.
1	Ráwalpindi	2,184	...	51	2,235	558	1,677	1,892	...	46	1,938	460	1,478	292	...	5	297	98	199	Ráwalpindi	1
2	Derah Ismáil Khan.	28,954	7	7	28,968	1,365	27,603	15,068	7	3	15,078	886	14,192	13,886	...	4	13,890	479	13,411	Derah Ismáil Khan	2
3	Derah Gházi Khan	3,162	1,447	4	4,613	819	3,794	2,102	828	3	2,933	509	2,424	1,060	619	1	1,680	310	1,370	Derah Ghází Khan	3
4	Bannu	11,416	4	3	11,423	712	10,711	6,831	4	3	6,838	510	6,328	4,585	...	...	4,585	202	4,383	Bannu	4
5	Pesháwar	35,892	1	19	35,912	10,168	25,744	23,637	1	15	23,653	7,012	16,641	12,255	...	4	12,259	3,156	9,103	Pesháwar	5
6	Kohat	18,405	...	1	18,406	2,401	16,005	11,152	...	1	11,153	1,652	9,501	7,253	...	...	7,253	749	6,504	Kohat	6
7	Hazára	7,231	...	...	7,231	734	6,497	4,247	...	...	4,247	458	3,789	2,984	...	...	2,984	276	2,708	Hazára	7
	Total	107,244	1,459	85	108,788	16,757	92,031	64,929	840	71	65,840	11,487	54,353	42,315	619	14	42,948	5,270	37,678	Total	

Note.—This table may be read thus. Separate figures showing how many of the immigrants from Afghanistan into Rawalpindi are to be found in the towns of that district and how many in its villages are not available. But of the 2,235 immigrants from Extra-Indian Asia (column 6), 558 live in the towns and 1,677 in the villages of Rawalpindi (columns 7, 8), and the whole of this immigration is from Afghanistan except 51 persons (column 5).

145. Emigration into the Bombay Presidency.—Passing over Bilochistán, which has already been discussed, the next Province which marches with our territories is Sindh. Col. 90 of Table XI gives figures for Bombay, while col. 97 gives others for Sindh. But some divisional offices, following the letter of the Census orders, did not separate the two; and indeed, according to the Government of India instructions the two were not to be distinguished in the schedules, and therefore it is not safe to take the figures separately. It will be seen from Abstract No. 23 that, while only 4,780 persons have emigrated from Bombay to the Panjáb, no fewer than 35,379 have left the Panjáb for Bombay, of whom 29,316 are to be found in Sindh; and that the proportion of males is far higher among the emigrants than among the immigrants, and is indeed quite exceptionally high as compared with other Provinces, being however, as would naturally be expected, lower in Sindh than in the more distant parts of the Presidency. I am not at all certain as to the explanation of this enormous emigration. The figures for immigration afford us no clue, since the immigrants from Bombay would appear to be chiefly mercantile, being collected for the most part at Amritsar, Lahore, Ráwalpindi, Multán, and Pesháwar. The immigrants from Sindh are chiefly to be found in Baháwalpur (under the head Bombay) and Derah Gházi Khán, the two portions of our territory which border on Sindh. I had at first thought that much of the emigration must be of old standing, and have taken place during the troubles which accompanied the siege of Multán (1849) and the anarchy and rebellions which compelled us, some sixteen years ago, to take Baháwalpur under British management. But the figures in the margin taken from the Bombay Census tables seem to throw some light on the question. These figures present two very striking features. In the first place the emigration from our Native States is wholly confined to the portion of Sindh which lies opposite to Baháwalpur, and the proportion of females is so large that it is almost certain that much of it is permanent; secondly, the emigration from British Territory extends the whole way down to the sea, and is greatest in Shikárpur which does not march with any of our own districts, and the proportion of females is so exceedingly small that the migration is almost certainly for the most part if not entirely temporary.

Sindh Districts.	Emigration from Panjab into Sindh.				Sikhs in Sindh.
	From British Territory.		From Native States.		
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
Karachi	2,658	789	26	6	10,819
Haidarabad	1,369	333	6	17	42,940
Shikarpur	7,410	1,899	3,576	2,542	68,655
Upper Sindh Frontier	2,249	785	3,319	2,386	3,663

146. I think the explanation of the emigration from British Territory is largely to be found in the existence of the Indus Valley and Kandahár Railways. The latter was just about the time of the Census being pushed on in Upper Sindh with the utmost vigour for military purposes, under the control of the Panjáb Government and of a headquarters staff at Multán[1]; and it lies in the very district of Shikárpur to which emigration has been largest. The former is also worked from Multán, except a small portion which belongs to the Sindh, Panjáb and Delhi Railway with head offices at Lahore; and its construction, which

[1] Actual earthwork was suddenly stopped about a fortnight before the date of the Census. But the gangs of labourers would hardly have had time to return to the Panjáb by the Census night.

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has taken place within the last few years, was also controlled by the Government of the Panjáb. I have little doubt that the emigration from Panjáb British Territory into Sindh consists chiefly of establishment connected with the Indus Valley Railway, and of gangs of workmen employed on the Kandahár and Sibi line. But another cause is doubtless to be found in the large number of Sikhs resident in Sindh, the only part of India except the Panjáb in which Sikhs are to be found in any numbers, though I shall explain in the next chapter that they are probably not all true Sikhs in the sense in which we understand the term. Mr. Baines, the Bombay Census Officer, who has most kindly given me his opinion on the question, points out that "there is a natural tendency for this (the Sikh) class to import wives and shop-keepers from the "place which, as nearer their religious home, is more honourably regarded than their native village or town." The emigration from Native States is probably almost wholly from Baháwalpur. It may doubtless have been promoted by the troubles already alluded to; but even without any such special cause, the contrast between what was, till we took it over in 1867, the most backward, and is still the most unfertile of our Native States, and the trans-Indus plains of Sindh is probably sufficient to explain the migration. A large portion of the Baháwalpur territory consists of rolling prairies similar to those of northern Rájpútána; and like that Province, and unlike the remainder of the Western Plains of the Panjáb, suffers terribly from famine, and especially so suffered in the famine of 1868. Thus we find that, while Baháwalpur has a total population of under 525,000 souls, no fewer than 25,600 have emigrated during the present generation to British Territory, almost entirely to those of our districts which adjoin the State. Of the remaining emigrants to the Bombay Presidency, excluding Sindh, more than half are to be found in the city of Bombay itself.

147. Migration to and from Rajputana.—The next Province in order is Rájpútána; see column 111, Table XI; and here I am obliged to fall back upon estimate for some of my figures. I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Hewson, Assistant Agent at Mount Abu, for such statistics as are available. But the States of Bíkáner and Jodhpur made no return of birth-places; and unfortunately Bíkáner is the State which has the greatest length of common frontier with the Panjáb. I explain in section 154 the manner in which my estimates were framed, and will not further discuss the question. Abstract No. 25 below shows the migration between the Panjáb and the States of Rájpútána:—

Abstract No. 25, *showing* Migration between *the* Panjab *and the* Rajputana States.

	Panjab Districts or States.	Bikaner.*	Jaipur.	Alwar.	Bhartpur.	Jodhpur.*	Jaisalmer.	Other or Unspecified States.	Total Rajputana. Persons.	Total Rajputana. Males.	Total Rajputana. Females.	No. of males per 1,000 imigrants.	Panjab Districts or States.
Immigration from Rájpútána into the Panjáb.	Dehli	1,462	5,723	5,067	4,279	1,196	7	282	18,016	9,941	8,075	552	Dehli
	Gurgáon	399	6,846	25,797	13,997	161	12	93	47,305	15,611	31,694	330	Gurgáon
	Karnál	349	548	261	707	193	21	39	2,118	1,237	881	584	Karnal
	Hissár	37,222	16,129	759	154	1,751	12	275	56,302	37,808	18,494	672	Hissár
	Rohtak	1,252	3,639	2,060	714	261	6	1,275	9,207	3,764	5,443	409	Rohtak
	Sirsa	38,741	3,574	666	31	1,079	3	1,727	45,821	25,075	20,746	547	Sirsa
	Patiála	2,407	13,383	4,081	198	286	10	213	20,578	6,053	14,525	294	Patiala
	Jind	1,591	3,280	469	64	132	...	2	5,538	2,349	3,189	424	Jind
	Baháwalpur	6,597	357	...	...	355	3,108	66	10,483	6,004	4,479	572	Baháwalpur
	Other Districts and States	2,360	2,086	808	272	296	90	12,262	18,174	8,485	9,689	466	Other Districts and States
	Total immigration	92,380	55,565	39,968	20,416	5,710	3,269	16,234	233,542	116,327	117,215	498	Total immigration
Emigration from the Panjáb into Rájpútána.	Total emigration	12,000	12,703	36,862	13,860	2,500	28	3,757	81,710				Total emigration
	Males	4,500	4,364	11,220	5,916	1,000	26	2,858	29,884				Males
	Females	7,500	8,339	25,642	7,944	1,500	2	899	51,826				Females
	Number of males per 1,000 emigrants	375	344	304	425	400	928	760	366				Number of males per 1,000 emigrants
	Number of emigrants per 1,000 immigrants	130	228	921	679	438	9	232	349				Number of emigrants per 1,000 immigrants

* The emigration figures for Bikaner and Jodhpur are estimates (see section 151).

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Our net gain from each State is shown in the margin. The States which march with us are as follow :—*Jaisalmer* with Baháwalpur, *Bikáner* with Baháwalpur, Sirsa, and Hissár, *Jaipur* with Hissár, Loháru, Patiála, and Gurgáon, *Alwar* with Patiála, Nábha, and Gurgáon, and *Bhartpur* with Gurgáon.

States.	Net gain.
Bíkaner	80,380
Jaipur	42,862
Alwar	3,106
Bhartpur	6,556
Jodhpur	3,210
Jaisalmer	3,241
Other and unspecified States	12,477
Total	151,832

148. The immigration is enormous as compared with the emigration, being four times as great among the males and two and a quarter times as great among the females, a disproportion which shows how far more permanent in its nature is the immigration than the emigration, and that much of the latter is probably reciprocal emigration which has followed as a matter of course upon the permanent immigration which preceded it, the new settlers looking to their old homes in search of brides. This of course is not the case in the more distant States where such emigration must necessarily be limited, and where, accordingly, the proportion of males is more than twice the average for the whole emigration. This preponderance of immigration is not to be wondered at. As the Panjáb Government remarked after reviewing our system of land revenue assessment in the Administration Report for 1872-73: "The result is that there is a very striking difference in the land revenue demand in British territory on the one hand, and in the territory of adjoining Native States on the other;" and of all the Native States of Northern India those of Rájpútána are probably the most backward in both physical and administrative development. In Bíkáner especially, the Bágar or tract adjoining our border is a rolling prairie of sandy soil covered by scanty grass and with an eminently precarious rainfall, and the agriculture is so primitive that the people have not yet risen to the conception of growing two crops in the same year, the autumn crop alone being cultivated, though the custom of sowing spring staples is gradually spreading southwards from our territories. The immigration from Bíkáner is chiefly into the adjoining districts of Hissár and Sirsa, and an account of it will be found in the postscript to this chapter. The moderate percentage of males shows that it is of the permanent type. From Jaipur the migration is chiefly into Hissár and Patiála: the figures for the former district are obscured by the much larger immigration from Bíkáner, but the immigration into Patiála seems to be chiefly of the reciprocal type. The migration from and to Alwar are almost exactly balanced: the exchange is chiefly with Gurgáon, and the large number of females show it to have been chiefly of the reciprocal form, though I fear that the figures mean more than that, and that the large number of females, not only among immigrants but throughout the Gurgáon population, is partly due to actual mortality among the males during the terrible distress which has prevailed of late years in this district. The same remarks apply to Bhartpur, save that here immigration is largely in excess of emigration. To Jaisalmer there is no emigration, while the immigrants have settled for the most part in Baháwalpur, the only portion of the Panjáb which marches with it.

District or State.	Percentage of total immigrants from Rájpútána living in the District or State.	Percentage of total population who are immigrants from Rájpútána.	Number of males among every 100 immigrants of both sexes.
Dehli	7·71	2·80	55·2
Gurgáon	20·26	7·37	33·0
Hissár	24·11	11·17	67·2
Rohtak	3·94	1·66	40·9
Sirsa	19·62	18·10	54·7
Patiála	8·83	1·40	29·4
Nabha	2·38	2·11	25·6
Jhind	2·38	2·21	42·4
Baháwalpur	4·50	1·83	57·2
Total	93·73	...	...

I show in the margin the distribution of the immigration from Rájpútána, and the proportion which the immigrants form of the total population of each district. The figures of Abstract No. 26 on the opposite page show that, excepting the great commercial centre of Dehli, the immigration has, like all permanent immigration, chiefly gone to swell the rural population.

149. Migration to and from the North-West Provinces.—Still moving round our border we next come to the North-West Provinces Here again separate figures are given for the North-West and Oudh in columns 95 and 96 of Table XI; but, as already explained in the case of Bombay and Sindh, it is not safe to take them separately, and all that can be said is that the persons shown in column 96 were born in Oudh and not in the North-West proper. And here we have a most striking example of the distinction which I have insisted on between reciprocal migration on the one hand and temporary or permanent on the other. Oudh nowhere marches with the Panjáb, while of our own districts, Ambála, Karnál, Dehli, and Gurgáon alone have a common border with the North-West. The distance of our several divisions from the neighbouring Province increases, speaking roughly, in the order in which they are arranged in our tables. I show in the margin the number of males per 1,000 immigrants of both sexes from Oudh and the North-West into the Panjáb, and from the North-West into the abovementioned districts and into each division:

Oudh	719	Hissár Division	525
North-West	518	Ambála ,,	607
		Jálandhar ,,	691
Gurgáon	306	Amritsar ,,	612
Karnal	398	Lahore ,,	673
Dehli	417	Ráwalpindi ,,	751
Ambála	546	Multán ,,	679
Other districts	681	Derajat ,,	806
Dehli Division	388	Peshávar ,,	826

The fact is that when we once leave the neighbourhood of the Jamna, a very large portion indeed of the immigrants from the North-West consist of what we call in the Panjáb *Púrbias*, or low-caste men, mostly I believe Chamárs and Jaiswáras, who have come into the Province as camp-followers with troops from down-country, many of them probably when the Panjáb was first occupied. Many of these men have settled down permanently; and at places where there has once been a large cantonment, as at Karnál, will still be found in considerable numbers. But many of them follow the troops from one cantonment to another, or find other employment. In the east of the Panjáb the stable servants are Púrbias almost as a matter of course. The figures of Table VI show how, outside the Dehli division, these immigrants from the North-West are almost confined to districts in which troops other than the Panjáb Frontier Force are cantoned. Many of the gangs of navvies, Ods, and the like, who wander in search of employment on earthwork through the length and breadth of the Province also hail from the North-West. But the mass of the immigration into the Dehli division, Ambála, and Rohtak, which districts include 57 per cent. of the whole, is reciprocal, as is shown by the sex-figures quoted above: though in Ambála and Dehli the presence of cantonments, and in the latter the attractions of a great centre of trade, have doubtless caused a great deal of immigration of both the permanent and temporary types.

Part II.—Migrations of the People.

Abstract No. 26, *showing* urban and rural Immigration *from* Extra-Provincial India.

IMMIGRANTS FROM EXTRA-PROVINCIAL INDIA.

Serial No.	District.	Persons. Raj-putana.	Persons. North-Western Provinces.	Persons. Kashmir.	Persons. Other parts.	Persons. Total. Total.	Persons. Total. Living in towns.	Persons. Total. Living in villages.	Males. Raj-putana.	Males. North-Western Provinces.	Males. Kashmir.	Males. Other parts.	Males. Total. Total.	Males. Total. Living in towns.	Males. Total. Living in villages.	Females. Raj-putana.	Females. North-Western Provinces.	Females. Kashmir.	Females. Other parts.	Females. Total. Total.	Females. Total. Living in towns.	Females. Total. Living in villages.	Serial No.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	1
1	Hissár	56,302	1,705	63	114	58,184	10,200	47,984	37,808	1,019	48	69	38,944	5,214	33,730	18,494	686	15	45	19,240	4,986	14,254	1
2	Sirsa	45,821	1,212	22	104	47,159	8,801	38,358	25,075	846	17	71	26,009	4,832	21,177	20,746	366	5	33	21,150	3,969	17,181	2
3	Gurgáon	47,305	31,274	12	739	79,330	12,099	67,231	15,611	9,613	6	297	25,527	4,529	20,998	31,694	21,661	6	442	53,803	7,570	46,233	3
4	Rohtak	9,207	6,764	8	200	16,179	4,077	12,102	3,764	3,216	8	74	7,062	1,888	5,174	5,443	3,548	...	126	9,117	2,189	6,928	4
	TOTAL 1 to 4	158,635	40,955	105	1,157	200,852	35,177	165,675	82,258	14,694	79	511	97,542	16,463	81,079	76,377	26,261	26	646	103,310	18,714	84,596	
5	Firozpur	2,100	8,184	301	796	11,381	8,204	3,177	1,266	5,340	179	525	7,310	5,380	1,930	834	2,844	122	271	4,071	2,824	1,247	5
6	Dehli	18,016	52,818	113	1,737	72,684	37,720	34,964	9,941	22,372	77	986	33,376	20,723	12,653	8,075	30,446	36	751	39,308	16,997	22,311	6
7	Karnál	2,118	25,658	80	583	28,439	7,362	21,077	1,237	10,419	46	304	12,006	3,583	8,423	881	15,239	34	279	16,433	3,779	12,654	7
8	Ambála	1,079	31,443	260	2,214	34,996	18,030	16,966	673	18,315	164	1,142	20,294	10,894	9,400	406	13,128	96	1,072	14,702	7,136	7,566	8
	TOTAL 5 TO 8	23,313	118,103	754	5,330	147,500	71,316	76,184	13,117	56,446	466	2,957	72,986	40,580	32,406	10,196	61,657	288	2,373	74,514	30,736	43,778	
9	Simla	24	7,119	320	891	8,354	7,025	1,329	19	5,097	274	593	5,983	5,037	946	5	2,022	46	298	2,371	1,988	383	9
10	Jálandhar	...	3,505	236	1,455	5,196	4,026	1,170	...	2,250	140	920	3,310	2,593	717	...	1,255	96	535	1,886	1,433	453	10
11	Multán	1,061	7,434	242	1,263	10,000	6,623	3,377	621	5,117	189	879	6,806	4,388	2,418	440	2,317	53	384	3,194	2,235	959	11
12	Bannú	53	765	175	177	1,170	1,003	167	41	648	141	131	961	834	127	12	117	34	46	209	169	40	12
13	Peshávar	251	8,849	2,872	1,750	13,722	11,455	2,267	226	7,163	2,204	1,408	11,001	9,072	1,929	25	1,686	668	342	2,721	2,383	338	13
14	Kohát	7	1,984	356	107	2,454	872	1,582	6	1,884	319	88	2,297	748	1,549	1	100	37	19	157	124	33	14
	TOTAL 9 TO 14	1,396	29,656	4,201	5,643	40,896	31,004	9,892	913	22,159	3,267	4,019	30,358	22,672	7,686	483	7,497	934	1,624	10,538	8,332	2,206	
15	Lahore	645	14,548	5,528	1,792	22,513	19,145	3,368	469	10,061	3,450	1,173	15,153	13,020	2,133	176	4,487	2,078	619	7,360	6,125	1,235	15
16	Amritsar	699	7,216	8,718	950	17,583	15,369	2,214	432	4,047	5,878	608	10,965	9,733	1,232	267	3,169	2,840	342	6,618	5,636	982	16
17	Ráwalpindi	215	14,919	14,981	1,648	31,763	17,051	14,712	172	11,157	10,727	1,164	23,220	12,321	10,899	43	3,762	4,254	484	8,543	4,730	3,813	17
	TOTAL 15 TO 17	1,559	36,683	29,227	4,390	71,859	51,565	20,294	1,073	25,265	20,055	2,945	49,338	35,074	14,264	486	11,418	9,172	1,445	22,521	16,491	6,030	
18	Kangra	...	1,513	2,843	1,170	5,526	1,695	3,831	...	1,174	1,503	865	3,542	1,192	2,350	...	339	1,340	305	1,984	503	1,481	18
19	Gurdaspur	110	1,653	19,658	619	22,040	3,849	18,191	80	1,122	8,137	514	9,853	2,254	7,599	30	531	11,521	105	12,187	1,595	10,592	19
20	Sialkot	75	5,574	24,491	59	30,199	7,102	23,097	42	3,656	9,448	43	13,189	4,395	8,794	33	1,918	15,043	16	17,010	2,707	14,303	20
21	Jhelam	61	2,425	6,234	355	9,095	5,949	3,146	44	1,806	3,759	244	5,853	3,846	2,007	17	619	2,495	111	3,242	2,103	1,139	21
	TOTAL 18 TO 21	246	11,165	53,246	2,203	66,860	18,595	48,265	166	7,758	22,847	1,666	32,437	11,687	20,750	80	3,407	30,399	537	34,423	6,908	27,515	
22	Hushyárpur	...	1,193	416	152	1,761	566	1,195	...	869	237	102	1,208	394	814	...	324	179	50	553	172	381	22
23	Gujranwála	48	767	2,368	26	3,209	1,732	1,477	34	524	1,258	15	1,831	1,071	760	14	243	1,110	11	1,378	661	717	23
24	Gujrat	41	1,159	10,787	197	12,184	1,701	10,483	29	1,005	4,372	169	5,575	879	4,696	12	154	6,415	28	6,609	822	5,787	24
25	Hazára	23	672	6,484	779	7,958	2,323	5,635	17	483	3,835	654	4,989	1,660	3,329	6	189	2,649	125	2,969	663	2,306	25
	TOTAL 22 TO 25	112	3,791	20,055	1,154	25,112	6,322	18,790	80	2,881	9,702	940	13,603	4,004	9,599	32	910	10,353	214	11,509	2,318	9,191	

NOTE.—For the method of reading this table see foot-note to Abstract No. 24, page 64.

Part II.—Migrations of the People.

150. I have not taken out separate figures for towns and villages for each of the Provinces from which immigration has taken place into the Panjáb, but Abstract No. 26 on the preceding page, which is compiled from Table XI and Supplementary Table E, shows the general character of the immigration with sufficient clearness.

District or State.	Percentage of total immigrants from the N.-W. P. & Oudh living in the District or State.	Percentage of total population who are immigrants from the N.-W. P. & Oudh.	Number of males among every 100 immigrants of both sexes.
Dehli .	20·24	8·21	42·4
Gurgáon .	11·99	4·87	30·7
Karnál .	9·83	4·12	40·5
Rohtak .	2·59	1·22	47·6
Ambála .	12·05	2·94	58·2
Simla .	2·73	16·58	71·6
Jálandhar .	1·34	0·44	64·1
Amritsar .	2·77	0·81	56·1
Sialkot .	2·14	0·55	65·6
Lahore .	5·57	1·57	69·3
Fírozpur .	3·14	1·26	65·2
Ráwalpindi .	5·72	1·81	74·9
Multán .	2·85	1·35	68·8
Pesháwar .	3·39	1·49	80·8
Patiala .	1·61	0·29	61·8
TOTAL .	87·96	...	...

The districts are divided into groups according to the countries from which immigration is largest. The immigrants from Rájpútána have already been shown, and those from Kashmír will presently be shown to be almost wholly resident in the villages, and deducting them, the disposal of the immigrants from the North-West Provinces can be examined. It will be seen that in the eastern districts which lie on the border of those Provinces, the immigrants have largely been found among the rural population, though less markedly so where great cities or cantonments exist such as Dehli or Ambála; and that this is the case still more among females than among males. In the districts which lie further west on the other hand, the great mass of immigrants of both sexes are to be found in the towns.

The distribution of the immigrants from the North-West Provinces and Oudh is shown in the margin.

Districts.	Emigrants.	Immigrants.
Dehli	42,000	52,818
Gurgáon	35,000	31,274
Karnal	24,000	25,658
Ambála	18,000	31,443

The emigration from the four border districts into the North-Western Provinces has been roughly estimated (see section 154) and the results are given above.

151. Immigration from Kashmír.—The only considerable source of immigration left to be examined is Kashmír, the figures for which will be found in column 103 of Table XI. Till the late famine, when Government insisted upon the prohibition being removed, all emigration from Kashmír was forbidden by the Maháraja, and precautions were taken to prevent it. But these precautions were only effective as regards the valley itself, as the Jammu border could not be watched. The state of affairs in Kashmír, even in ordinary years, may be judged of from the following account of what happened in the late famine, taken from the Panjáb Administration Report of 1878-79. It must be remembered that two-thirds of the inhabitants are Musalmáns, while the whole official staff is Hindu.

"In Kashmir the sale of grain is a State monopoly. In the greater part of the valley the cultivator pays in kind; and although "the share of the State is nominally only one-half, yet the amount of fees, fines, and perquisites is such that the cultivator is fortunate "if he receive one-fourth, or even one-fifth of the produce of his fields. The officials, generally in arrears of pay, and their chance "of Court favour being dependent upon the amount of their collections, find it their interest to squeeze from the cultivator every-"thing that can be taken from him; and the occurrence of scarcity or famine does not induce them to diminish their demands, so "that the cultivator obtains less of the produce at the very time when a larger proportion is necessary to save him and his family "from starvation. The sale of grain being a State monopoly, all private enterprise in the matter of importation is impossible. The "price of grain is kept down, even in times of famine, to so low a rate that importation from the Panjáb would not be profitable, as "prices probably there range higher than in the valley. But those low rates merely signify that the poverty of the population is "so extreme that higher prices would be starvation, while, there being no competition between the State and private sellers, the rate "decided by the Darbar is purely arbitrary, and no measure of the natural value of food. During the worst part of the present "famine prices have been lower in Kashmir than in the Panjáb; but this fact has had no effect whatever on the mortality, seeing "that the price was an arbitrary one, merely representing the rate at which the Government would have sold grain had it possessed "it to sell. But the grain-supply being altogether insufficient for the wants of the population, the people would have equally died by "starvation had they possessed abundance of money wherewith to purchase.

"The official reports which reached the Government, those furnished by missionaries labouring in Srinagar, and by private "visitors to the valley, were all unanimous as to the gross corruption which prevailed in all classes of official society. The "distribution of grain ordered by the Maharaja was not made, or was made inequitably, the poorer Mahomedan classes being unable "to obtain sufficient to maintain life, while the richer Pandit and official classes were allowed to embezzle enormous quantities, "reducing the general stock, and reaping large profits for themselves. The measures of relief undertaken by the Panjáb Government, "at the request and at the cost of the Maharaja, were obstructed by the officials, who did not approve of any possible "profits falling into the hands of others than themselves. The direct orders of the Maharaja, often reiterated, to give assistance in "every possible way, were evaded; and although a large quantity of Panjáb grain did eventually reach the valley, it was rather in "spite of, than in consequence of the assistance rendered by the Darbar officials.

"The prospects for Kashmir are still most gloomy. The recent harvests, though an improvement upon those of the preceding "year, have still been scanty owing to the unfavourable weather, and the fact that the cultivators were compelled to eat the seed "grain to preserve themselves from starvation, while the population were too exhausted, and too apathetic, from continued misery, "to cultivate their fields. The loss of life has, however, been so great that it may be hoped that the existing food-supply will be "sufficient for the reduced population, if the Kashmir Darbar insists upon cultivators receiving their proper share. It will be long "before Kashmir recovers its former prosperity."

152. Such being the nature of the Kashmír administration there is a constant tendency to emigrate into the Panjáb, while in famine years crowds of immigrants pour with their whole families into our territories. The Kashmír colonies at Amritsar and Lúdhiána are, I believe, for the most part descendants of famine-stricken fugitives who settled there in the terrible famine of 1783; while in 1833, and again in 1877-78, the immigration is specially alluded to in the reports as having seriously increased our administrative difficulties in the districts bordering upon Kashmír.

District.	Percentage of total immigrants from Káshmir living in the district.	Percentage of total population who are immigrants from Kashmir.	Number of males among every 100 immigrants of both sexes.
Kangra .	2·50	0·39	52·9
Amritsar .	7·67	0·98	67·4
Gurdaspur .	17·30	2·39	41·4
Sialkot .	21·55	2·42	38·6
Lahore .	4·86	0·60	62·4
Gújránwála .	2·08	0·38	53·8
Ráwalpindi .	13·18	1·83	71·6
Jhelam .	5·50	1·07	60·1
Gujrat .	9·49	1·57	40·6
Pesháwar .	2·53	0·48	76·8
Hazára .	5·70	1·59	59·2
Chamba .	2·46	2·41	57·9
TOTAL .	94·82	...	...

The figures in the margin give the distribution of immigration within the present generation. The large proportion of females in the districts which border on Kashmír territory would seem to indicate that much of the immigration is reciprocal. A portion of it perhaps is so; but I suspect the real explanation to be that the immigration is not merely one of individuals in search of work or food, but a wholesale emigration of entire

Part II.—Migrations of the People.

families fleeing from oppression and starvation; and that the men went on to Amritsar where they had friends, and to Ráwalpindi, Jahlam, and Peshάwar where labour was in demand on public works and in the transport camps, leaving their women and children behind in the districts to which they first came when they crossed the border. The figures of Abstract No. 26 on page 67, show how very much larger a proportion even of the male immigrants from Kashmir are to be found in the villages than in the towns, especially of those districts nearest to the border; while the females are almost wholly found among the rural population.

153. Figures for intra-provincial details.—I now turn to migration within the Province—or, to use more exact language, to the intra-provincial details of migration. I propose to discuss the direction and amount of migration to and from the various districts and states. But to do this with any approach to accuracy, we cannot altogether neglect emigration beyond the limits of the Province. Now we know the exact number of people (see Abstract No. 23), who have emigrated from the Panjáb to each of the other Indian Provinces; but unfortunately we do not know from what part of the Panjáb they have come. Some sort of estimate therefore becomes necessary. Emigration to countries beyond the Indian empire may, as I have already pointed out, be neglected; and the emigration to Provinces which do not march with the Panjáb is so small in extent, and probably so much distributed over the several districts, that it is not necessary to take it into account. But where other Provinces march with ours, and especially in the east where reciprocal migration is extensive, it is necessary to form an estimate of the emigration from each district across our frontier. It would be absurd to compare the emigration from Rohtak to the districts which surround it on all sides with that from Dehli, if we excluded from the latter the movement across nearly half its border where it marches with the North-West Provinces. I have therefore framed a rough estimate of the numbers of each sex who may be supposed to have emigrated from the several border districts to the Provinces upon which they touch, and this estimated emigration has been included in the figures I shall presently discuss. It is necessary that it should be known, for the purposes of the next Census report, if for no other, how I have arrived at my estimate; and I therefore give details below in small type. The figures for intra-provincial migration are contained in the following tables. Table XI, Appendices A and B, shows the distribution by birth-place of the population of each district and state in the Province, and consequently the distribution by residence of the immigrants from each state, district, province, and country, whether within or beyond the Panjáb. Supplementary Table F, Appendix C, shows gain or loss by migration in each district. Supplementary Tables G and H show the movements of the population from district to district, while Supplementary Tables C, D, and E give details of birth-place.

154. North-West Provinces.—See the discussion on the migration from those provinces in sections 149, 150 above. The North-West Provinces Census tables give us figures for total emigration from the Panjáb; but unfortunately give no details of the districts in which those emigrants are to be found. Such details would have rendered the estimate easy and certain. It is probable that there is but little emigration from the Panjáb to balance the immigration of camp-followers and the like, as the conditions which have caused this immigration act in one direction only; that the greater part of the emigration has taken place from the four districts which march with the North-West; and that these districts have furnished a larger proportion of the female than of the male emigrants, as the migration will have been to a great extent reciprocal. The figures which the North-West Provinces tables give for immigration from "other parts of India" into their several districts tend to support this conclusion. The total immigration from the North-West Provinces into the four border districts is males 53,183; females 76,667. The total emigration from Panjáb British Territory into the North-West Provinces is males 67,303; females 72,499.

Assuming that 80 per cent. of the male and 90 per cent. of the female emigrants go from the four districts, and distributing this portion of the emigration among them in proportion to the female immigration into each, that being the best standard of reciprocal migration—first, however, reducing the female immigration into Dehli by 10 per cent. to allow for the tendency which a large town has to attract immigrants—we get the results given in the margin as rough figures for the emigration from our four districts into the North-West Provinces.

DISTRICTS.	Males.	Females.
Dehli	19,000	2[illegible],006
Gurgáon	16,000	19,066
Karnal	11,600	13,006
Ambála	8,000	10,000
TOTAL	54,000	65,000

Rajputana.—In the case of Rájpútána we have unfortunately no figures for emigration to Bíkáner or Jodhpur, the former of which sends us some two-fifths of the whole immigrants from Rájpútána. For the remaining States we have exact figures for total emigration from the Panjáb and for details of immigration into each district (see Abstract No. 25, page 65). All therefore that is needed is, to distribute the emigration in proportion to the immigration and neglect small figures. As for Bíkáner, the migration is chiefly into Hissár and Sirsa, which are emphatically attracting immigration. Such return emigration as takes place is almost certainly small, and probably consists largely of women marrying in the country of their fathers. I roughly estimate the emigration to Bíkáner as 4,500 males and 7,500 females, or 12,000 in all, of which I assume 7,000 to go from Hissár, 3,000 from Sirsa, and 2,000 from Bahάwalpur. The whole population of Bíkáner is only 509,000 and my estimate is probably too high. I estimate the emigration into Jodhpur at 2,500 in all. Thus, neglecting small numbers we get the following estimate for emigration from Panjáb districts and states into Rájpútána.

PANJAB DISTRICT.	BIKANER.		JAIPUR.		ALWAR.		BHARTPUR.		TOTAL.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Dehli	...	...	700	1,300	1,300	3,200	1,300	1,700	3,300	6,200
Gurgáon	...	...	750	1,400	7,500	16,500	4,500	6,000	12,750	23,900
Hissár	2,500	4,500	1,500	2,800	...	...	...	...	4,000	7,300
Sirsa	1,000	2,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,000	2,000
Patiala	...	...	1,500	2,800	1,000	1,600	...	...	2,500	4,400
Bahάwalpur	1,000	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,000	1,000
TOTAL	4,500	7,500	4,450	8,300	9.800	21,300	5,800	7,700	24,550	44,800

Bombay and Sindh.—See the discussion in sections 145, 146 above. The emigration into Bombay proper is largely to the city of Bombay itself, and is probably, like the immigration from Bombay, chiefly mercantile and drawn from all parts of the Panjáb. It may therefore be neglected. Sindh takes 13,686 males and 3,804 females from British Territory, and 6,898 males and 4,928 females from Native States. It is probable that the emigration from British Territory is chiefly connected with Railway works, and consists largely of coolies. It is quite impossible to frame any estimate of the degree in which it is derived from the several parts of the Panjáb, and, though large in amount, I am compelled to neglect it. Of the emigration from Native States it is almost certain that a very large proportion comes from Bahάwalpur, the only State which is near the Sindh frontier. I estimate the emigration from Bahάwalpur into Sindh at 4,000 males and 3,000 females, which is almost certainly under the mark.

Emigration from British Territory and Native States.—It was further necessary for the purpose of my abstracts and supplementary tables to distribute the total emigration between Native States and British Territory. The figures given at the foot

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of Abstract No. 23, page 61, do this for the North-West Provinces, Bombay, and Sindh; and the estimates above give us details for most of the emigration to Rájpútána. I have assumed all emigration not thus accounted for to be from British Territory. The total amount is not large.

155. Migration between British Territory and Native States.—First then as to migration between British Territory and Native States. The figures are as follows:—

Direction of Movement.	States of the Eastern Plains.			Bahawalpur.			Hill States.			Total Native States.		
	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.
From British Territory to Native States	95,535	183,545	279,080	21,080	13,888	34,968	15,099	9,507	24,606	131,714	206,940	338,654
From Native States to British Territory	101,830	179,182	281,012	14,931	10,656	25,587	5,949	6,059	12,008	122,710	195,897	318,607
Excess Movement from British Territory to Native States	—6,295	4,363	—1,932	6,149	3,232	9,381	9,150	3,448	12,598	9,004	11,043	20,047

It is not *primâ facie* to be wondered at that the emigration from British Territory to Native States should be large in the Panjáb. These States, or at any rate such of them as lie in the Eastern Plains, are probably more advanced than any other Native States in India. They follow closely in our administrative footsteps, they are subject to strict supervision the very consciousness of which renders interference unnecessary, and their land revenue demand, if heavier, is at least more elastic than our own. It is an open question whether the Governments of such States, following our system in its best features but departing from it where unsuitable to the genius of the people, kept by us in the broad path of general justice and moderation but left to take their own way in all the details of administration, with smaller charges and a less expensive staff than our own, and hampered by no refinements of occidental State craft,—it is, I say, an open question whether such Governments, content to be as simple in their system as are the people whom they rule, are not at least as well suited to make their subjects happy as is the cumbrous machinery of our Indian administration. What native rule is when unchecked and unguided I have endeavoured to pourtray in the first part of this chapter. But, given a good example and a firm hand over them, such Governments as those of our larger states, enjoying the advantage of sympathy with their fellow-countrymen and an intuitive knowledge of their needs and capacities, possess many of the merits and avoid many of the defects of our own system. And if Baháwalpur and the Hill States are in some respects less developed than their neighbours of the Eastern Plains, the former had been under the direct management of our Government for the fifteen years before the Census, while of the latter Chamba has been similarly administered by an English officer for the last nine years, Suket had been under the direct control of the Commissioner of Jálandhar since the deposition of Rája Rúdra Sen in 1878, while the Superintendent of Hill States at Simla exercises a paternal care over the smaller states which is unknown to the more important feudatories.

156. Migration to and from Bahawalpur.—It will be noticed that the figures given in § 155 show the migration from and to the different classes of states to be of very different types. I shall discuss the Hill and Plain States separately, and will begin with Baháwalpur, as that can be disposed of in a few lines. Abstract No. 27 below gives the migration to and from Baháwalpur. I have added the figures for Bombay and Rájpútána.

Abstract No. 27, *showing the* **Migration to and from Bahawalpur.**

	Immigration into Bahawalpur.			Emigration from Bahawalpur.			Excess Immigration into Bahawalpur.			Number of Males per 1,000 of both Sexes.		No. of Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	
	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.		
Sirsá	2,103	1,665	3,768	1,327	870	2,197	776	795	1,571	558	603	583	Sirsa
Lahore	1,003	558	1,561	137	82	219	866	476	1,342	643	623	140	Lahore
Firozpur	1,135	732	1,867	257	128	385	878	604	1,482	607	668	206	Firozpur
Multán	2,496	1,615	4,111	5,534	3,947	9,481	—3,038	—2,332	—5,370	607	584	2,306	Multan
Montgomery	8,297	6,548	14,845	1,654	1,406	3,060	6,643	5,142	11,785	559	541	206	Montgomery
Muzaffargarh	738	369	1,107	2,540	1,942	4,482	—1,802	—1,573	—3,375	665	567	4,049	Muzaffargarh
Derah Ghazi Khan	1,291	772	2,063	3,077	2,057	5,134	—1,786	—1,285	—3,071	627	600	2,489	Derah Ghazi Khan
Other Districts	4,017	1,629	5,646	405	224	629	3,612	1,405	5,017	711	644	111	Other Districts
Total British Territory.	21,080	13,888	34,968	14,931	10,656	25,587	6,149	3,232	9,381	604	583	732	Total British Territory
Native States	381	188	569	36	25	61	345	163	508	670	590	107	Native States
Bombay and Sindh	762	463	1,225	4,000	3,000	7,000*	—3,238	—2,537	—5,775	622	555	5,713	Bombay & Sindh
Rájpútana	6,004	4,479	10,483	1,000	1,000	2,000*	5,004	3,479	8,483	572	500	191	Rájpútana
Total	28,227	19,018	47,245	19,967	14,681	34,648	8,260	4,337	12,597	598	577	733	Total

*Estimated (see section 154).

On the whole Baháwalpur has received more than it has given. But it is noticeable that to all districts or provinces to the west of it, to Multán, Muzaffargarh, Derah Gházi, and Sindh, emigration is in excess of immigration; while from all to east and south of it, from Sirsa, Lahore, Fírozpur, Montgomery, and Rájpútána, immigration is in excess of emigration. Moreover, the proportion of males is markedly moderate among the emigrants to those districts to which there has been excess of emigration, and generally markedly lower among emigrants than among immigrants. One explanation is obviously to be found in the fact that to the west lie the fertile valley of the Indus and the inundation canals of Multán and the Deraját, and offer attractions to dwellers in the sandy prairies which form so large a portion of Baháwalpur; while to the east and south lie the desert of Rájpútána and the arid grazing grounds of our central and western plains, from which the portion of the Satluj valley which is included in the State has

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attracted not only a certain number of permanent settlers in those parts, but also still more numerous graziers whom the drought of the years immediately preceding the Census had driven down to the river banks in search of pasture.

But there can be little doubt that much of the emigration and immigration respectively can be referred to two different periods in the history of the State. Prior to the year 1866, when we took it under our superintendence, Baháwalpur had suffered from mal-administration and rebellion almost amounting to anarchy, and little or nothing had been done to modify the natural aridity of its plains. It is from this period that much of the emigration probably dates. In 1866 an English Superintendent was appointed; in 1868, just as the famine began which raged with such severity in the neighbouring tracts of Rájpútána, large inundation canals were commenced; and in six years from that date the area irrigated by canals had nearly doubled, having increased from 336 to 617 square miles. Between 1868[1] and 1881 the population of Baháwalpur increased from 364,502 to 573,494, or by 58 per cent.; and it is almost certain that by far the greater part of the immigration has taken place during these last thirteen years.

157. Migration to and from the various States of the Eastern Plains.—I now turn to the consideration of the migration from and to the States of the Eastern Plains. The two Abstracts below give the figures. No. 28 shows the total emigration from and immigration into the States in question, separately for each State and for each of those districts with which any considerable exchange of population has taken place. It also shows the net gain or loss by the process to each district or state, and the composition by sex of emigrants and immigrants in each case. No. 29 shows the actual movement to and fro and the resulting gain or loss between individual districts and states, neglecting small numbers :—

Abstract No. 28, *showing* **total Migration** *between* **British Territory** *and* **States of the Eastern Plains** *for* **Districts and States.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	1
District or State.	Immigration into the States.			Emigration from the States.			Excess Emigration from the States.			Number of Males per 1,000 of both Sexes.		Number of Immigrants per 1,000 Emigrants.	District or State.
	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.		
Patiálá	34,761	78,579	113,340	51,209	88,042	139,251	16,448	9,463	25,911	308	368	814	Patiálá
Nábhá	7,396	13,930	21,326	8,740	18,362	27,102	1,344	4,432	5,776	347	323	787	Nábhá
Kapurthala	17,048	33,542	50,590	13,423	23,108	36,531	—3,625	—10,434	—14,059	337	368	1,385	Kapurthala
Jind	13,917	22,010	35,927	14,633	27,930	42,563	716	5,920	6,636	388	344	844	Jind
Farídkot	9,354	11,010	20,364	5,394	7,221	12,615	—3,960	—3,789	—7,749	459	428	1,614	Farídkot
Malerkotla	1,834	3,848	5,682	2,331	4,923	7,254	497	1,075	1,572	323	322	783	Malerkotla
Kalsia	8,540	13,802	22,342	2,179	2,477	4,656	—6,361	—11,325	—17,686	383	468	4,799	Kalsia
Dujana	973	2,945	3,918	1,393	2,917	4,310	420	—28	392	248	323	909	Dujana
Pataudi	1,234	3,074	4,308	901	2,055	2,956	—333	—1,019	—1,352	286	304	1,457	Pataudi
Loharu	478	805	1,283	1,627	2,147	3,774	1,149	1,342	2,491	373	432	340	Loharu
Total	95,535	183,545	279,080	101,830	179,182	281,012	6,295	—4,363	1,932	342	362	993	Total
Dehli	1,793	1,741	3,534	2,430	1,778	4,208	637	37	674	508	577	840	Dehli
Gurgáon	3,120	7,936	11,056	3,573	9,305	12,878	453	1,369	1,822	281	277	859	Gurgáon
Karnál	8,223	17,726	25,949	8,098	18,220	26,318	—125	494	369	317	308	986	Karnál
Hissár	6,772	16,483	23,255	14,448	19,193	33,641	7,676	2,710	10,386	291	430	691	Hissár
Rohtak	5,507	10,989	16,496	8,600	19,551	28,151	3,093	8,562	11,655	334	305	586	Rohtak
Sirsa	2,088	4,312	6,400	7,954	8,097	16,051	5,866	3,785	9,651	326	494	399	Sirsa
Ambála	19,513	39,140	58,653	11,210	19,214	30,424	—8,303	—19,926	—28,229	332	369	1,928	Ambála
Ludhiana	12,821	30,653	43,474	13,141	35,280	48,421	320	4,627	4,947	295	272	898	Ludhiana
Jálandhar	8,780	16,998	25,778	7,595	12,586	20,181	—1,185	—4,412	—5,597	340	376	1,277	Jalandhar
Hushyárpur	6,312	11,130	17,442	1,699	4,156	5,855	—4,613	—6,974	—11,587	363	290	2,979	Hushyárpur
Kangra	1,133	356	1,489	136	48	184	—997	—308	—1,305	760	739	8,092	Kangra
Amritsar	4,226	4,812	9,038	2,980	4,558	7,538	—1,246	—254	—1,500	467	395	1,199	Amritsar
Gurdaspur	1,200	1,539	2,739	1,423	1,405	2,828	223	—134	89	438	503	969	Gurdaspur
Lahore	1,403	1,078	2,481	1,724	1,506	3,230	321	428	749	566	534	768	Lahore
Firozpur	11,264	17,861	29,125	14,074	23,548	37,622	2,810	5,687	8,497	387	374	774	Firozpur
Other Districts	1,380	791	2,171	2,745	737	3,482	1,365	—54	1,311	636	789	623	Other Districts
Total	95,535	183,545	279,080	101,830	179,182	281,012	6,295	—4,363	1,932	342	362	993	Total

NOTE.—This statement may be read thus—Patiala has received 113,340 immigrants from (column 4) and sent 139,251 emigrants to (column 7) British Territory. Among the former 308 per mille (column 11) and among the latter 368 per mille (column 12) were males. The Dehli District has sent 3,534 immigrants into (column 4) and received 4,208 emigrants from (column 7) the States of the Eastern Plains. Of the former 508 per mille (column 11) and of the latter 577 per mille (column 12) were males. Patiala has lost 25,911 persons (column 10) by exchange with British Territory. Dehli has gained 674 persons (column 10) by exchange with the States of the Eastern Plains.

The extraordinarily low proportion of males throughout shows how very largely the migration is reciprocal. The exceptions are Dehli, Kángra, Lahore, "Other Districts," and in a less degree Amritsar and Gurdáspur. The great cities naturally have a tendency to attract population to them from elsewhere which is not counterbalanced by any reflux of population from the districts in which they are situated,

[1] Colonel Minchin, the first Superintendent of Baháwalpur, took a Census of the State in this year; and the same officer has kindly read this paragraph and expressed his concurrence in my explanation.

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while the migration to more distant parts is naturally composed more largely of males. Among the States the percentage of males is highest in the case of Farídkot, which lies farthest west of all and on the extreme border of the tract to which reciprocal migration is peculiar: among the districts Kángra occupies a similar position.

Abstract No. 29, *showing* **Migration** *between* **certain Districts** *and* **certain States of the Eastern Plains.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1
	Rural Population per square mile.	Patiala.	Nabha.	Kapurthala.	Jind.	Faridkot.	Maler-kotla.	Kalsia.	Dujana.	Pataudi.	Loharu.	
Rural Population per square mile.	...	216	251	349	171	138	308	323	128	287	41	Rural Population per square mile
Dehli	345	1,838	358	5	1,501	...	15	...	212	244	35	Dehli
		601	*299*	*92*	*1,790*	*137*	*50*	*33*	202	*267*	*63*	
		1,237	59	*87*	*289*	*137*	*35*	*33*	10	*23*	*28*	
Gurgáon	294	4,183	4,824	2	964	2	1	2	1,075	1,782	43	Gurgáon
		1,748	*3,005*	*12*	*1,618*	*122*	*8*	*4*	*1,350*	*3,144*	*45*	
		2,435	1,819	*10*	*654*	*120*	7	*2*	*275*	*1,362*	*2*	
Karnál	227	18,312	955	5	6,885	26	103	9	9	4	10	Karnál
		15,655	*790*	*17*	*9,118*	*154*	*53*	*122*	*15*	*5*	*20*	
		2,657	165	*12*	2,233	*128*	50	*113*	*6*	*1*	*10*	
Hissár	121	17,992	770	1	11,735	25	...	...	372	39	2,707	Hissár
		11,841	*395*	*6*	*9,544*	*170*	*18*	*7*	*334*	*28*	*912*	
		6,151	375	*5*	2,191	*145*	*18*	*7*	38	11	1,795	
Rohtak	251	4,377	1,978	3	17,396	5	...	...	2,625	876	891	Rohtak
		1,130	*672*	*4*	*11,606*	*165*	*2*	*5*	*1,989*	*831*	*92*	
		3,247	1,306	*1*	5,790	*160*	*2*	*5*	636	45	799	
Sirsa	74	12,948	1,263	8	680	1,047	...	...	15	4	86	Sirsa
		4,813	*411*	*5*	*171*	*961*	*21*	*2*	*4*	*6*	*6*	
		8,135	852	3	509	86	*21*	*2*	11	*2*	80	
Ambála	361	24,016	1,166	164	452	71	317	4,235	...	3	...	Ambála
		35,543	*1,658*	*325*	*533*	*273*	*304*	*20,001*	*12*	*4*	...	
		11,527	492	*161*	*81*	202	13	*15,766*	*12*	*1*	...	
Ludhiana	390	32,021	7,991	970	484	664	6,082	209	...	...	...	Ludhiana
		26,299	*8,587*	*1,310*	*573*	*1,614*	*4,703*	*386*	...	*2*	...	
		5,722	*596*	*340*	*89*	950	1,379	*177*	...	*2*	...	
Jálandhar	493	2,072	407	17,337	56	141	168	...	...	...	...	Jálandhar
		1,777	*427*	*22,300*	*69*	*820*	*182*	*193*	...	*10*	...	
		295	20	*4,963*	*13*	*679*	*14*	*193*	...	*10*	...	
Hushyárpur	380	692	99	5,003	8	25	28	...	...	...	...	Hushyárpur
		2,397	*557*	*13,273*	*55*	*915*	*55*	*189*	...	*1*	...	
		1,705	*458*	*8,270*	*47*	890	*27*	*189*	...	*1*	...	
Kangra	78	77	16	68	7	16	...	...	...	...	...	Kangra
		1,085	*22*	*193*	*27*	*17*	...	*1*	...	...	*144*	
		1,008	*6*	*125*	*20*	*1*	...	*1*	...	...	*144*	
Amritsar	448	1,128	735	5,561	33	70	11	...	...	...	...	Amritsar
		632	*179*	*7,499*	*172*	*443*	...	*113*	...	...	...	
		496	556	*1,938*	*139*	*373*	11	*113*	...	...	...	
Gurdaspur	407	143	48	1,336	1,275	23	3	...	...	...	...	Gurdaspur
		176	*83*	*2,185*	*15*	*256*	*16*	*8*	...	...	...	
		33	*35*	*849*	1,260	*233*	*13*	*8*	...	...	...	
Lahore	197	1,153	230	920	34	850	38	5	...	...	...	Lahore
		469	*181*	*736*	*107*	*879*	*61*	*42*	*2*	*4*	...	
		684	49	184	*73*	*29*	*23*	*37*	*2*	*4*	...	
Firozpur	212	15,879	5,998	4,621	967	9,539	429	187	2	...	...	Firozpur
		8,353	*3,919*	*1,951*	*411*	*13,206*	*171*	*1,106*	*8*	...	...	
		7,526	2,079	2,670	556	*3,667*	258	*919*	*6*	...	...	
Patiala	216	...	24,497	215	12,015	1,521	6,560	1,838	195	476	154	Patiala
		...	*32,333*	*311*	*17,143*	*4,967*	*7,027*	*973*	*782*	*147*	*703*	
		...	*7,836*	*96*	*5,128*	*3,446*	*467*	865	*587*	329	*549*	
Nabha	251	32,333	...	82	2,896	951	2,451	...	95	50	7	Nabha
		24,497	...	*46*	*3,327*	*2,353*	*1,663*	*97*	*545*	*324*	*16*	
		7,836	...	36	*431*	*1,402*	788	*97*	*450*	*274*	*9*	
Jind	171	17,143	3,327	9	...	77	528	8	762	20	1,479	Jind
		12,015	*2,896*	*16*	...	*331*	*563*	*9*	*884*	*62*	*602*	
		5,128	431	*7*	...	*254*	*35*	*1*	*122*	*42*	877	
Maler Kotla	308	7,027	1,663	38	563	39	...	3	...	...	...	Maler Kotla
		6,560	*2,451*	*17*	*528*	*94*	...	*7*	...	...	...	
		467	*788*	21	*35*	*55*	...	*4*	...	...	...	

NOTE.—The topmost of the three lines of figures opposite each district or State entered in the first column shows the immigration into that district or State from the States standing at the head of the several columns. The middle line shows the emigration in the opposite direction. The bottom line shows the net gain or loss. In all three lines, figures printed thus 3,715 show gain, and figures printed thus *3,715* show loss to the place entered to the left hand of the statement, at the expense or in favour of the place entered at the top of the column.

158. The great States of Patiála and Nábha, which form the mass of the central block of the Eastern Plains, have welcomed to their ample areas large numbers of immigrants from the overcrowded montane and sub-montane districts of British Territory, and have thus afforded relief to Ambála, Jálandhar, Hushyárpur, Kángra, and Amritsar, where the pressure of population (see column 2, Abstract No. 29) is greatest. On the other hand their inhabitants have tended to move from the central steppes eastwards to the Jamna and its canal, and northwards and westwards to the riverain and inundation cuts of the Satluj; and accordingly the districts of the Jamna zone and of Fírozpur and Lúdhiánah and the States of Jínd and Farídkot have gained population at the expense of Patiála and Nábha. Similarly the people of Maler-Kotla have moved northwards into Lúdhiánah, and those of Jínd eastwards into Rohtak, while on the other hand, husbandmen driven by the ravages of saline efflorescence out of the lower parts of the Karnál

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district have found new land and homes across the border of the latter State. The extraordinary influx of new settlers which has, since they came into our hands, peopled the then almost uninhabited districts of Hissár and Sirsa, has been drawn in a very large degree from the inhabitants of the central States, many of whom had traditions of ancestral property in that tract before it was laid waste by the invasion of Taimur. Finally the fertile State of Kapúrthala, enjoying all the physical advantages of the Jálandhur Doáb and now for some years past under English superintendence, but far less densely populated than the crowded districts which surround it, has relieved them of much of their surplus population, while it has on the other hand contributed to the tide of emigration which has been attracted by the development of irrigation in Fírozpur.

159. Migration to and from the various Hill States.—Abstracts Nos. 30 and 31 below give the figures for migration to and from Hill States, neglecting, as before, all small figures; and correspond precisely with Abstracts Nos. 28 and 29 just given for the States of the Eastern Plains.

Abstract No. 30, *showing total* **Migration** *between* **British Territory** *and* **States of the Eastern Plains** *for* **Districts and States.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
District or State.	Immigration into the States.			Emigration from the States.			Excess immigration into the States.			Number of Males per 1,000 of both Sexes.		No. of Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.
	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	
Mandi	2,096	1,000	3,096	877	694	1,571	1,219	306	1,525	677	558	507
Chamba	1,627	1,071	2,698	3,142	2,941	6,083	−1,515	−1,870	−3,385	603	517	2,255
Náhan	4,563	2,730	7,293	496	550	1,046	4,067	2,180	6,247	626	474	143
Bilíspur	772	772	1,544	200	126	326	572	646	1,218	500	613	211
Bashahr	222	88	310	4	2	6	218	86	304	716	667	19
Nálagarh	2,306	2,116	4,422	1,047	1,609	2,656	1,259	507	1,766	522	394	601
Suket	991	486	1,477	116	96	212	875	390	1,265	670	547	144
Keonthal	813	258	1,071	20	11	31	793	247	1,040	759	645	29
Bághal	268	195	463	...	...	...	268	195	463	579	...	...
Jubbal	38	41	79	...	...	...	38	41	79	481	...	...
Bhajji	47	19	66	...	...	...	47	19	66	712	...	...
Minor Hill States	1,356	731	2,087	47	30	77	1,309	701	2,010	649	610	37
Total	15,099	9,507	24,606	5,949	6,059	12,008	9,150	3,448	12,598	614	495	488
Ambálla	5,028	3,374	8,402	1,104	1,690	2,794	3,924	1,684	5,608	598	393	333
Simla	1,211	1,111	2,322	502	194	696	709	917	1,626	522	721	300
Hoshiárpur	2,259	1,364	3,623	123	200	323	2,136	1,164	3,300	624	381	89
Kángra	5,042	3,073	8,115	3,671	3,455	7,126	1,371	−382	989	621	515	878
Other Districts	1,559	585	2,144	549	520	1,069	1,010	65	1,075	727	513	499
Total	15,099	9,507	24,606	5,949	6,059	12,008	9,150	3,448	2,598	614	495	488

Note.—This table may be read in exactly the same manner as Abstract No. 28, page 71 (see foot note to that Abstract), except that columns 8 to 10 show excess *immigration* instead of excess *emigration*.

Abstract No. 31, *showing* **Migration** *between* **certain Districts** *and* **certain Hill States.**

State.	Rural Population per square mile.	Ambala.	Simla.	Hoshyarpur.	Kangra.	Mandi.
Rural population per square mile	...	361	1,162	380	78	142
Mandi	142	22 70 48	69 265 196	487 42 445	2,344 1,146 1,198	... ...
Chamba	35	12 1 11	3 ... 3	100 100 ...	1,607 −5,838 4,231	20 22 2
Náhan	99	5,747 725 5,022	507 29 478	150 6 144	628 6 622	112 1 111
Biláspur	198	70 171 101	2 143 141	598 ... 598	840 ... 840	120 691 571
Bashahr	19	49 ... 49	148 ... 148	20 ... 20	87 4 83	34 86 52
Nálágarh	188	1,668 1,747 79	480 197 283	1,562 155 1,407	375 8 367	100 7 93
Suket	109	234 3 231	120 62 58	228 6 222	786 122 664	3,596 351 3,245
Keonthal	269	61 ... 61	303 ... 303	114 14 100	558 2 556	576 ... 576
Baghal	166	44 ... 44	263 ... 263	37 ... 37	88 ... 88	15 3 12
Jubbal	67	8 ... 8	36 ... 36	12 ... 12	22 ... 22	4 ... 4
Bhajji	126	5 ... 5		1 ... 1	59 ... 59	81 ... 81
Minor Hill States	135	482 77 405	391 ... 391	314 ... 314	721 ... 721	663 ... 663

Note.—This table may be read in exactly the same manner as Abstract No. 29, page 72. See foot-note to that Abstract.

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The moderate proportion of males, not low enough for reciprocal or high enough for temporary migration, seems to show that much of the movement of population is either permanent or periodic. In the case of Chamba, the only State which gives to British Territory more than it takes from it, the emigration is almost wholly periodic, the inhabitants of the higher ranges moving down into the Kángra plains for the winter; and it is possible that the emigration from Mandi into the same district is of a similar character. The large emigration from Mandi to Suket is perhaps attributable to the improved administration of the latter State under the English superintendence of late years. The remainder of the migration is almost wholly from the densely peopled and overcrowded sub-montane districts to States which had been almost devastated by the oppressive rule of the Gúrkhas and the Sikhs before we took possession of them. But on the whole the movement of the Hill population is of singularly small extent.

160. Migration to and from the various British Districts.—I now come to the movement of population to and from the districts of British territory. An examination of the figures for each separate district was necessary in order that I should arrive at any general conclusion; and its detailed results will be useful for administrative purposes and for comparison at the next Census. But they possess little general interest, and I therefore give the figures and examination in small type on pages 82 to 86 as Abstract No. 37, and proceed to discuss in the following paragraphs the general conclusions which may be deduced from them and from the figures which I have already examined. The figures of Abstract No. 37 include all migrations which amount to as many as 1,000 souls.

161. Conditions which determine the proportion of Indigenous Population.—Abstract No. 32 below shows the proportion per thousand of the population of each district who were born in that district, giving separate figures for rural, urban, and total populations, and for males and both sexes. The figures for males alone give a more accurate idea of the tendency to permanent migration in the eastern portion of the Province, as they exclude the large female migration of the reciprocal type. On the other hand they exaggerate the same tendency in the trans-Salt-range districts, where there has been an abnormal temporary immigration of males. I have accordingly arranged the districts according to the proportion of indigenous population separately for each set of figures, taking the rural population in each case as the basis of the arrangement.

Abstract No. 32, *showing the* **Proportion** *of its* **Population indigenous** *to* **each District** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

MALE POPULATION ONLY.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Serial order of Tables.	District.	No. of Persons born in the district per mille of population.			Serial No. in order of proportion of indigenous population.		
		Rural.	Urban.	Total.	Rural.	Urban.	Total.
11	Hushyárpur	966	913	961	1	3	1
12	Kangra	956	819	950	2	10	4
21	Gujrát	954	881	951	3	4	3
24	Jhang	954	932	952	4	1	2
31	Hazára	945	632	931	5	23	7
15	Sialkot	943	781	929	6	15	9
17	Gujránwála	943	828	931	7	9	6
20	Jhelam	941	605	905	8	26	15
7	Ambála	939	709	908	9	20	14
13	Amritsar	939	684	885	10	22	21
22	Shahpur	939	923	936	11	2	5
14	Gurdáspur	937	846	929	12	7	8
28	Derah Gházi Khan	932	781	914	13	16	10
10	Jálandhar	929	816	909	14	11	11
8	Ludhiána	926	762	903	15	17	16
29	Bannú	926	613	899	16	25	17
23	Multán	915	709	881	17	21	22
25	Montgomery	915	807	909	18	13	12
26	Muzaffargarh	909	876	909	19	5	13
3	Karnál	907	832	898	20	8	18
19	Ráwalpindi	906	439	850	21	30	24
5	Rohtak	902	863	895	22	6	19
2	Gurgáon	899	796	887	23	14	20
30	Peshávar	895	595	823	24	27	27
27	Derah Ismáil Khan	885	813	877	25	12	23
1	Dehli	876	713	824	26	19	26
16	Lahore	867	618	810	27	24	28
18	Firozpur	856	572	826	28	28	25
32	Kohát	807	392	757	29	31	30
4	Hissár	777	734	772	30	18	29
9	Simla	713	251	439	31	32	32
6	Sirsa	647	504	627	32	29	31

TOTAL POPULATION OF BOTH SEXES.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Serial order of tables.	District.	No. of Persons born in the district per mille of population.			Serial No. in order of proportion of indigenous population.			No. of Persons born in the district per mille of population.			
								Rural.		Urban.	
		Rural.	Urban.	Total.	Rural.	Urban.	Total.	M.	F.	M.	F.
12	Kangra	954	848	951	1	7	2	956	952	819	888
24	Jhang	954	939	953	2	1	1	954	954	932	952
31	Hazára	953	701	941	3	24	3	945	957	632	801
20	Jhelam	949	664	919	4	26	8	941	954	605	752
21	Gujrát	944	869	940	5	5	4	954	934	881	855
11	Hushyárpur	939	877	934	6	4	6	966	908	913	836
22	Sháhpur	939	923	937	7	2	5	939	941	923	927
28	Derah Ghazi Khan	939	836	928	8	8	7	932	948	781	911
29	Bannú	935	712	918	9	21	9	926	946	613	862
19	Ráwalpindi	932	517	888	10	29	17	906	960	439	653
17	Gujránwála	927	816	914	11	11	11	943	907	828	803
23	Multán	925	766	900	12	16	14	915	942	709	838
7	Ambála	922	730	897	13	19	16	939	902	709	757
30	Peshávar	921	682	868	14	25	20	895	949	595	825
15	Sialkot	919	794	909	15	14	13	943	893	781	809
26	Muzaffargarh	919	891	917	16	3	10	909	929	876	911
25	Montgomery	915	835	911	17	9	12	915	916	807	870
14	Gurdáspur	908	818	899	18	10	15	937	872	846	787
13	Amritsar	903	701	861	19	23	21	939	857	684	717
10	Jálandhar	889	797	872	20	13	19	929	840	816	771
27	Derah Ismaíl Khan	889	864	887	21	6	18	885	894	813	927
8	Ludhiána	870	738	852	22	17	22	926	801	762	709
16	Lahore	850	619	799	23	27	28	867	830	618	616
3	Karnál	849	802	842	24	12	23	907	779	832	772
32	Kohát	848	488	810	25	31	26	807	892	392	686
18	Firozpur	831	592	806	26	28	27	856	798	572	621
2	Gurgáon	827	735	817	27	18	25	899	746	796	671
5	Rohtak	827	791	820	28	15	24	902	739	863	717
1	Dehli	789	723	768	29	20	30	876	691	713	734
4	Hissár	788	711	776	30	22	29	777	801	734	686
9	Simla	778	288	524	31	32	32	713	857	251	391
6	Sirsa	643	504	626	32	30	31	647	638	504	506

Broadly speaking it may be said that the lists are divisible into two parts, the districts of the Hills and of the Western Plains standing highest in both as having the largest proportion of their population indigenous, and those of the Eastern Plains coming at the bottom as including the largest proportion of immigrants. If this difference were observable only in the figures for both sexes, it might be accounted for by reciprocal migration which, as already explained (section 137), seems to be confined to the Eastern Plains. But the figures for males also present the same broad division, though not quite so strongly marked; and the explanation must be sought for further. One cause of the distinction is doubtless to be found in the fact that the hilly and western districts, the fertile valleys of which are separated by uninhabited mountain ranges or arid steppes, present much greater physical impediments to movements of population than do the plains of the Eastern Panjáb. But I think that there is a still more effective

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reason for the distinction. In the first place the montane and sub-montane districts are already overcrowded, and afford no room for immigrants from without. Below them stretch the Eastern Plains which, situated between them and the arid and famine-scourged prairies of Rájpútána, present in their river valleys, their canal-irrigated *doábs*, and their virgin pastures of moderate rainfall, every degree of fertility and of physical advantage to welcome the surplus population of the overcrowded districts, to attract the inhabitants of the wastes to the south, and to tempt the people of one district to move into another. On the other hand, in the sparsely peopled districts of the Western Plains the culturable portions are singularly uniform in their physical characteristics. Each district has a certain riverain in which alone cultivation is possible, and of which there is still a sufficient portion uncultivated to afford ample room for the expansion of its own population, and thus there is by comparison with the Eastern Plains but little inducement to migration from one district to another. Again the western districts are not subject to that periodical recurrence of scarcity which ever and again drives the inhabitants of many of the eastern districts to wander from their homes, at first perhaps with the intention of returning, but often to settle permanently in the spots where they first find relief. So too the western districts lie far away from any densely peopled tract the surplus population of which might flow over into them, while their physical qualities and the character of their inhabitants are not such as to invite immigration from a distance. In the Salt-range and frontier tracts the people are too distinct from those of the Panjáb proper to have any tendency to settle among them.

162. Within the two main divisions of the list, however, degrees are clearly observable. If the Western Plains are more uniform in their physical attractions than are those of the east, the inducements offered by the canal systems of Multán, Montgomery, and Muzaffargarh put them well at the bottom of the western districts. The enormous Pawindah immigration gives Derah Ismáil a far lower place than it would otherwise occupy; the temporary immigration attracted by the Railway and Canal works and the transport arrangements on the route to Kábul similarly affects Ráwalpindi, Jahlam, and Pesháwar, especially in the male figures; while the immigration of fugitives from the Kashmír famine, who appear to have left their women behind them in the tracts immediately below the hills while the men went on further in search of work, bring the districts on the Kashmír border lower in the figures for both sexes than in those for males only. Finally, the enormous immigration into the rapidly developing districts of Sirsa, Hissár, and Fírozpur places them at the very bottom of the list, while reciprocal migration, most active in the Jamna zone, brings the districts of that tract into the next lowest place on the list for both sexes, a position which they no longer occupy in the list for males.

163. The figures for the urban population need not be discussed at any length. The military or commercial centres and the towns lying on the line of rail or in the great highways of trade contain a foreign element often enormously large, while the towns of those districts which lie apart from the busy movement of commerce or of armies have almost as large a proportion of indigenous population as have the villages by which they are surrounded. In Kohát and Pindi, where the greatest temporary activity prevailed at the time of the Census, only some 40 per cent. of the urban population was indigenous, while in the secluded districts of Jhang and Sháhpur not 8 per cent. of it was foreign.

The figures for the sexes are given in columns 9 to 12 of the Abstract. As might be expected, the proportion of indigenous females is far higher than that of males in the western districts, and far lower in the Eastern Plains and sub-montane districts where reciprocal migration obtains, so far at least as the rural population is concerned. Even among the urban population the same difference is to be observed, though not in so marked a degree. The large proportion of strangers which the towns contain in comparison with the villages is most marked throughout the Province.

For the Native States I have not got out separate figures for urban and rural population, and I am therefore compelled to treat them apart from districts. Abstract No. 33 below gives their figures, together with those for the ten divisions for comparison.

Abstract No. 33, *showing the* **Proportion** *of its* **Population indigenous** *to each* **State** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

Serial No. in Tables.	State or Division.	Proportion per 1,000 born in Division or State. Males.	Both Sexes.	Serial No. in Tables.	State or Division.	Proportion per 1,000 born in Division or State. Males.	Both Sexes.
16	Bashahr	990	992	14	Náhan	876	886
15	Biláspur	973	971	19	Keonthal	860	886
12	Mandi	961	968	III	Ambála	899	880
	Total Province	**965**	**966**	1	Patiála	927	868
21	Jubbal	983	963		Total Eastern Plains	915	867
	Total Hill States	948	955	17	Nálágarh	880	863
IV	Jálandhar	962	954	VI	Láhore	871	857
13	Chamba	943	950	—	Minor Hill States	853	844
	Total British Territory	**949**	**946**	I	Dehli	889	840
VII	Ráwalpindi	930	942	II	Hissár	817	795
VIII	Multán	935	941	3	Kapúrthala	871	795
22	Bhajji	909	937	6	Máler Kotla	894	782
V	Amritsar	942	931	2	Nábha	863	744
IX	Deraját	910	922	4	Jínd	815	732
11	Baháwalpur	906	915	8	Dujána	868	723
20	Bághal	936	906	5	Farídkot	754	693
	Total Native States	**922**	**894**	9	Pataudi	810	643
X	Pesháwar	857	890	7	Kalsia	745	633
18	Suket	850	888	10	Loharu	678	588

There is no need to discuss the figures in detail, as they generally bear out the remarks already made. The Hill States with Baháwalpur come well at the top of the list; and the Eastern States, almost in the order of their position from west to east, at the bottom. In almost all the former the indigenous percentage is larger for females than for males, but becomes very much smaller the moment we reach the plains.

Part II.—Migrations of the People.

164. Effect of density of population upon migration.—The effect of density of population upon the movements of the people is very strikingly shown by the figures of Abstract No. 34 on the opposite page.

The natural tendency of population is to move in the direction of least pressure, or, other things being equal, from a more to a less densely peopled tract. Now in this Abstract the districts are arranged in order of density of population, and the figures in Roman type show gain to the district whose name is to the left by exchange with and at the expense of that whose name is at the bottom of the table; in other words, they show the movement of population wherever it follows the course above indicated. The figures in italics show movement in the reverse direction, the more densely gaining at the expense of the less densely populated district. It will be seen at a glance that, excluding the first vertical column which gives the figures for the wholly abnormal district of Simla, the mass of the movement follows the natural course. But there are very striking exceptions. In the first place the density of population on total area means very little in some of the Panjáb districts, which include large areas of practically uninhabitable mountain or steppe; and in such cases the figures showing the proportion of population to cultivated area, given in the extreme margin of the abstract, are more instructive[1]. Thus the actual pressure of population in proportion to the means for its support, as distinguished from mere density on total area, is probably higher in the hill districts of Hushyárpur, Kángra, Gurdáspur, and Ambála in that order than in any other part of the Panjáb; and accordingly, if we except small figures, we find each of these four districts in order giving population to all others.

165. Again a very striking point is brought out by an examination not only of these figures, but of those also for the general intra-provincial migration, including Native States. On the one hand, such excessive density of population as indicates actual pressure and overcrowding is invariably accompanied by emigration; on the other, such excessive sparsity of population in comparison with the available culturable area as indicates plenty of good land to be had on easy terms, is invariably accompanied by immigration. But directly we leave the two extremes of density and sparseness of population, and turn to those tracts which are more moderately populated in proportion to their agricultural capacities, we find that the movement of population between such tracts is determined, not so much by the relative density of their population, as by the special attractions which they respectively offer to the cultivator, and that as a matter of fact the tendency is rather to move towards the more thickly peopled tracts, which are naturally those in which such attractions are greatest. Thus while the over-crowded montane and sub-montane districts are sending out their surplus population as emigrants, and the rapidly developing tracts of Sirsa and Hissár are attracting immigrants, the movement of population in the districts of more moderate density is towards the canal irrigated districts of Multán, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghází Khán, and Montgomery in the west, towards the Satluj Valley and the irrigation works of Fírozpur and the Bári Doáb in the centre, and towards the Jamna and its canal in the east of the Province, or from the less densely to the more densely peopled tracts. The distress which has forced the people of Gurgáon to emigrate, the temporary demand for labour in the Salt-range districts, and the general attraction exercised by military or commercial centres, explain all the remaining exceptions to the general rule of migration.

166. Gain and loss by migration.—Abstract No. 35 on page 78 shows the manner and degree in which migration to and from the district or State has affected its population, the districts being arranged in order of net gain.

The rapidly developing districts of Sirsa, Lahore, Hissár, Fírozpur, and Multán head the list, together with Kohát, Pesháwar, and Ráwalpindi which lie on the route to Kábul, and Derah Ismáíl which forms the Panjáb depot of the *pawindahs*. In all these cases the gain has been greater among males than among females. The same is the case in Muzaffargarh, Bannú, Derah Ghází, Jahlam, and Hazára, which occupy the middle of the list together with Dehli and Rohtak, the two most progressive of the Jamna districts, but in which the female gain is greater than the male. Next follow the remaining districts of the Eastern Plains, in which the gain has been chiefly to the female population; while the table is completed by the sub-montane districts which have all lost largely by emigration, especially of males, and by the districts of Jhang, Sháhpur, and in a less degree of Montgomery, whose population has been attracted by the development of neighbouring tracts, and of Gurgáon where famine and disease have driven the people forth. In all these cases the male population has naturally been the first to move.

167. Concentration of Population in the larger Towns.—Another important feature of the movement of the Pánjab people is the tendency which they are now exhibiting, in common with those of European countries, to congregate more and more in the larger towns. The only proof I possess of this tendency is the fact that the population of those towns has increased since the last Census far more rapidly than that of the villages, while the population of the smaller towns has actually decreased in numbers; and this would seem to bring the subject under the head of increase and decrease discussed in the next part of this chapter rather than under migration. But it is notorious that the death-rate of our town population is quite abnormally high, far higher than that of the rural tracts; and the insanatory conditions which produce this result can hardly fail to have their usual effect in reducing the urban birth-rates; while the difference in sanitation between the larger cities with their more careful administration, and the smaller and more neglected towns, can hardly be so great as very materially to affect the rate of increase of population. Thus the ordinary excess of births over deaths cannot account for the facts, and the explanation must be sought for in actual movement of population. Abstract No. 36 on page 78 shows the increase of population between 1868 and 1881 in towns arranged in groups according to size, the first part of the table giving the figures for each group separately, and the remaining part of the abstract dealing with all towns taken together which contain more or less than a given population.

[1] NOTE.—The figures for the distribution over culturable area would have been still more instructive had their basis been of a satisfactory character. I have already explained in section 87 why those figures wholly fail, in many of the Panjab districts, to afford any indication of the available room for expansion of population.

Part II.—Migrations of the People.

Abstract No. 34, *showing* Gain and Loss by exchange of Population *between* Districts *arranged in* order of density.

Rural Population per sqr. mile: Cultivated area.	Rural Population per sqr. mile: Total area.	Districts.	Simla.	Jalandhar.	Sialkot.	Amritsar.	Gurdaspur.	Ludhiana.	Hushiarpur.	Ambála.	Dehli.	Gujrat.	Gurgaon.	Rohtak.	Karnál.	Ferozepore.	Gujránwála.	Lahore.	Peshawar.	Rawalpindi.	Jhelam.	Hazára.	Hissar.	Muzaffargarh.	Shahpur.	Multán.	Bannú.	Kangra.	Sirsa.	Montgomery.	D. G. Khan.	Jhang.	Kohat.	D. I. Khan.
1,394	1,162	Simla																																
630	493	Jalandhar	*316*																															
691	474	Sialkot	*67*	970																														
589	448	Amritsar	*84*	1,092	10,466																													
555	407	Gurdáspur	*23*	9	249	*16,480*																												
479	390	Ludhiana	*164*	536	46	*616*	228																											
676	380	Hoshiarpur	1,236	*19,159*	*170*	*3,191*	*2,340*	*3,775*																										
623	361	Ambála	*1,021*	122	440	149	318	*681*	1,673																									
536	345	Dehli	*240*	*229*	*84*	*89*	*47*	*154*	64	*864*																								
560	328	Gujrát	*6*	*18*	*1,770*	*846*	108	21	*31*	*123*	48																							
367	294	Gurgáon	*73*	*118*	75	78	18	15	40	*253*	*15,022*	3																						
321	251	Rohtak	*47*	*31*	10	151	*98*	*168*	56	*154*	*9,528*	*17*	5,286																					
613	227	Karnál	*220*	*74*	36	70	*15*	*167*	*106*	821	1,266	...	454	2,766																				
278	212	Firozpur	*21*	4,429	1,161	5,470	2,628	4,017	6,936	981	645	*75*	540	298	172																			
570	211	Gujránwála	*15*	7	3,441	*1,256*	129	*157*	105	*119*	83	1,167	*17*	50	*43*	*447*																		
395	197	Lahore	*43*	2,634	23,434	23,935	19,594	1,008	2,659	652	1,649	1,559	327	281	195	*4,987*	15,691																	
328	185	Peshάwar	*18*	636	2,672	1,544	1,628	335	868	229	298	1,010	77	71	158	193	1,336	697																
485	151	Rawalpindi	15	1,222	5,921	1,939	2,226	632	1,354	490	618	3,022	223	21	289	197	3,491	1,623	*227*															
396	135	Jhelam	*26*	404	2,579	313	617	148	363	93	190	3,391	67	25	34	130	1,262	272	*1,418*	*2,102*														
651	128	Hazara	9	89	221	211	246	44	166	52	20	*27*	*2*	5	10	38	100	43	*774*	*3,912*														
236	121	Hissar	6	*10*	55	133	64	*41*	48	*343*	*706*	*2*	1,068	*1,717*	*2,258*	*151*	*12*	*138*	*74*	*44*	*9*	*4*												
510	101	Muzaffargarh	6	*26*	275	84	105	33	51	41	44	12	14	12	9	*4*	200	354	53	20	245	7	32											
451	79	Shahpur	...	59	181	*30*	46	*46*	18	*74*	39	2,380	*7*	...	*10*	*68*	927	*685*	*722*	*1,716*	*2,934*	*63*	*1*	*721*										
371	79	Multán	*3*	450	1,328	1,384	*768*	217	481	112	539	273	102	95	120	*181*	978	1,750	106	116	320	*73*	61	*1,831*	825									
337	79	Bannú	3	86	463	441	270	25	111	*49*	46	151	66	48	5	*1*	296	33	286	329	430	203	9	*123*	2,233	*57*								
738	78	Kangra	481	243	68	*1,978*	131	*176*	1,151	*652*	*41*	*12*	14	*8*	33	*121*	*19*	*867*	*307*	*156*	*375*	*49*	*29*	*36*	*30*	*147*	*239*							
150	74	Sirsa	*32*	108	122	149	155	461	91	73	325	22	467	312	*49*	2,990	52	441	29	8	*4*	*2*	8,290	38	20	180	68	*1*						
721	72	Montgomery	1	277	746	925	480	219	184	14	98	135	*21*	47	18	*1,393*	356	*3,412*	20	24	37	19	97	*105*	279	*1,642*	95	56	*466*					
203	71	Derah Ghazi Khan	...	50	415	589	213	20	113	*21*	94	89	128	113	42	*130*	177	428	158	89	294	18	10	*3,880*	668	151	1,235	110	*52*	*38*				
557	63	Jhang	...	*11*	59	*32*	59	19	36	*65*	36	197	15	1	3	*174*	1,201	*1,084*	*4*	*69*	*195*	21	1	*2,844*	*1,357*	*9,466*	*269*	*3*	98	*1,074*	*423*			
626	58	Kohat	15	153	878	787	600	154	283	83	83	286	61	78	22	*382*	378	323	1,731	2,151	819	251	6	*1*	484	9	*1,427*	235	...	8	*3*	38		
313	42	Derah Ismail Khan	1	14	311	472	223	*71*	62	52	*60*	210	40	104	21	*14*	109	*134*	227	328	334	109	16	*1,213*	3,037	*870*	4,470	109	*37*	*114*	*2,633*	1,282	*138*	
Rural Population per square mile.		Total area	1,162	493	474	448	407	390	380	361	345	328	294	251	227	212	211	197	185	151	135	128	121	101	79	79	79	78	74	72	71	63	58	42
		Cultivated area	1,394	630	691	589	555	479	676	623	536	560	367	321	513	278	570	395	328	485	396	651	236	510	451	371	337	738	150	721	203	557	626	313

NOTE.—The figures in this table show *gain* of population to the district on the left hand and *loss* to that at the bottom of the table, except where they are printed thus—*1879*, in which case the gain and loss are reversed. Thus Shahpur gains 181 souls by exchange with Sialkot, but loses 30 souls by exchange with Amritsar.

Part II.—Migrations of the People.

Abstract No. 35, *showing* Gain and Loss by Migration *for* Districts *arranged in* order of magnitude.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Serial No. of Table.	Districts.	Proportions per mille of total population.									Serial order of magnitude in respect of gain.		
		Gain and Loss by Migration.						Net gain by Migration.					
		Persons.		Males.		Females.							
		Gain.	Loss.	Gain.	Loss.	Gain.	Loss.	Persons.	Male.	Females.	Persons.	Male.	Females.
6	Sirsa	375	109	372	86	375	136	266	286	239	1	2	1
9	Simla	479	248	562	161	330	407	231	401	−77	2	1	32
32	Kohat	189	28	243	32	123	22	161	211	101	3	3	3
16	Lahore	202	85	191	82	216	91	117	109	125	4	7	2
30	Peshá war	131	21	176	27	75	13	110	149	62	5	4	7
4	Hissár	224	136	229	92	218	188	88	137	30	6	5	13
27	Dera Ismáil Khan	113	29	124	36	102	23	84	88	79	7	8	4
19	Ráwalpindi	112	32	151	38	65	24	80	113	41	8	6	11
18	Firozpur	194	115	175	91	218	144	79	84	74	9	10	5
23	Multán	99	32	119	34	76	29	67	85	47	10	9	9
1	Dehli	232	171	177	127	295	222	61	50	73	11	13	6
26	Muzaffargarh	82	31	91	36	72	25	51	55	47	12	12	10
29	Bannu	81	39	101	42	58	35	42	59	23	13	11	17
28	Dera Ghazi Khan	73	32	85	36	58	28	41	49	30	14	14	14
5	Rohtak	179	142	106	88	264	205	37	18	59	15	17	8
20	Jhelum	81	52	96	59	63	44	29	37	19	16	15	19
31	Hazára	59	31	69	37	48	24	28	32	24	17	16	16
	Total British Territory	**54**	**32**	**51**	**26**	**58**	**39**	**22**	**25**	**19**	**17a**	**16a**	**19a**
3	Karnal	158	140	102	99	222	189	18	3	33	18	22	12
13	Amritsar	139	125	114	109	171	145	14	5	26	19	21	15
8	Ludhiana	148	138	96	91	211	196	10	5	15	20	19	20
10	Jalandhar	127	117	91	86	172	153	10	5	19	21	20	18
12	Kangra	49	50	49	49	49	51	— 1	...	— 2	22	23	22
21	Gujrat	61	68	50	72	72	63	— 7	—22	9	23	25	21
25	Montgomery	89	99	91	101	87	98	—10	—10	—11	24	24	24
7	Ambála	103	116	92	84	116	156	—13	8	—40	25	18	30
22	Shahpur	62	82	63	89	61	77	—20	—26	—16	26	26	26
2	Gurgáon	183	206	112	145	261	273	—23	—33	—12	27	28	25
15	Sialkot	92	115	71	108	114	124	—23	—37	—10	28	29	23
14	Gurdaspur	101	129	71	101	137	164	—28	—30	—27	29	27	28
17	Gujranwála	86	118	69	109	106	128	—32	—40	—22	30	30	27
24	Jhang	48	91	49	101	48	78	—43	—52	—30	31	31	29
11	Hushyárpur	67	131	39	107	99	158	—64	—68	—59	32	32	31

Abstract No. 36, *showing* increase *of* Population *in* Towns *arranged* according to size.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Limits of Population.		Towns between the limits of columns 1 and 2.				All Towns of and over the Population shown in Column 2.				All Towns of and under the Population shown in Column 1.			
From.	To.	Number of Towns.	Population of 1868.	Population of 1881.	Percentage of 1881 on 1868.	Number of Towns.	Population of 1868.	Population of 1881.	Percentage of 1881 on 1868.	Number of Towns.	Population of 1868.	Population of 1881.	Percentage of 1881 on 1868.
...	100,000	3	415,643	474,658	114	3	415,643	474,658	114	235	2,327,608	2,430,759	104
100,000	50,000	5	273 403	321,113	117	8	689,046	795,871	115	232	1,911,965	1,956,101	102
50,000	30,000	4	149,811	163,257	109	12	838,857	959,128	114	227	1,638,562	1,634,888	100
30,000	20,000	9	198,727	206,235	104	21	1,037,584	1,165,363	112	223	1,488,751	1,471,631	99
20,000	15,000	8	126,309	135,181	107	29	1,163,893	1,300,544	112	214	1,290,024	1,265,396	98
15,000	12,000	10	122,350	130,880	107	39	1,286,243	1,431,424	111	206	1,163,715	1,130,215	97
12,000	10,000	7	82,803	76,090	93	46	1,369,046	1,507,514	110	196	1,041,365	999,335	96
10,000	9,000	5	51,519	46,266	91	51	1,420,565	1,553,780	109	189	958,562	923,245	96
9,000	8,000	12	97,769	102,603	106	63	1,518,334	1,656,383	109	184	907,043	876,979	97
8,000	7,000	12	90,092	89,405	100	75	1,608,426	1,745,788	109	172	809,274	774,376	96
7,000	6,500	8	55,776	53,627	97	83	1,664,202	1,799,415	108	160	719,182	684,971	95
6,500	6,000	16	105,778	99,935	95	99	1,769,980	1,899,350	107	152	663,406	631,344	95
6,000	5,500	17	108,714	98,617	91	116	1,878,694	1,997,967	106	136	557,628	531,409	95
5,500	5,000	16	78,555	84,067	108	132	1,957,249	2,082,034	106	119	448,914	432,792	96
5,000	4,500	17	84,235	81,188	97	149	2,041,484	2,163,222	106	103	370,359	348,725	94
4,500	4,000	22	99,423	93,032	94	171	2,140,907	2,256,254	105	86	286,124	267,537	94
4,000	3,500	9	34,016	34,260	101	180	2,174,923	2,290,514	105	64	186,701	174,505	94
3,500	3,000	15	52,453	49,681	96	195	2,227,376	2,340,195	105	55	152,685	140,245	92
3,000	2,500	14	42,541	38,357	91	209	2,269,917	2,378,552	105	40	100,232	90,564	90
2,500	2,000	16	42,093	36,558	87	225	2,312,010	2,415,110	104	26	57,691	52,207	90
2,000	...	10	15,598	15,649	100	235	2,327,608	2,430,759	104	10	15,598	15,649	100
Grand Total		235	2,327,608	2,430,759	104	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Note.—This table may be read thus: The third line from the top shows first, that the collective population of the four towns whose individual population now lies between 50,000 and 30,000 souls was 149,811 in 1868 (column 4) and 163,257 in 1881 (column 5), the increase being 9 per cent. (column 6), &c.; secondly, that the collective populations of the 12 towns now containing individually more than 30,000 souls, was 838,857 (column 8) in 1868, and so on as before; thirdly, that the collective population of the 227 towns now containing individually fewer than 50,000 souls, was 1,638,562 (column 12) in 1868, and so on as before.

168. The figures in the margin express the population of 1881 as a percentage on that of 1868 for the various classes of towns and villages, and show that the urban population on the whole has increased less rapidly since 1868 than has the rural population; but that that portion of it living in towns of 6,000 souls or over has increased at the same rate as, and that living in towns of 5,000 souls or over at a very slightly lower rate than the village population, while the remaining portion living in smaller towns has actually decreased

Total population	107·1
Rural population	107·5
Urban population	104·4
All towns of over 6,000 souls	107·3
,, under ,,	95·2
,, of over 5,000 souls	106·4
,, under ,,	96·4

Part II.—Migrations of the People.

considerably. As it is almost certain that excess of births over deaths in the urban population is exceedingly small, if indeed there is any excess at all, it is probable that people have left the villages for the towns in general, it is almost certain that they have left the smaller for the larger towns, and it is quite certain that, from one source or the other, the larger towns have attracted to themselves a population out of all comparison with that moving to their smaller rivals. The almost unbroken decrease in the figures of columns 10 and 14, and the hardly less striking series of column 6 of the Abstract, show how strong has been the set of population towards the large cities. There is no doubt that the development of our Railway system has been a principal factor in effecting this movement, for as transport and communication become quicker, cheaper, and more easy, the minor centres of trade decline and the commercial activity of the Province tends to concentrate itself in a few great marts[1]. Even the apparent exceptions to the rule of uniform decrease which the figures of column 6 of the Abstract disclose are but exemplifications of the principle upon which the rule is based. Take, for instance, the towns of between 9,000 and 8,000 souls. A reference to Table XIX will show that of those twelve towns no fewer than eight are in the west of the Panjáb, where the towns are throughout smaller than in the Eastern Plains. In other words, they *are* the large towns of their neighbourhood; and though they show a higher rate of increase than larger towns lying in another part of the Province, yet if the comparison were made separately for the two tracts they would fall into their proper place, and form no exception to the rule that large towns have increased more rapidly than small ones. The same considerations will be found to account for all the apparent exceptions, which in fact only prove the rule.

169. The movement is almost wholly beneficial. As I have before remarked, the insanatory conditions of village life in the Panjáb differ in degree only from those of town life, while the larger towns are better cared for in this respect than are the smaller ones. Thus the superior healthiness of rustic life which is so marked in European countries, may be said scarcely to exist in this Province. On the other hand the absence of industries other than agricultural, and the consequent dependence of the great mass of the people upon a rainfall which is, in the Panjáb at least, eminently variable and precarious, and upon the produce of cultivation which cannot keep pace with the increase of population, constitute one of the greatest difficulties of Indian administration; and though the distance in this respect between India and England is so enormous that generations must pass away before that difficulty is materially lessened, yet any tendency of the population to become more urban in its character must possess peculiar importance. Already the great cities of the Panjáb seem to be attracting to themselves the surplus population of the rural tracts, and so helping to relieve that pressure of population which is even now seriously felt in some portions of the Province, and will year by year make itself more apparent; while the increasing concentration of the population in great commercial centres can hardly fail to be accompanied by, or at least to pave the way for, the creation of new or the development of existing industries, and the more elaborate organisation and division of labour.

170. Tendency of the rural population towards dispersion.—At the same time there is observable among the rural population an equally beneficial tendency in the opposite direction, which, though not represented in our figures owing to the system on which they are tabulated, is, I believe, no less in actual operation throughout all those parts of the Province in which compact village communities attain considerable size[2]. I have, in section 71, attempted to show that the typical large village community inhabiting a single homestead surrounded by a common wall, owes its existence in part at least to the necessity of self-defence. With the spread of order under British rule that necessity has been in great measure removed; and the people are beginning to spread over their fields, and rustic life to approach, though as yet only in a very limited degree, the conditions which characterise it in England. As population increases with national prosperity, cultivation extends and the standard of agricultural practice rises. The more distant fields have now to be watched, while the more valuable staples require more manure and more constant labour and attention. A hut is accordingly built in the fields, in which the cattle are kept and some of the young men spend the night. Cultivation extends still further from the main homestead, more huts are built, till at last a small hamlet springs up occupied in turn by various members of the families who own the surrounding land, while the outlying fields are dotted over with isolated buildings, many of which are destined to become the nuclei of similar hamlets. The larger the area of the villages the stronger the tendency to a dispersion of this sort. The process is but another instance of that spread of severalty and growth of individual rights to which I have already made allusion in discussing houses and families (Part IV, Chap. II). Much has been written of the manner in which the Indian village community has survived the crash of empires and emerged unchanged from centuries of anarchy and misrule. It may be that it is destined to succumb to the dissolving spell of peace and settled administration; and that the very sternness of the conditions at whose powerlessness to break it down historians have wondered, supplied the external pressure which kept it together, and the withdrawal of which will allow it to fall asunder by disintegration from within.

171. General sketch of the movement of the Panjab population.—The figures in the margin show that the people of the Panjáb are not much given to migration. The great cantonments and commercial centres attract population from even distant parts of the Province, and a temporary demand for labour brings workmen from all the surrounding districts to profit by the high rates of wages which accompany it; but almost throughout the Province the great mass of the

Numbers per mille born in	Towns.		Villages.		Total.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
The district or State in which they live	741	764	919	874	895	860
The Province	892	922	979	973	967	966
India	981	994	995	996	994	995

[1] The extraordinary increase in the population of towns on the line of rail will be referred to later.

[2] Our figures treat the whole population dwelling within the area of a village as a single village, without taking note of the number of separate hamlets which they may occupy (see sections 65, 66). I had written a paragraph on the comparison between the

Part II.—Migrations of the People.

population, and more especially of the rural population, live and die in the district in which they were born. In the eastern portion of the Panjáb, where no physical obstacles bar the way, and where varying conditions, and in some parts pressure of population tempt the people to move, migration is more common than in the west; but even there the movement seldom extends to any distance, and is generally confined to crossing the border from one district or state into its neighbour. In the south-east of the Province the till lately almost uninhabited prairies of Hissár and Sirsa have tempted crowds of immigrants from arid Rájpútána and from the Native States to their north, while the population of the central plains has also moved eastwards, northwards, and westwards towards the rivers and the canals which distribute their waters. In Gurgáon distress has of late years driven the people to seek employment beyond the limits of the district, while along the Western Jamna Canal the ravages of saline efflorescence have compelled many of the inhabitants to seek new lands in neighbouring tracts. The sub-montane districts have a population more dense than their culturable area can support in comfort, and their surplus numbers are moving southwards into the river valleys, and even beyond them into the central plains, while the extension of irrigation in Lahore and Fírozpur has attracted a special immigration to those districts. Within the mountains themselves the population is peculiarly stationary, the chief movement being a periodic descent from the high ranges to the warmer valleys in the winter season, and an influx of labourers from Ladákh to find work on our system of mountain roads.

172. In the Western Plains there is little pressure of population, distances are great, and the people move but little. Yet the fertile plains of Sindh have attracted settlers in considerable numbers from Baháwalpur; the recent extension of inundation canals in the districts of Montgomery, Multán, Muzaffargarh, and Derah Ghází Khán and the State of Baháwalpur has drawn numerous immigrants from the neighbouring districts and from Rájpútána; and there are signs that, with the spread of order and the extension of cultivation, the pastoral tribes of the central steppes are moving into the river valleys. This latter movement, however, is probably in some degree temporary, and due to the seasons of scanty rainfall which preceded the Census and compelled the herds to move riverwards in search of pasture; and the same cause accounts in part for the similar movement already remarked in the Eastern Plains. The people of the Salt-range Tract and of the frontier itself are a peculiar people, and mix but little with the inhabitants of the Panjáb proper; and were it not for the exceptional demand for labour created by the Kábul campaign there would be but little movement between these two portions of the Province. But the tribes of the Pathán border are gradually acquiring lands and settling in considerable numbers in British Territory, more especially in Bannú and Pesháwar, while year by year as winter approaches the hill-men move down to the Panjáb plains to cultivate, to trade, or to work as labourers. So too with returning autumn the great *pawindah* caravans scatter their agents over the Province while their herds pasture in the Indus Valley, and thousands of labourers from the far hills of Hazára beyond Kábul pour into the Panjáb in search of employment. The evil nature of the native rule, and still more the terrible famine which has lately devastated Kashmír, have driven thousands of starving families into the Province, the women and children remaining in the districts on the border while the men have passed onwards to where labour was more in demand.

173. The women of the Panjáb are naturally less inclined to emigrate than are the men, yet the custom of the Eastern Plains which prescribes that brides shall be sought at a distance carries them in

numbers of villages grouped according to size in the enumerations of 1868 and 1881. The figures show that the number of larger villages has increased in the most marked manner at the expense of the smaller ones in each division of the Province. But in the absence of any indication of what is meant by the "village" of the tables of 1868, it is impossible to draw any trustworthy conclusion from the figures. In 1868 as many as 35,740 villages were shown, while the present tables give only 34,324. It is true that villages are occasionally lost by transfer or river action, but the difference of 1,416 is too large to be thus accounted for; and moreover the explanation is applicable in certain districts only, while the excess to be explained is found in every district except Fírozpur, Multán, Muzaffargarh, the two Derahs, Pesháwar, and Kohát. There seem to be two other possible explanations. One is that hamlets were reckoned as separate villages in 1868; but against this is the fact that the number of villages now shown is greater than that then *given in precisely those very districts* in which hamlets are most numerous. It is probable that the increase in those districts is owing to the demarcation of new villages at settlement. The other possible explanation is that uninhabited villages were included in the total numbers of 1868, whereas they have been excluded in our present tables. Paragraph 97 of the report of 1868 would appear to mean that this was not the case, though the language used is obscure. If uninhabited villages *were* counted as villages in 1868, the increase in the proportion of large to small villages is even larger than would appear from the figures as they stand, and there can be but little doubt that the people are tending to leave the small villages and collect in the larger ones in a degree and with a uniformity which is quite remarkable. It is no doubt the fact that, when order was first restored, the people did occupy many small outlying sites which they presently abandoned as too far removed from shops and other conveniences. But the abandonment must have taken place before 1868. At any rate the tendency, if it really exists, does not affect the matter of the text, as the movement there referred to takes place within the village area. I give in the margin the figures for 1881 side by side with those for 1868, taking the total number of villages and towns at each Census as 1,000.

Name of Division.	Year of Census.	Actual Number of Towns and Villages.	Proportion per mille of Towns and Villages.				
			Over 2,000 souls.	Over 1,000 souls.	Over 500 souls.	Over 200 souls.	Total.
Total British Territory	1868 1881	35,740 34,324	1,045 1,206	3,545 4,160	9,073 10,508	20,001 22,387	35,740 84,324
Total British Territory	1868 1881	35,740 34,324	29 35	99 121	254 306	560 652	1,000 1,000
Dehli Division	1868 1881	2,979 2,724	50 51	147 158	338 375	668 738	1,000 1,000
Hissár Division	1868 1881	1,821 1,752	63 61	163 193	376 431	713 791	1,000 1,000
Ambala Division	1868 1881	3,466 3,348	27 28	97 102	265 289	608 648	1,000 1,000
Jálandhar Division	1868 1881	4,192 3,982	43 43	136 145	348 359	684 711	1,000 1,000
Amritsar Division	1868 1881	5,771 5,623	31 21	89 96	241 271	571 650	1,000 1,000
Lahore Division	1868 1881	3,881 3,871	25 40	96 121	247 298	609 689	1,000 1,000
Ráwalpindi Division	1868 1881	4,752 4,594	22 33	82 125	229 326	538 675	1,000 1,000
Multán Division	1868 1881	4,903 4,364	11 16	47 78	143 218	354 493	1,000 1,000
Derajat Division	1868 1881	1,723 1,826	46 59	135 163	282 342	534 640	1,000 1,000
Pesháwar Division	1868 1881	2,250 2,240	28 46	79 116	178 264	412 561	1,000 1,000

Part II.—Migrations of the People.

thousands across the border of neighbouring districts, and reduces the indigenous proportion of females below that of males, more especially in the Jamna tract. The river which separates us from the North-West Provinces presents no formidable obstacle to such migration, and the movement of population across the border is considerable. But the North-West Provinces have also sent us a very considerable number of immigrants who have accompanied our troops as camp-followers to the furthest limits of the Province, and have there settled down as the well-known Púrbia population of our cantonment bazaars.

174. Thus the Panjáb, fast developing under strong and settled rule, has attracted to itself population from the countries that surround it on all four sides. To the inhabitants of the crowded districts of the Ganges Doáb it has offered land no less fertile than their own, and more plentiful in proportion to the people to be fed. To the people of Rájpútána it has held out the attractions of a higher rainfall and more ample and easy irrigation. The wild tribes of the frontier have found in the Indus Valley pastures where they and their herds are secure from attack; while the people of Kashmír have sought in British territory that help in time of need which was denied them by their own Government. To the north and west the movement has been almost wholly in one direction; but on our eastern and southern borders the immigrants have retained their connection with their original homes, and more especially have looked for wives for their sons and husbands for their daughters from among their fathers' people, and a considerable reflex movement has resulted.

175. The only portion of the Province where real pressure of population is felt is that which includes or lies immediately under the lower hills, and there the denudation of the hill sides and the constantly increasing damage done by the hill-torrents are yearly making the pressure more and more severe. The parallel zone to the south of it, which combines a fertile soil with facilities for irrigation in perhaps a higher degree than any other part of the Panjáb, has hitherto received the surplus population, while the construction of the Bári Doáb Canal and the Fírozpur irrigation works have greatly facilitated the transfer. And now that the capacity of that fertile zone to receive the surplus numbers of other parts has been taxed to the utmost, and it possesses as dense a population as it is able to support, the Sarhind Canal is about to irrigate the central plains, and so to open a wide outlet by which the pressure of population to their north may find relief. Further to the west the projected canal from the Chanáb into the Gújránwála *bár* will perform a similar office for the sub-montane districts of that part of our border; and when these two works are complete, all fear of over-crowding which cannot be relieved by migration to that moderate distance which alone the Panjáb peasant cares to undertake, will be removed at least for many years. Meanwhile the people are steadily moving to the large cities in ever increasing numbers, while the villagers are slowly spreading their habitations over the fields which it is their task to cultivate, and thus the conditions of both urban and rural life are tending, very slowly indeed, to approach more nearly to those which obtain in England. The development of the Province under British rule and the peace and order which have accompanied it have rendered possible the movements I have described. The facilities now afforded for safe and easy locomotion enable surplus hands to leave the over-crowded rural tracts for the centres of commerce or the sites of large engineering works; while the settler in a strange country is now secure of his life and property. Above all the great irrigation works executed by us have extended the area and raised the standard of cultivation in the great plains of the Province; our railways, by connecting them with the markets of Europe, have raised the demand for their produce; and thus have been afforded certain means of subsistence to the increasing population which under our rule is no longer wasted by war or decimated by famine.

Abstract No. 37, *showing details of* Migration to and from each District of British Territory.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural population per square mile of Total area.	Rural population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Dehli	149,666	109,992	408	397	735	345	536
Gurgáon	29,416	14,394	350	344	489	294	367
Karnál	7,406	8,672	313	258	1,171	227	513
Hissár	1,692	986	526	519	583	121	236
Rohták	30,038	20,510	288	259	683	251	321
Ambála	569	1,433	631	582	2,518	361	623
Lahore	386	2,035	565	596	5,272	197	395
Native States	4,223	4,336	578	540	1,027	...	...
N.-W. P. and Oudh	52,818	42,000*	424	452	795	...	...
Rájputána	18,016	9,500*	552	347	528	...	...

* Estimated.

	Migration. Males.	Migration. Females.	Migration. Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages. M.	Villages. F.	Villages. P.	Towns. M.	Towns. F.	Towns. P.	Total. M.	Total. F.	Total. P.
Total population	344,016	299,499	643,515	District	876	691	789	713	734	723	824	705	768
Immigrants	61,037	88,629	149,666	Panjab	946	891	920	805	820	813	902	868	886
Emigrants	43,643	66,349	109,992	India	1,000	1,000	1,000	997	999	999	999	1,000	999
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	998	999	999	999	1,000	999

Dehli.—The amount of immigration is exceedingly large in proportion to the population. The attractions exercised by a great centre of commerce swells its amount; but the low percentage of males, and the fact that the proportion of people born in the district, and even in the Panjab, is smaller among females than among males, show how largely the migration, at any rate between Dehli and the districts and provinces which border on it, is reciprocal. The percentage of males is highest in Hissar, Ambala, Lahore, and the Native States, none of which march with Dehli. It is also high among the immigrants from Rajputana, which would seem to show that some of them had been driven to the river banks by scarcity of water and grass, or were perhaps engaged on the works of the new canal. Males are more numerous among immigrants than among emigrants, the immigration to a large urban centre always showing an excess of males. The excess emigration to Lahore and Ambala is probably due to the attractions exercised by the provincial capital and the cantonments. Among the districts with which exchange has been considerable, the emigration has been largest in proportion to immigration in those where density of population is smallest. But the fertility of the riverain and canal-watered tracts of Dehli has caused immigration from largely to exceed emigration into the neighbouring districts, except in the case of Karnal which offers identical attractions; though the extensive emigration into Rohtak is probably due, in part at least, to the ravages of saline efflorescence in many of the canal villages.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural population per square mile of Total area.	Rural population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Gurgaon	117,242	131,897	325	374	1,125	294	367
Dehli	14,394	29,416	344	359	2,044	345	536
Hissár	720	1,788	363	415	2,483	121	236
Rohtak	8,848	14,134	341	259	1,597	251	321
Native States	12,928	11,116	279	286	860	...	...
N.-W. P. and Oudh	31,274	35,000*	307	457	1,119	...	...
Rájputána	47,305	36,650*	330	348	775	...	...

* Estimated.

	Migration. Males.	Migration. Females.	Migration. Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages. M.	Villages. F.	Villages. P.	Towns. M.	Towns. F.	Towns. P.	Total. M.	Total. F.	Total. P.
Total population	338,917	302,931	641,848	District	899	746	827	796	671	735	887	738	817
Immigrants	38,051	79,191	117,242	Panjab	931	827	882	877	786	833	925	822	876
Emigrants	49,288	82,609	131,897	India	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

Gurgaon.—Here again the migration is largely reciprocal, the figures presenting the same features in this respect which characterise those for Dehli. But much of the emigration is probably due to the terrible scarcity and distress from which Gurgaon has suffered for the last five years, as is shown by the fact that the proportion of males is much larger among emigrants than among immigrants. The same reason no doubt accounts very largely for the excess of emigrants over immigrants, except in the case of the neighbouring Rajputana States for which the figures are only estimates, and for the Native States where nearly three-quarters of the migration consists of females.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural population per square mile of Total area.	Rural population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Karnal	98,136	87,243	351	381	889	227	513
Dehli	8,672	7,406	258	313	854	345	536
Hissár	4,805	2,547	316	388	530	121	236
Rohtak	10,611	7,845	275	314	739	251	321
Ambála	16,353	15,532	349	367	949	361	623
Native States	26,334	26,048	308	319	989	...	...
N.-W. P. and Oudh	25,658	24,000*	405	458	935	...	...
Rájputána	2,118	...	584	..	...	...	..

* Estimated.

	Migration. Males.	Migration. Females.	Migration. Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages. M.	Villages. F.	Villages. P.	Towns. M.	Towns. F.	Towns. P.	Total. M.	Total. F.	Total. P.
Total population	336,171	286,450	622,621	District	907	779	849	832	772	802	898	779	842
Immigrants	34,439	63,697	98,136	Panjab	971	949	961	910	901	906	964	943	954
Emigrants	33,273	53,970	87,243	India	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

Karnal.—Here again the migration is largely reciprocal, while the attraction exercised by the riverain and canal tracts has caused the immigration largely to exceed the emigration, both being almost wholly confined to tracts which march with the district, and immigration being most in excess from those districts which have the smallest common frontier. The percentage of males is always larger among emigrants than among immigrants, which seems to point to the immigration being more largely of the permanent type than is the emigration. The extensive emigration into Rohtak and the Native States is largely due to the havoc caused by saline efflorescence in parts of the canal tract.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural population per square mile of Total area.	Rural population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Hissar	112,894	68,706	553	365	609	121	236
Dehli	986	1,692	519	526	1,716	345	536
Gurgáon	1,788	720	415	363	403	294	367
Karnál	2,547	4,805	388	316	1,886	227	513
Rohtak	9,623	11,340	380	308	1,177	251	321
Sirsa	4,429	12,719	462	502	2,872	74	150
Native States	33,759	23,841	430	300	706	...	...
N.-W. P. and Oudh	1,705	...	596	...	...	...	...
Rájputána	56,302	11,300*	672	354	201	...	...

* Estimated.

	Migration. Males.	Migration. Females.	Migration. Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages. M.	Villages. F.	Villages. P.	Towns. M.	Towns. F.	Towns. P.	Total. M.	Total. F.	Total. P.
Total population	272,267	231,916	504,183	District	777	801	788	734	686	711	772	782	776
Immigrants	62,420	50,474	112,894	Panjab	855	927	888	871	861	868	857	917	885
Emigrants	25,105	43,601	68,706	India	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

Hissar.—The only tracts besides Rohtak which march with Hissar are the Native States, Rajputana, and Sirsa. From the two first it has received a large surplus of population, which is a natural result of the introduction of canal irrigation and the great development of the Hissar district under our rule. The Sirsa district, however, has practically been populated since we received it, and here the movement of population has been in the other direction. Hissar lies between the fertile districts of Karnal and Rohtak on the east and the far less fertile Native States and Rajputana on the other three sides, and it has given to the former and taken from the latter. The low proportion of males shows that the migration in the case of Rohtak and Karnal is chiefly reciprocal. The same test shows that the emigration, except to Sirsa, is largely of the same type. The moderate proportion of males (neither as high as in temporary nor as low as in reciprocal migration) among the immigrants from Sirsa, the Native States, and Rajputana and the emigrants to Sirsa, shows how largely these movements are permanent. A part of the movement eastwards was probably due to drought which drove the cattle towards the river and canal in search of pasture.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural population per square mile of Total area.	Rural population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Rohtak	99,376	78,769	316	331	793	251	321
Dehli	20,510	30,038	259	288	1,465	345	536
Gurgáon	14,134	8,848	259	341	626	294	367
Karnál	7,845	10,611	314	275	1,352	227	513
Hissár	11,340	9,623	308	380	849	121	236
Native States	28,162	16,600	305	337	589	...	...
N.-W. P. and Oudh	6,764	...	476	...	...	...	...
Rájputána	9,207	...	409	...	...	...	...

	Migration. Males.	Migration. Females.	Migration. Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages. M.	Villages. F.	Villages. P.	Towns. M.	Towns. F.	Towns. P.	Total. M.	Total. F.	Total. P.
Total population	296,224	257,385	553,609	District	902	739	827	863	717	791	895	737	820
Immigrants	31,398	67,978	99,376	Panjab	979	966	973	963	955	959	976	964	971
Emigrants	26,056	52,713	78,769	India	1,000	999	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
				Asia	1,000	999	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

Rohtak.—Here the migration is very largely reciprocal in every case, though least so in the case of Rajputana. Rohtak occupies an intermediate position between the fertile Jamna tract and the far less fertile districts and states to its west and north. It gives to the former and takes from the latter, though in the case of Gurgaon the distress which has lately prevailed there has caused immigration to largely exceed emigration. On the whole the introduction of canal irrigation and the fine soil of much of the district have produced an excess of immigration.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural population per square mile of Total area.	Rural population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Sirsa	94,894	27,617	545	433	291	74	150
Hissár	12,719	4,429	502	462	348	121	236
Firozpur	7,790	4,800	560	416	616	212	278
Montgomery	3,876	3,410	575	514	879	72	721
Native States	18,248	10,168	510	411	557	...	...
N.-W. P. and Oudh	1,212	...	699	...	...	...	...
Rájputána	45,821	3,000*	547	333	66	...	...

* Estimated.

	Migration. Males.	Migration. Females.	Migration. Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages. M.	Villages. F.	Villages. P.	Towns. M.	Towns. F.	Towns. P.	Total. M.	Total. F.	Total. P.
Total population	138,691	114,584	253,275	District	647	638	643	504	506	504	627	623	626
Immigrants	51,721	43,173	94,894	Panjab	826	829	827	718	711	715	812	815	814
Emigrants	11,959	15,658	27,617	India	1,000	1,000	1,000	998	1,000	999	1,000	1,000	1,000
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

Sirsa.—The conditions here are quite exceptional, and are fully described in the postscript to this chapter. Not 50 years ago the Sirsa district was a sort of No-man's-land, uninhabited save by a few marauding Bhattis and other nomad tribes. Under English rule it has attracted population from all directions, and not two-thirds of even its village population were born in the district. The moderate proportion of males among the immigrants shows how permanent is the type of immigration, while the excess of females in the figures for emigration shows that much of it must be referred to the reciprocal type. In the case of emigrants to Montgomery indeed, the percentage of males is somewhat high; and this is due to the fact that scarcity of pasture had driven the Sirsa cattle with their herdsmen to the river banks in search of pasture; and the same is true in a less degree of Firozpur, and perhaps of Hissar, where the canal affords a plentiful supply of grass. An immigrant population entering a tract of uncertain rainfall takes some years to settle down; a bad year will send many of them back again, while a succession of bad years will drive many of even the older residents into other districts in search of pasture or employment. Had not the Census been preceded in Sirsa by several seasons of scanty rainfall, the immigration would have been even larger and the emigration even smaller than is shown by our figures. The only tract from which more females than males have entered the district is Patiala; and the exception is due to the fact that the Sikh immigrants from the north will not marry the Bagri settlers from Rajputana, but look to their place of origin for wives for their sons.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural population per square mile of Total area.	Rural population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Ambala	109,916	124,161	494	399	1,130	361	623
Dehli	1,433	569	582	631	397	345	536
Karnál	15,532	16,353	367	349	1,053	227	513
Ludhiana	4,923	5,604	420	361	1,138	390	479
Simla	1,312	2,333	396	731	1,777	1,162	1,394
Jálandhar	2,080	1,958	659	442	941	493	630
Hoshiárpur	5,576	3,903	554	340	700	386	676
Amritsar	1,095	946	753	476	864	448	589
Sialkot	1,064	624	634	561	586	474	691
Lahore	966	1,618	639	591	1,675	197	395
Firozpur	633	1,614	649	532	2,549	212	278
Native States	33,237	67,150	371	366	2,020	...	...
N. W. P. and Oudh	31,443	18,000*	582	444	573	...	...
Rájputána	1,079	...	624	...	...	...	...
Europe, &c.	2,228	...	871	...	...	...	...

* Estimated.

	Migration. Males.	Migration. Females.	Migration. Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages. M.	Villages. F.	Villages. P.	Towns. M.	Towns. F.	Towns. P.	Total. M.	Total. F.	Total. P.
Total population	588,272	478,991	1,067,263	District	939	902	922	709	757	730	908	884	897
Immigrants	54,287	55,629	109,916	Panjab	982	982	982	836	882	855	962	968	965
Emigrants	49,580	74,581	124,161	India	1,009	1,000	1,000	977	997	984	997	999	998
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	977	997	984	997	999	998

Ambala.—Here the effect of large cantonments in attracting population from a distance is at once apparent. Of the village population 92 per cent. is indigenous; of the town population only 73 per cent. On the other hand the emigration to Lahore and Firozpur, where as large or larger cantonments exist, is in excess of the immigration. But as between Ambala and the districts which march with it the migration is in the direction of least pressure, and the proportion of emigrants to immigrants increases throughout as the density of population of the receiving district decreases. The uninhabitable hill area included in Ambala makes the figures for density on total area misleading, and those for cultivated area afford a truer measure of the pressure of population. Excluding Simla and Dehli, the circumstances of which are exceptional, the migration to and from Ambala consists in taking population from the more densely peopled sub-montane districts, and giving it to the more sparsely peopled tracts to the south and south-west. Speaking generally, the proportion of males shows that the emigration to the districts from which it is receiving and the immigration from those to which it is giving are largely reciprocal in their character; while the movements in the opposite directions are to a great extent permanent, with a tendency to be temporary in the case of some of the more distant districts. The migration to and from Karnal, Ludhiana, and the Native States, all of which march with Ambala, is very largely reciprocal. The large excess immigration from the North-West Provinces is striking, but the figures for emigration are estimates only. If the excess exists the presence of the cantonments no doubt partly explains it.

Abstract No. 37, *showing details of* Migration to and from each District of British Territory—continued.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes.		Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural Population per square mile of	
			Immigrants.	Emigrants.		Total area.	Cultivated area.
Ludhiana	**91,478**	**85,595**	**358**	**362**	**936**	**390**	**479**
Ambála	5,604	4,923	361	420	878	361	623
Jálandhar	12,518	11,982	440	366	958	493	630
Hoshiárpur	6,051	2,276	515	286	376	380	676
Amritsar	1,148	1,764	548	511	1,537	448	589
Lahore	525	1,533	558	606	2,920	197	395
Firozpur	10,265	14,282	396	384	1,391	212	278
Native States	48,800	43,820	274	298	898	...	...
N.-W. P. and Oudh	1,917	...	610	...	...	...	...

	Migration. Males.	Females.	Persons.
Total population	339,598	279,237	618,835
Immigrants	32,781	58,697	91,478
Emigrants	30,955	54,640	85,595

Numbers per mille born in	Villages. M.	F.	P.	Towns. M.	F.	P.	Total. M.	F.	P.
District	926	801	870	762	709	738	903	790	852
Panjab	997	998	998	981	981	981	995	996	995
India	1,000	1,000	1,000	999	998	999	1,000	1,000	1,000
Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	999	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

Ludhiana—With its extensive riverain occupies an intermediate position between the thickly peopled sub-montane districts in the north and the unirrigated plains to the south. From overcrowded Ambala, Jalandhar, and Hoshyarpur it receives surplus population, while it attracts immigrants from the central states which lie to its south. On the other hand, the rapid extension of canal irrigation in Lahore, Amritsar and Firozpur has attracted a large emigration to those districts. Much of the migration in the case of Firozpur, Ambala, and Jalandhar, and almost all the emigration to Hoshiarpur, is of the reciprocal type, while in the case of the Native States no less than seven-tenths of the migrants are women. The Kashmir colony in the town of Ludhiana does not appear to have been recruited to any considerable extent during the lifetime of the present generation.

Simla—Is so wholly exceptional and insignificant that I give no separate table for it. The main figures are as follows. Even of its winter inhabitants not 78 per cent. of the rural and not 29 per cent. of the urban population were born in the district, while among the urban males the proportion falls to 25 per cent. As many as 95 per cent. of its population were born in India, but among the males of the town the figure is only 89 per cent., 3 per cent. being born in other parts of Asia, chiefly Ladakh, and 8 per cent. in Europe. It receives immigrants from almost all parts of the Province, but more especially from the neighbouring districts of Kangra, Ambala, and Hoshyarpur, and the North-West Provinces, the greater number of whom are males. Its emigration is almost entirely to Kangra and Hoshyarpur, and here the females exceed the males. If the Census had been taken during the season, the number of immigrants would of course have been enormously increased.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes.		Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural Population per square mile of	
			Immigrants.	Emigrants.		Total area.	Cultivated area.
Jalandhar	**100,712**	**92,031**	**390**	**404**	**913**	**493**	**630**
Ambála	1,958	2,080	442	659	1,062	361	623
Ludhiana	11,982	12,518	366	440	1,045	390	479
Hoshiárpur	41,058	21,599	310	243	526	380	676
Amritsar	5,306	6,398	480	379	1,206	448	589
Gurdaspur	1,920	1,929	529	275	1,005	407	555
Sialkot	1,436	466	565	588	325	474	691
Lahore	928	3,562	544	538	3,838	197	395
Firozpur	6,203	10,632	397	530	1,714	212	278
Ráwalpindi	118	1,340	644	861	11,356	151	485
Native States	20,512	26,305	376	350	1,282	...	...
N.-W. P. and Oudh	3,505	...	641	...	...	...	...
Europe, &c.	1,187	...	885	...	...	...	...

	Migration. Males.	Females.	Persons.
Total population	431,435	358,120	789,555
Immigrants	39,269	61,443	100,712
Emigrants	37,202	54,829	92,031

Numbers per mille born in	Villages. M.	F.	P.	Towns. M.	F.	P.	Total. M.	F.	P.
District	929	840	889	816	771	797	909	829	872
Panjab	998	998	998	952	975	962	990	995	992
India	1,000	1,000	1,000	986	998	991	998	1,000	999
Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	986	998	991	998	1,000	999

Jalandhar—Has the densest rural population of all the districts in the Province, yet it is so fertile that immigration is in excess of emigration. But it is noticeable that the only tracts from which immigration is in excess of emigration are Sialkot and Hoshiarpur. The former is itself nearly as densely peopled as Jalandhar, while the migration is insignificant in amount. Hoshiarpur, though the density of its population on total area is smaller than that of Jalandhar, includes a large area of uninhabited and unculturable hill sides; and its rural population distributed over culturable area give the highest density, and over cultivated area the highest density but one among the Panjab districts; and indeed Sialkot follows next, and after both comes Jalandhar for both these densities, so that migration really moves in these cases also in the direction of least pressure. All the other districts are less thickly peopled than Jalandhar, and to all of them Jalandhar gives population; while, speaking generally, the excess of emigration over immigration is largest for those places where density of population is smallest. Thus were it not for Hoshiarpur, emigration would be 16 per cent. in excess of immigration. Especially Jalandhar finds relief from pressure of population by emigration to the rapidly developing district of Firozpur, where so much has lately been done to extend canal irrigation, and to the Native State of Kapurthala, which, possessing equal physical advantages with itself, has a far less dense population. The low proportion of males shows that much of the migration to and from the tracts which border on the district is reciprocal, except in the case of the emigration to Firozpur, and in a less degree to Ludhiana, which is more permanent in its nature. The emigration to Ráwalpindi is probably due to the movements of troops, as is the immigration from the North-West Provinces.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes.		Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural Population per square mile of	
			Immigrants.	Emigrants.		Total area.	Cultivated area.
Hoshiarpur	**60,202**	**117,948**	**311**	**438**	**1,959**	**380**	**676**
Ambála	3,903	5,576	340	554	1,429	361	623
Ludhiana	2,276	6,051	286	515	2,659	390	479
Simla	2,509	1,273	327	872	507	1,162	1,394
Jálandhar	21,599	41,058	243	310	1,901	493	630
Kangra	10,560	11,711	232	495	1,109	78	738
Amritsar	1,844	5,035	482	520	2,730	448	589
Gurdaspur	7,426	9,766	390	324	1,315	407	555
Lahore	449	3,108	566	695	6,922	197	395
Firozpur	329	7,265	684	587	22,082	212	278
Ráwalpindi	54	1,408	611	894	26,074	151	485
Native States	6,182	21,256	295	410	3,438	...	...
N. W. P. and Oudh	1,193	...	730	...	...	...	...

	Migration. Males.	Females.	Persons.
Total population	481,526	419,855	901,381
Immigrants	18,693	41,509	60,202
Emigrants	51,684	66,264	117,948

Numbers per mille born in	Villages. M.	F.	P.	Towns. M.	F.	P.	Total. M.	F.	P.
District	966	908	939	913	836	877	961	901	934
Panjab	998	999	999	989	995	992	997	999	998
India	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

Hoshiarpur.—This is another of the few Panjab districts which lose more than they gain by migration. I have already explained that its population, considered in relation to the culturable and cultivated areas, is the densest in the Province. But these areas, already insufficient for the needs of the people, are being constantly diminished by the destructive action of the hill streams, which year by year cut away good soil and leave unproductive sand in its place, while the denudation of the hill sides has deprived a considerable population of their means of subsistence. The consequence is that twice as many people have emigrated from as have immigrated into Hoshiarpur, and the low percentage of males among the immigrants shows how almost wholly such immigration as has taken place is of the reciprocal type. The emigration on the other hand is chiefly permanent except to the two neighbouring districts of Jalandhar and Gurdaspur, where the pressure of population is almost as great as in Hoshiarpur itself, and into which a good deal of the emigration is reciprocal. Excepting abnormal Simla, Hoshiarpur gives to every district more than it takes from it; but especially it sends its surplus population to the fertile plains of Jalandhar and of the state of Kapurthala, and to the canals of Amritsar and the river valley of Firozpur and Ludhiana. The high proportion of males among the emigrants to Rawalpindi and Simla shows how temporary is the nature of the migration.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes.		Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural Population per square mile of	
			Immigrants.	Emigrants.		Total area.	Cultivated area.
Kangra	**36,334**	**36,621**	**521**	**511**	**1,008**	**78**	**738**
Simla	3,263	2,782	367	827	853	1,162	1,394
Hoshiárpur	11,711	10,560	495	232	902	380	676
Amritsar	393	2,371	702	577	6,033	448	589
Gurdaspur	5,840	5,709	463	369	978	407	555
Lahore	155	1,022	716	744	6,593	197	395
Native States	7,312	9,632	521	644	1,317	...	...
N.-W. P. and Oudh	1,513	...	777	...	...	...	...
Kashmir	2,843	...	529	...	...	...	...

	Migration. Males.	Females.	Persons.
Total population	380,867	349,978	730,845
Immigrants	18,915	17,419	36,334
Emigrants	18,730	17,891	36,621

Numbers per mille born in	Villages. M.	F.	P.	Towns. M.	F.	P.	Total. M.	F.	P.
District	956	952	954	819	888	848	950	950	951
Panjab	994	989	995	912	954	931	991	994	992
India	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

Kangra.—In Kangra the density of rural population per square mile of culturable area is higher than in any other Panjab district except Simla; but the mountain sides afford pasture to numerous flocks and herds, and the carrying trade with Central Asia contributes to the means of the people. The population is largely indigenous, 95 per cent. of the villagers being born in the district; and interchange of population is confined to the neighbouring districts and states. The contrast between the proportion of males among the emigrants to and immigrants from Simla respectively, shows strikingly how temporary is the one and how reciprocal the other movement; while the same test shows the relative nature of the migration to and from the over-crowded district of Hoshiarpur to be exactly the reverse, the emigration being reciprocal and the immigration not temporary indeed but permanent. The migration to and from the Hill States is apparently largely permanent, and is discussed in section 159. The immigration from Chamba, however, which forms a considerable proportion of the whole, is chiefly periodic. The immigration from Kashmir is doubtless a result of the late terrible famine which has desolated that country; and the moderate percentage of males shows how largely whole families must have fled from starvation. The permanent colonies of Kashmir shawl-weavers at Nurpur and Tiloknath have almost disappeared with the falling-off in the trade.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes.		Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural Population per square mile of	
			Immigrants.	Emigrants.		Total area.	Cultivated area.
Amritsar	**124,806**	**111,917**	**449**	**479**	**897**	**448**	**589**
Ambála	946	1,095	476	753	1,158	361	623
Ludhiana	1,764	1,148	511	548	651	390	479
Jálandhar	6,398	5,306	379	480	829	493	630
Hoshiárpur	5,035	1,844	520	482	366	380	676
Kangra	2,371	393	577	702	166	78	738
Gurdaspur	36,757	20,277	374	329	552	407	555
Sialkot	17,896	7,430	431	377	415	474	691
Lahore	17,548	41,483	412	430	2,364	197	395
Gujranwala	2,549	1,293	532	487	507	211	570
Firozpur	2,221	7,691	235	617	3,463	212	278
Ráwalpindi	868	2,807	624	765	3,234	151	485
Jhelam	699	1,012	486	806	1,448	135	396
Gujrat	1,518	672	574	640	443	328	560
Multán	148	1,532	676	728	10,351	79	371
Montgomery	161	1,086	696	609	6,745	72	721
Peshávar	556	2,100	631	849	3,777	185	328
Native States	7,618	10,045	398	487	1,319	...	...
N.-W. P. and Oudh	7,216	...	561	...	...	...	...
Kashmir	8,718	...	674	...	...	...	...

	Migration. Males.	Females.	Persons.
Total population	490,694	402,572	893,266
Immigrants	56,035	68,771	124,806
Emigrants	53,621	58,296	111,917

Numbers per mille born in	Villages. M.	F.	P.	Towns. M.	F.	P.	Total. M.	F.	P.
District	939	857	903	684	717	701	885	828	861
Panjab	997	997	997	904	930	914	977	984	980
India	1,000	1,000	1,000	996	999	996	999	1,000	1,000
Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	998	1,000	998	999	1,000	1,000

Amritsar.—The attractive influence of a great centre of commerce is at once apparent in the figures. Amritsar draws population from all parts of the Province. While 90 per cent. of the rural population is indigenous, no less than 30 per cent. of the people of the town are born out of the district, and nearly 9 per cent. beyond the limits of the Province; 4 per mille come from outside India, of which one-half are from Asiatic countries. Amritsar is one of the most thickly peopled districts of the Panjáb, but it is profusely irrigated by the Bari Doab Canal, and has on its borders the sub-montane districts of Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, and Sialkot, where the density of population is at least as great as and its pressure greater than in Amritsar itself. From these districts it takes population, while it gives it to the fertile and moderately populated state of Kapurthala, and to the districts of Lahore, Firozpur, and Montgomery where the population is sparse and canal irrigation has lately been enormously extended, to the great cities of Multan and Peshawar, and to the temporary labour-markets of Rawalpindi and Jhelam. From most of the other distant districts it receives immigrants in excess of its emigrants. The migration from Jalandhar to and from Gurdaspur, to Sialkot, and from Firozpur and the Native States is largely reciprocal in type; all other migration is permanent, or, in the case of the emigrants to Rawalpindi and Jhelam, temporary. Kashmir contributes three-quarters of the surplus population due to migration, though here a large part of the migration is probably due rather to the demand for skilled labour on the shawl looms of Amritsar than to the pressure of famine in Kashmir.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes.		Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural Population per square mile of	
			Immigrants.	Emigrants.		Total area.	Cultivated area.
Gurdaspur	**83,232**	**106,681**	**379**	**420**	**1,282**	**407**	**555**
Jálandhar	1,929	1,920	275	529	995	493	630
Hoshiárpur	9,766	7,426	324	390	760	380	676
Kangra	5,709	5,840	369	463	1,023	78	738
Amritsar	20,277	36,757	329	374	1,813	448	589
Sialkot	15,543	15,294	313	295	984	474	691
Lahore	1,937	21,531	515	336	11,116	197	395
Firozpur	231	2,859	532	621	12,377	212	278
Ráwalpindi	145	2,371	469	801	16,352	151	485
Peshávar	88	1,716	523	898	19,500	185	328
Native States	2,832	3,795	503	513	1,340	...	...
N.-W. P. & Oudh	1,653	...	679	...	...	...	...
Kashmir	19,658	...	414	...	...	...	...

	Migration. Males.	Females.	Persons.
Total population	445,798	377,897	823,695
Immigrants	31,528	51,704	83,232
Emigrants	44,798	61,883	106,681

Numbers per mille born in	Villages. M.	F.	P.	Towns. M.	F.	P.	Total. M.	F.	P.
District	937	872	908	846	787	818	929	863	899
Panjab	981	969	976	948	958	953	978	968	973
India	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

Gurdaspur—Is another of the very densely populated districts; and the pressure is still greater than the figures would show, owing to the inclusion of a considerable area of hill. The culturable area being scanty, an unusually large proportion of its population exists otherwise than by agriculture, and responds readily to any special demand for labour, such as existed in Rawalpindi and Jhelam at the time of the Census. The only districts it takes from are Hoshiarpur, and to a much less extent Jalandhar and Sialkot, all three of which have a population more dense than its own; while it sends surplus population in enormous numbers to the rapidly developing district of Lahore, and in smaller numbers to every other district in the neighbourhood, the excess of emigration over immigration increasing generally as the density of population of the receiving district is smaller. Emigration on the whole exceeds immigration by 25 per cent., a figure which would be raised to 69 per cent. were the famine-stricken fugitives from Kashmir deducted. It is noticeable in the case of the neighbouring districts how much of both emigration and immigration is reciprocal, but more especially of the latter.

Abstract No. 37, *showing details of* Migration to and from each District of British Territory—continued.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural population per square mile of Total area.	Rural population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Sialkot	**92,501**	**116,777**	**415**	**498**	**1,263**	**474**	**691**
Ambála	624	1,064	561	634	1,705	361	623
Jálandhar	466	1,436	588	565	3,082	493	630
Amritsar	7,430	17,896	377	431	2,409	448	589
Gurdaspur	15,294	15,543	295	313	1,016	407	555
Lahore	3,679	27,113	415	570	7,370	197	395
Gujranwala	20,018	23,459	362	362	1,172	211	570
Firozpur	116	1,277	603	644	11,009	212	278
Ráwalpindi	296	6,217	564	824	21,003	151	485
Jhelam	428	3,007	666	703	7,026	135	396
Gujrat	9,719	7,949	511	392	818	328	560
Multán	47	1,375	617	746	29,255	79	371
Peshávar	284	2,956	630	824	10,408	185	328
N.-W. P. & Oudh	5,574	...	656	...	...	...	...
Kashmir	24,491	...	386	...	...	...	...
Europe, &c.	1,069	...	881	...	...	...	...

	Migration: Males.	Migration: Females.	Migration: Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages: M.	Villages: F.	Villages: P.	Towns: M.	Towns: F.	Towns: P.	Total: M.	Total: F.	Total: P.
Total population	539,661	472,487	1,012,148	District	943	893	919	781	809	794	929	886	909
Immigrants	38,388	54,113	92,501	Panjab	982	967	975	883	926	902	974	964	970
Emigrants	58,123	58,654	116,777	India	1,000	1,000	1,000	979	997	987	998	1,000	999
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	979	997	987	998	1,000	999

SIALKOT.—The pressure of population in Sialkot is greater than in any other district, except perhaps Hoshiarpur. Consequently emigration exceeds immigration in every case but one; and were it not for the influx of fugitives from the Kashmir famine, who constitute more than a quarter of the whole immigrants, the proportions of the migration into and out of the district would be 100 to 173. With Gurdaspur indeed the exchange of population is nearly equal; and curiously enough the same is the case with Gujranwala, perhaps because the part of that district lying on the Sialkot border is itself very thickly peopled. In these two cases the movement either way is chiefly reciprocal, witness the low proportion of males. But in all other cases the excess of emigrants is exceedingly large, while the percentage of males is much larger for emigration than for immigration, showing that the former is rather permanent, and the latter reciprocal. The only exception is in the case of Gujrat, which is also the only exception to the rule that emigration is in excess of immigration. Why Gujrat should be an exception I am unable to explain. The movement of emigration in excess of immigration is chiefly to Lahore, where the extension of canal irrigation among other things has largely developed cultivation. The considerable number of immigrants from the N.-W.-Provinces is owing to the large cantonments at Sialkot.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural population per square mile of Total area.	Rural population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Lahore	**186,297**	**78,992**	**522**	**527**	**424**	**197**	**395**
Dehli	2,035	386	596	565	189	345	536
Ambála	1,618	966	591	639	597	361	623
Ludhiana	1,533	525	606	558	342	390	479
Jálandhar	3,562	928	538	544	261	493	630
Hoshiárpur	3,108	449	695	566	144	380	676
Kangra	1,022	155	744	716	152	78	738
Amritsar	41,483	17,548	430	412	423	448	589
Gurdaspur	21,531	1,937	336	515	90	407	555
Sialkot	27,113	3,679	570	415	138	474	691
Gujranwala	20,657	4,966	518	454	240	211	570
Firozpur	10,816	15,773	442	565	1,458	212	278
Ráwalpindi	870	2,493	653	773	2,866	151	485
Jhelam	758	1,030	730	749	1,359	135	396
Gujrat	2,596	1,037	631	485	399	328	560
Multán	578	2,328	612	634	4,028	79	371
Jhang	1,500	416	635	589	277	63	557
Montgomery	11,562	14,974	520	508	1,295	72	721
Peshávar	680	1,377	706	769	2,025	185	328
Native States	3,491	4,184	542	600	1,199	...	...
N.-W. P. and Oudh	14,548	...	693	...	...	...	...
Kashmir	5,528	...	524	...	...	...	...
Europe, &c.,	2,233	...	868	...	...	...	...

	Migration: Males.	Migration: Females.	Migration: Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages: M.	Villages: F.	Villages: P.	Towns: M.	Towns: F.	Towns: P.	Total: M.	Total: F.	Total: P.
Total population	510,353	413,753	924,106	District	867	830	850	618	616	619	810	784	799
Immigrants	97,068	89,229	186,297	Panjab	995	996	995	866	927	893	965	981	973
Emigrants	41,602	37,390	78,992	India	1,000	1,000	1,000	979	996	986	995	999	997
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	983	997	989	996	999	998

LAHORE.—The capital of the Province naturally attracts immigrants from all quarters. Besides this the irrigation from the Bari Doab Canal has given an immense impulse to cultivation in the Lahore district, and has been largely extended within the last 10 or 12 years. Consequently Lahore takes population from all the districts in the list which lie east of it, and from the sub-montane districts of Sialkot, Gujrat, and Gujranwala, in all of which the pressure of population is greater than in Lahore, and also from Jhang in which no irrigation exists. But it gives to Montgomery and Firozpur, in which also canal irrigation has been largely extended while population is scanty in proportion to cultivated or culturable area, to the great commercial centres and cantonments of Multan and Peshawar, and to the temporary labour-marts of Rawalpindi and Jhelam. We have now almost passed out of the region of reciprocal migration, though the figures for Amritsar still show some indications of its presence; and the bulk of the movement is permanent except the emigration to Peshawar, Rawalpindi, and Jhelam, which is partly temporary. On the whole the irrigation is 237 per cent. of the emigration, and would be 601 per cent., if it were not for the emigration to the Canals of Amritsar, Firozpur, and Montgomery.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural population per square mile of Total area.	Rural population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Gujranwala	**52,980**	**72,564**	**435**	**502**	**1,370**	**211**	**570**
Amritsar	1,293	2,549	487	532	1,971	448	589
Sialkot	23,459	20,018	362	362	853	474	691
Lahore	4,966	20,657	454	518	4,160	197	395
Ráwalpindi	248	3,739	597	842	15,077	151	485
Jhelam	506	1,768	569	705	3,494	135	396
Gujrat	11,053	8,886	438	375	804	328	560
Shahpur	2,240	3,167	478	525	1,414	79	451
Multán	98	1,076	612	721	10,980	79	371
Jhang	2,616	3,817	547	502	1,459	63	557
Montgomery	861	1,217	531	597	1,413	72	721
Peshávar	154	1,490	662	849	9,675	185	328
Kashmir	2,368	...	531	...	...	...	...

	Migration: Males.	Migration: Females.	Migration: Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages: M.	Villages: F.	Villages: P.	Towns: M.	Towns: F.	Towns: P.	Total: M.	Total: F.	Total: P.
Total population	333,605	283,287	616,892	District	943	907	927	828	803	816	931	895	914
Immigrants	23,043	29,937	52,980	Panjab	997	997	997	972	981	976	995	995	995
Emigrants	36,455	36,109	72,564	India	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

GUJRANWALA.—Though the density of population on total area is exceedingly small, this district includes a large area of arid pastures which have at present no irrigation, and the population per square mile of cultivation is exceedingly high. Consequently it gives to all districts, except Sialkot and Gujrat in which the pressure of population is even greater than its own, and especially it sends population to the newly irrigated lands in Lahore. The exchange with Sialkot and Gujrat seems to be largely reciprocal. In other cases it is permanent, except the emigration to Pindi, Jhelam, Multan, and Peshawar, which is naturally to a great extent temporary, being due to the presence of cantonments or the temporary demand for labour. The immigration from Kashmir is said to be for the most part of old standing.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural population per square mile of Total area.	Rural population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Firozpur	**126,218**	**74,740**	**495**	**437**	**593**	**212**	**278**
Sirsa	4,800	7,790	416	560	1,623	74	150
Ambála	1,614	633	532	649	392	361	623
Ludhiana	14,282	10,265	384	396	719	390	479
Jalandhar	10,632	6,203	530	397	583	493	630
Hoshiárpur	7,265	329	587	684	45	380	676
Amritsar	7,691	2,221	617	235	289	448	589
Gurdaspur	2,859	231	621	532	81	407	555
Sialkot	1,277	116	644	603	91	474	691
Lahore	15,773	10,816	565	442	686	197	395
Montgomery	3,541	2,148	426	512	607	72	721
Native States	38,252	31,007	378	400	811	...	...
N. W. P. and Oudh	8,184	...	652	...	...	...	...
Rájputána	2,100	...	603	...	...	...	...

	Migration: Males.	Migration: Females.	Migration: Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages: M.	Villages: F.	Villages: P.	Towns: M.	Towns: F.	Towns: P.	Total: M.	Total: F.	Total: P.
Total population	357,319	293,200	650,519	District	856	798	831	572	621	592	826	783	806
Immigrants	62,366	63,852	126,218	Panjab	994	995	995	839	896	863	977	986	982
Emigrants	32,634	42,106	74,740	India	1,000	1,000	1,000	980	998	987	998	1,000	999
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	980	998	987	998	1,000	999

FIROZPUR—Is an eminently progressive district. Canal irrigation has been largely extended of late years, and it is not surprising to find that the immigration is 70 per cent. in excess of the emigration. Sirsa, which is developing even faster than Firozpur, is the only district that takes from it. The emigration is much more largely of the reciprocal type than is the immigration, especially in the case of the districts to the east, where the marriage customs which lead to reciprocal immigration prevail. It will be noticed how much larger the proportion of immigration to emigration is in the case of those districts where pressure of population is greater, than in that of the less thickly peopled districts. The immigration from the North-West Provinces is of course owing to the presence of large cantonments.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural population per square mile of Total area.	Rural population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Rawalpindi	**91,768**	**26,305**	**735**	**656**	**287**	**151**	**485**
Jálandhar	1,340	118	861	644	88	493	630
Hoshiárpur	1,408	54	894	611	38	380	676
Amritsar	2,807	868	765	624	309	448	589
Gurdaspur	2,371	145	801	469	61	407	555
Sialkot	6,217	296	824	564	48	474	691
Lahore	2,493	870	773	653	350	197	395
Gujranwala	3,739	248	842	597	66	211	570
Jhelam	11,353	8,951	630	604	788	135	396
Gujrat	3,496	474	846	586	136	328	560
Shahpur	2,066	350	766	591	169	79	451
Peshávar	3,509	3,736	693	770	1,065	185	328
Hazara	8,775	4,863	598	573	554	128	651
Kohát	533	2,684	645	775	5,036	58	626
N.-W. P. and Oudh	14,919	...	749	...	...	...	...
Kashmir	14,981	...	716	...	...	...	...
Afghanistan	2,184	...	868	...	...	...	...
Europe, &c.	2,879	...	826	...	...	...	...

	Migration: Males.	Migration: Females.	Migration: Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages: M.	Villages: F.	Villages: P.	Towns: M.	Towns: F.	Towns: P.	Total: M.	Total: F.	Total: P.
Total population	449,287	371,225	820,512	District	906	960	932	439	653	517	850	935	888
Immigrants	67,514	24,254	91,768	Panjab	969	988	977	724	829	762	939	975	954
Emigrants	17,248	9,057	26,305	India	996	999	998	950	982	961	991	998	993
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,100	958	985	968	995	999	996

RAWALPINDI.—I have already alluded to the extraordinary demand for labour which work on the Panjab Northern State Railway and the transport arrangements in connection with the Kabul campaign had created at the time of the Census; and consequently we find that, with the exception of Peshawar and Kohat where precisely similar circumstances had produced an even greater demand, Rawalpindi takes from every district in the list. The immigration is to the emigration as 349 to 100; yet 93 per cent. of the village population and 96 per cent. of the village females are born in the district; while of the town population only 52 per cent. of the persons and 44 per cent. of the males are indigenous. The fact is that, apart from the actual work in progress at the time of the Census, the construction of the Railway and the temporary fixing of its terminus, workshops, and head-quarters at Rawalpindi attracted an enormous foreign population, the number of souls in the town of Pindi itself having risen from 28,586 to 52,975 since 1868. Moreover a series of bad seasons had driven numbers of herdsmen with their cattle into the Murree Hills in search of pasture. The large proportion of males among the immigrants shows how generally temporary the immigration is, and how never reciprocal. The figures for emigration are curious The only district to which emigrants have gone from Pindi in any numbers are Jhelam, Peshawar, Hazara, and Kohat; that is to say, there is no emigration across the Salt-range. I have already pointed out that the trans-Jhelam tract is hardly a part of India; and its people are so distinct in habits and race from the people of the plains that they decline to settle among the latter. The large immigration from the North-West Provinces is due to the cantonments and movements of troops. That from Kashmir largely consists of famine-stricken fugitives attracted by the demand for labour. The immigrants from Afghanistan are chiefly Hazara coolies employed on the new Railway, "where," writes Mr. Steedman, "was assembled a motley crew of Kashmiris, Hazaras, Pathans, Western Punjabis, Musalman Jats from the Rechna *Doáb* and Purabiahs from Oudh and the North-West Provinces, almost "exclusively males."

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural population per square mile of Total area.	Rural population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Jhelam	**47,518**	**30,481**	**633**	**602**	**642**	**135**	**396**
Amritsar	1,012	699	806	486	691	448	589
Sialkot	3,007	428	703	666	142	474	691
Lahore	1,030	758	750	730	736	197	395
Gujranwala	1,768	506	705	569	286	211	570
Ráwalpindi	8,951	11,353	604	630	1,270	151	485
Gujrat	7,280	3,889	566	390	534	328	560
Shahpur	8,118	5,184	525	450	638	79	451
Bannu	1,186	1,616	536	641	1,363	79	337
Peshávar	499	1,947	770	872	3,902	185	328
N.-W. P. and Oudh	2,425	...	744	...	...	...	...
Kashmir	6,254	...	601	...	...	...	...

	Migration: Males.	Migration: Females.	Migration: Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages: M.	Villages: F.	Villages: P.	Towns: M.	Towns: F.	Towns: P.	Total: M.	Total: F.	Total: P.
Total population	313,448	275,925	589,373	District	941	954	949	605	752	664	905	936	919
Immigrants	30,057	17,461	47,518	Panjab	992	995	993	889	915	898	979	988	984
Emigrants	18,370	12,111	30,481	India	999	1,000	999	996	998	995	998	1,000	999
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	998	998	1,000	1,000	1,000

JHELAM.—The remarks on the Pindi figures apply almost equally to Jhelam. For a long time the town of Jhelam was the terminus of the Railway, and its population was 5,148 in 1868; it had increased to 11,319 in 1878; and to 16,634 in 1881. Practically the only emigration across the Jhelam is into the neighbouring district of Gujrat, the people of which are somewhat akin to those of Jhelam. It is in great part reciprocal. Moreover Jhelam includes the Cis-Salt-range valley of the right bank of the Jhelam, to which, of course, the remarks made concerning the trans-Salt-range tract do not apply. The immigration from Kashmir is largely due to the late famine, though there are a good many Kashmiris permanently resident in the district.

Abstract No. 37, *showing details of* Migration to and from each District of British Territory—continued.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural Population per square mile of Total area.	Rural Population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Gujrat	**41,518**	**46,639**	**434**	**556**	**1,123**	**328**	**560**
Amritsar	672	1,518	640	574	2,259	448	589
Sialkot	7,949	9,719	392	511	1,223	474	691
Lahore	1,037	2,596	485	631	2,503	197	395
Gujranwala	8,886	11,053	375	438	1,244	211	570
Rawalpindi	474	3,496	586	846	7,376	151	485
Jhelam	3,889	7,280	390	566	1,872	135	396
Shahpur	4,137	6,517	406	487	1,575	79	451
Peshawar	121	1,131	645	812	9,347	185	328
N.-W. P. and Oudh	1,159	...	867	...	...	...	...
Kashmir	10,787	...	405	...	...	...	...

Migration.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages M.	Villages F.	Villages P.	Towns M.	Towns F.	Towns P.	Total M.	Total F.	Total P.
Total population	362,162	326,953	689,115	District	954	934	944	881	855	869	951	928	940
Immigrants	18,006	23,512	41,518	Panjab	986	981	984	957	959	958	985	979	982
Emigrants	25,898	20,741	46,639	India	1,000	1,000	1,000	998	999	999	1,000	1,000	1,000
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	999	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

GUJRAT.—Here again the pressure of population is very great, and Gujrat gives to every district in the list, even to Amritsar and to Sialkot where the pressure is still greater. But all the other neighbouring districts are very scantily peopled, and the surplus population of Gujrat flows into them readily; and if it were not for the large influx of people driven by famine from Kashmir, emigration would exceed immigration by 52 per cent. A great deal of such immigration as there is is of the reciprocal type, but the emigration is almost entirely permanent.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural Population per square mile of Total area.	Rural Population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Shahpur	**26,141**	**34,889**	**533**	**563**	**1,335**	**79**	**451**
Gujranwala	3,167	2,240	525	478	707	211	570
Rawalpindi	350	2,066	591	766	5,903	151	485
Jhelum	5,184	8,118	450	525	1,565	135	396
Gujrat	6,517	4,137	487	406	635	328	560
Jhang	6,906	5,549	540	468	804	63	557
Derah Ismáil Khan	561	3,598	617	618	6,414	42	313
Bannu	498	2,731	616	652	5,484	79	337

Migration.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages M.	Villages F.	Villages P.	Towns M.	Towns F.	Towns P.	Total M.	Total F.	Total P.
Total population	221,676	199,832	421,508	District	939	941	939	923	927	923	936	939	937
Immigrants	13,903	12,238	26,141	Panjab	997	999	999	991	996	993	996	997	997
Emigrants	19,644	15,245	34,889	India	999	1,000	1,000	999	1,000	999	998	999	999
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

SHAHPUR—Is not only a very sparsely populated district, but canal irrigation has been considerably extended of late years. Consequently Shahpur takes population from the neighbouring districts of Gujranwala, Gujrat, and Jhang. But the disinclination of the trans-Salt-range people to cross the range which has been already alluded to is shown by the almost absolute absence of immigration from the tract in question except in the case of Jhelam, which is hardly an exception, as both districts include at once cis-Salt-range country and a part of the range itself. The excess emigration into Jhelam and Pindi is of course accounted for by the abnormal demand for labour in these districts at the time of the Census; and the high percentage of males shows how largely temporary, in the case of the latter district at least, the emigration was. The immigration into Derah Ismail and Bannu is probably due to the semi-nomad population of the *Thal* or sandy prairies of Shahpur tending towards the valley of the Indus as they gradually settle down and take to agricultural pursuits. The emigrants are probably largely graziers pasturing their herds in the Shahpur plateaus.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural Population per square mile of Total area.	Rural Population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Multan	**55,174**	**17,474**	**659**	**597**	**317**	**79**	**371**
Amritsar	1,532	148	728	676	97	448	589
Sialkot	1,375	47	746	617	35	474	691
Lahore	2,328	578	634	612	248	197	395
Gujranwala	1,076	98	721	612	91	211	570
Jhang	10,944	1,478	614	536	135	63	557
Montgomery	3,480	1,838	602	571	528	72	721
Muzaffargarh	4,073	5,904	603	558	1,450	101	510
Derah Ismáil Khan	1,245	375	720	669	301	42	313
Native States	9,767	4,209	589	610	431	...	...
N.-W. P. and Oudh	7,434	...	688	...	...	...	...
Rájputána	1,061	...	585	...	...	...	...
Afghanistan	1,021	...	926	...	...	...	...
Europe, &c.	1,278	...	893	...	...	...	...

Migration.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages M.	Villages F.	Villages P.	Towns M.	Towns F.	Towns P.	Total M.	Total F.	Total P.
Total population	304,517	247,447	551,964	District	915	942	925	709	838	766	881	924	900
Immigrants	36,356	18,818	55,174	Panjab	989	996	992	879	939	905	972	986	978
Emigrants	10,439	7,035	17,474	India	998	1,000	999	969	996	980	994	999	996
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	978	997	986	997	999	998

MULTAN—Is a scantily peopled district, while there has been an immense development of canal irrigation of late years; and it is surrounded by districts in which the pressure of population is markedly greater than in itself, on cultivated at any rate, if not on total area. Consequently it takes population from every district save Muzaffargarh, where the development has been even greater still. The number of immigrants is more than three times the number of emigrants; indeed there has been hardly any emigration except to Muzaffargarh and Bahawalpur, where also a great development has lately taken place under British management. Multan has attracted settlers from the rival centres of commerce at Lahore and Amritsar, while the unirrigated district of Jhang with its scanty cultivation, and the barren plains of Bahawalpur, have sent it large numbers of immigrants. The immigration from the North-West Provinces is due to the cantonments. The proportion of males is naturally higher in the case of the more distant districts.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural Population per square mile of Total area.	Rural Population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Jhang	**18,989**	**35,688**	**546**	**606**	**1,879**	**63**	**557**
Lahore	416	1,500	589	635	3,606	197	395
Gujranwala	3,817	2,616	502	547	685	211	570
Shahpur	5,549	6,906	468	540	1,245	79	451
Multán	1,478	10,944	536	614	7,404	79	371
Montgomery	3,336	4,410	592	594	1,322	72	721
Muzaffargarh	465	3,309	509	602	7,116	101	510
Derah Ismáil Khan	1,244	2,526	589	688	2,031	42	313

Migration.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages M.	Villages F.	Villages P.	Towns M.	Towns F.	Towns P.	Total M.	Total F.	Total P.
Total population	214,382	180,914	395,296	District	954	954	954	932	952	939	952	952	953
Immigrants	10,381	8,608	18,989	Panjab	999	1,000	999	983	996	991	997	999	997
Emigrants	21,628	14,060	35,688	India	1,000	1,000	1,000	995	999	997	999	1,000	998
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	999

JHANG—Is a singularly backward district. Though population is sparse, much of the area consists of arid plains without irrigation of any sort, and the population is really dense in proportion to the cultivated area. Consequently it gives population to every district in the list except Gujranwala, and the emigrants are nearly twice as numerous as the immigrants. The emigration is particularly large to Shahpur, Montgomery, Muzaffargarh, and Multan, four neighbouring districts in which canal irrigation has greatly developed of late years. The immigration probably consists to a great extent of people who have left the steppes of the neighbouring districts for the valleys of the two rivers which run through the district, and the moderate proportion of males would seem to show that the migration is permanent; though with the nomad tribes of the *bár* who travel with their families, the test is perhaps of less value than elsewhere, and it is not impossible that many of the immigrants are graziers with their herds who have come to pasture in the Jhang steppes. On the other hand, the former explanation is supported by the fact that the Multan *bár*, the only one which is separated from Jhang by a river, has sent hardly any immigrants.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural Population per square mile of Total area.	Rural Population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Montgomery	**37,937**	**42,408**	**555**	**551**	**1,118**	**72**	**721**
Sirsa	3,410	3,876	514	576	1,137	74	150
Amritsar	1,086	161	609	696	148	448	589
Lahore	14,974	11,562	508	529	772	197	395
Gujranwala	1,217	861	597	531	708	211	570
Firozpur	2,148	3,541	512	426	1,649	212	278
Multán	1,838	3,480	571	602	1,893	79	371
Jhang	4,410	3,336	594	592	756	63	557
Native States	3,289	14,913	548	559	4,534	...	...

Migration.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages M.	Villages F.	Villages P.	Towns M.	Towns F.	Towns P.	Total M.	Total F.	Total P.
Total population	232,947	193,582	426,529	District	915	916	915	807	870	835	909	913	911
Immigrants	21,057	16,880	37,937	Panjab	996	997	997	975	986	980	995	996	996
Emigrants	23,350	19,058	42,408	India	1,000	1,000	1,000	998	1,000	999	1,000	1,000	1,000
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

MONTGOMERY.—Of late years canal irrigation in the Montgomery district has received an enormous impetus from the construction of new inundation cuts, and immigrants have been attracted from the surrounding districts, and more especially from Lahore. Yet the similar extension of irrigation in Lahore, Firozpur, Multan, and Bahawalpur has caused extensive emigration, which has on the whole exceeded the immigration; though if the large emigration to Bahawalpur which took place when the State came under English management were deducted, the movement would be markedly in the opposite direction. The moderate percentage of males among both emigrants and immigrants shows how largely permanent the migration has been, though a portion of it is doubtless due to the movement of herds to the river valleys in consequence of the drought which preceded the Census.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural Population per square mile of Total area.	Rural Population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Muzaffargarh	**27,865**	**10,351**	**602**	**635**	**371**	**101**	**510**
Multán	5,904	4,073	558	603	690	79	371
Jhang	3,309	465	602	508	140	63	557
Derah Ismáil Khan	2,209	996	577	870	451	42	313
Derah Ghází Khan	6,867	2,987	586	601	435	71	203
Native States	4,523	1,121	569	665	248	...	...

Migration.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages M.	Villages F.	Villages P.	Towns M.	Towns F.	Towns P.	Total M.	Total F.	Total P.
Total population	184,510	154,095	338,605	District	909	929	919	876	911	891	909	929	917
Immigrants	16,789	11,076	27,865	Panjab	994	998	995	976	989	982	992	997	994
Emigrants	6,599	3,752	10,351	India	996	999	997	994	999	996	995	999	997
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

MUZAFFARGARH—Has developed of late years more rapidly than almost any other district in the Province; the soil is naturally fertile, canal irrigation has been enormously extended, and it is not surprising that the immigrants are nearly three times as numerous as the emigrants. The disproportion is greatest in Jhang where there is no irrigation, and smallest in Multan where a similar impulse has been given to irrigation. The high percentage of males seems to show that the small emigration has been chiefly temporary, while the rest of the migration appears to have been in great measure permanent.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural Population per square mile of Total area.	Rural Population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Derah Ismail Khan	**50,045**	**13,155**	**588**	**641**	**263**	**42**	**313**
Shahpur	3,598	561	618	617	156	79	451
Multán	375	1,245	669	720	3,320	79	371
Jhang	2,526	1,244	687	589	492	63	557
Muzaffargarh	996	2,209	870	577	2,218	101	510
Derah Ghází Khan	1,206	3,839	568	595	3,183	71	203
Bannu	6,782	2,312	592	652	341	79	337
Afghanistan	28,954	...	520	...	...	...	...

Migration.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages M.	Villages F.	Villages P.	Towns M.	Towns F.	Towns P.	Total M.	Total F.	Total P.
Total population	238,468	203,181	441,649	District	885	894	889	813	927	864	877	899	887
Immigrants	29,415	20,630	50,045	Panjab	930	925	927	935	968	950	931	930	931
Emigrants	8,462	4,693	13,155	India	934	926	929	962	977	968	936	932	934
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	996	999	997	999	1,000	1,000

DERAH ISMAIL KHAN.—Excluding Afghanistan, migration to and from this district is small in extent; and while it gives population to the canal-irrigated districts of Multan, Muzaffargarh, and Derah Ghazi, its riverain has attracted population from the dry districts of Shahpur, Jhang, and Bannu, all of which are less sparsely populated than itself. The high male percentage shows that a part at least of the emigration to Multan is temporary, and probably connected with commerce. The enormous immigration from Afghanistan is of course due to the *pawindah* caravans already described in section 142, and to the usual movement from the hills to the plains which takes place on the approach of winter.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes: Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural Population per square mile of Total area.	Rural Population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Derah Ghazi Khan	**26,574**	**11,697**	**646**	**610**	**440**	**71**	**203**
Muzaffargarh	2,987	6,867	601	586	2,299	101	510
Derah Ismáil Khan	3,839	1,206	595	568	314	42	313
Bannu	1,307	72	260	722	55	79	337
Native States	5,301	2,081	607	628	393	...	...
Afghanistan	3,162	...	665	...	...	...	...
Biluchistan	1,447	...	572	...	...	...	...

Migration.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages M.	Villages F.	Villages P.	Towns M.	Towns F.	Towns P.	Total M.	Total F.	Total P.
Total population	200,667	162,679	363,346	District	932	948	939	781	911	836	914	941	928
Immigrants	17,187	9,387	26,574	Panjab	984	989	986	908	964	932	974	986	979
Emigrants	7,139	4,558	11,697	India	987	991	988	979	983	981	985	990	987
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

DERAH GHAZI KHAN—Also enjoys a considerable extent of canal irrigation, and the immigration is consequently largely in excess of the emigration, save in the case of the still more favoured district of Muzaffargarh. The immigration from Afghanistan probably represents *pawindah* herdsmen who have wandered down the river in search of pasture, and also periodic winter migration from the lofty range of the Sulemans into the warmer plains below.

Part II.—Migrations of the People.

Abstract No. 37, *showing details of* Migration to and from each District of British Territory—concluded.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural population per square mile of Total area.	Rural population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Bannu	**27,009**	**12,944**	**666**	**582**	**479**	**79**	**337**
Jhelum	1,616	1,186	641	536	734	135	396
Shahpur	2,731	498	652	616	182	79	451
Derah Ismáil Khan	2,312	6,782	652	592	2,933	42	313
Derah Gházi Khan	72	1,307	722	260	18,153	71	203
Kohát	2,770	1,343	631	697	485	58	626
Afghanistan	11,416	...	598	...	...	...	...

	Migration. Males.	Migration. Females.	Migration. Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages. M.	Villages. F.	Villages. P.	Towns. M.	Towns. F.	Towns. P.	Total. M.	Total. F.	Total. P.
Total population	177,503	155,074	332,577	District	926	946	935	613	862	712	899	942	918
Immigrants	17,975	9,034	27,009	Panjab	960	969	965	912	964	932	956	970	962
Emigrants	7,504	5,440	12,944	India	961	969	966	966	980	971	961	971	966
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	999	999	999	1,000	1,000	1,000

BANNU—Has a very large immigration from Afghanistan, partly due to the bad seasons preceding the Census which drove the frontier tribes into our territory in search of labour, but more largely to periodic migration, and still more so to the permanent settling of these men in lands acquired by them on the border of the district, a process which has gone on in Bannu and Peshawar probably to a larger extent than in any other frontier district. The moderate percentage of males shows that no very large proportion of the immigrants consists of labourers in search of work. Deducting this migration, movement to and from the district is pretty evenly balanced, and is not extensive, being largest in the case of Derah Ismail Khan, to which Bannu had sent, at the time of the Census, a considerable number of herdsmen from the Mianwali steppes in search of pasture in the wide Indus Valley of the former district.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural population per square mile of Total area.	Rural population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Peshawar	**77,723**	**12,389**	**747**	**715**	**159**	**185**	**328**
Amritsar	2,100	556	849	631	265	448	589
Gurdaspur	1,716	88	898	523	51	407	555
Sialkot	2,956	284	824	630	96	474	691
Lahore	1,377	680	769	706	494	197	395
Gujranwala	1,490	154	849	662	103	211	570
Ráwalpindi	3,736	3,509	770	693	939	151	485
Jhelam	1,947	499	872	770	256	135	396
Gujrat	1,131	121	812	645	107	328	560
Hazára	2,027	1,253	724	693	618	128	651
Kohát	654	2,385	716	743	3,647	58	626
N.-W. P. and Oudh	8,849	...	808	...	...	...	...
Kashmir	2,872	...	767	...	...	...	...
Afghanistan	35,892	...	659	...	...	...	...
Europe, &c.	3,176	...	912	...	...	...	...

	Migration. Males.	Migration. Females.	Migration. Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages. M.	Villages. F.	Villages. P.	Towns. M.	Towns. F.	Towns. P.	Total. M.	Total. F.	Total. P.
Total population	329,524	263,150	592,674	District	895	949	921	595	825	682	823	926	869
Immigrants	58,005	19,718	77,723	Panjab	926	955	940	760	883	808	884	942	911
Emigrants	8,861	3,528	12,389	India	934	957	945	875	931	897	917	952	934
				Asia	1,000	1,000	1,000	964	994	976	989	999	995

PESHAWAR.—The figures bear on their face marks of the attraction exercised by a large military and commercial centre, and of the extraordinary demand for labour that existed at the time of the Census owing to the Kabul campaign, and the Railway and Swat canal works. Immigrants are more than six times as numerous as emigrants, and the exceedingly high proportion of males among the former show how largely temporary the immigration was. Nearly half the immigration was from Afghanistan; and here the more moderate percentage of males shows that much of the movement is due to the settlement of border tribes just described under the Bannu district, and to the periodic migration alluded to in section 142. The immigration from the North-West Provinces is in connection with the troops, that from Europe consists of course of the troops themselves, while that from Kashmir consists of famine fugitives in search of labour. Excepting these countries, the immigration into Peshawar, though varied, is not extensive in any single case. The emigration is inconsiderable save to the Railway and road works of Rawalpindi and Kohat; and to Hazara, probably in search of pasture.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural population per square mile of Total area.	Rural population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Hazara	**24,060**	**12,772**	**625**	**640**	**530**	**128**	**651**
Ráwalpindi	4,863	8,775	573	598	1,804	151	485
Pesháwar	1,253	2,027	693	727	1,618	185	328
Kashmir	6,484	...	591	...	...	...	...
Afghanistan	7,231	...	587	...	...	...	...

	Migration. Males.	Migration. Females.	Migration. Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages. M.	Villages. F.	Villages. P.	Towns. M.	Towns. F.	Towns. P.	Total. M.	Total. F.	Total. P.
Total population.	218,616	188,459	407,075	District	945	957	955	632	801	701	931	952	941
Immigrants	15,054	9,006	24,060	Panjab	965	970	969	808	878	836	958	968	963
Emigrants	8,196	4,576	12,772	India	981	983	984	957	963	960	981	984	982
				Asia	999	998	1,000	998	999	999	1,000	1,000	1,000

HAZARA.—This great Himalayan valley is so secluded that it exchanges population with but few portions of the outer world. Numerous herdsmen were driven from Rawalpindi with their flocks and families into the Hazara plains in search of pasture, while large numbers of Kashmiris crossed the border in their flight from famine. The considerable immigration from Afghanistan probably consists of periodic immigrants from the high mountains which surround the district on three sides, descending to the lower valleys and plains before the snows of winter.

Districts.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Immigrants.	Males per 1,000 of both sexes. Emigrants.	Emigrants per 1,000 Immigrants.	Rural population per square mile of Total area.	Rural population per square mile of Cultivated area.
Kohat	**34,457**	**5,026**	**713**	**648**	**146**	**58**	**626**
Ráwalpindi	2,684	533	775	645	199	151	485
Bannu	1,343	2,770	696	631	2,063	79	337
Pesháwar	2,385	654	743	716	274	185	328
N.-W. P. and Oudh	1,984	...	950	...	...	...	...
Afghanistan	18,405	...	606	...	...	...	...

	Migration. Males.	Migration. Females.	Migration. Persons.	Numbers per mille born in	Villages. M.	Villages. F.	Villages. P.	Towns. M.	Towns. F.	Towns. P.	Total. M.	Total. F.	Total. P.
Total population	101,369	80,171	181,540	District	807	892	848	392	686	488	757	877	810
Immigrants	24,595	9,862	34,457	Panjab	875	912	893	801	851	818	866	907	885
Emigrants	3,261	1,765	5,026	India	892	912	902	863	872	866	888	909	899
				Asia	999	1,000	1,000	998	999	998	999	999	1,000

KOHAT.—The great demand for labour on the Thal road, and in connection with the movement of troops at the time of the Census, is shown by the fact that immigrants are nearly seven times as numerous as emigrants, and by the high proportion of males among the former. The immigration from Afghanistan especially was enormous. Much of the work was of such a nature that it could only be performed safely by border men, while the comparatively moderate proportion of males shows that the periodic and permanent immigrations already described as prevailing on our border, combined to swell the numbers. The graziers wintering in the Kohat plains were, as a fact, unusually numerous in the Census year.

PART III.—INCREASE AND DECREASE OF POPULATION.

176. Tables and figures.—No reliable statistics of the population of Native States being in existence of a date prior to the present Census, this portion of the Chapter deals only with British Territory, and has no concern either with Native States or with the Province as a whole. The statistics of increase and decrease are contained in Tables II and XIX, Appendix A, the former of which refers to districts, while the latter gives details for individual towns. The comparison is, of course, based upon the figures of 1855 and 1868, the accuracy of which is discussed in section 178. Supplementary Tables J and K of Appendix C give the estimated population of each district for each year from 1882 to 1891 assuming past rates of increase to continue unaltered, and the population of each Municipality according to the three enumerations of 1868, 1875, and 1881. But before the figures of past years could be utilised for the purpose of comparison, it was necessary as far as possible to correct them so as to allow for alterations of boundary which have taken place. So far as the figures of 1855 are concerned, any such correction was wholly out of the question. The boundaries of the Province, including the Dehli Territory, have changed considerably since that year, while its internal division into districts has been altogether recast. Thus all that can be done is to make such use as is possible of the figures as they stand, bearing in mind the changes that have taken place.

Since 1868, however, the alterations in the boundaries of British Territory as a whole have been very small, being wholly due to river action. But on examining the figures of 1868, it was found that the Nawáb of Amb, who holds feudal Tanáwal in the Hazára district of our territory, had included in his returns for that year the population, not only of Tanáwal, but also of his independent territory of Amb which lies beyond our frontier and forms no part of the Panjáb; and that those returns had been transferred as they stood to the published Census tables, which therefore represented the population of Amb as well as of the Panjáb. Thus the corrections to be made in the published figures of 1868, so that they should represent the population as then enumerated of Panjáb British Territory as it now stands, were as shown in the margin.

	Males.	Females.	Persons.
Population of British Territory as returned in 1868	9,595,434	8,016,064	17,611,498
Add—Gain by transfer of villages from Baháwalpur to Montgomery	476	401	877
	9,595,910	8,016,465	17,612,375
Deduct—Loss by transfer from Dehli to North-West Provinces	69	50	119
Loss by transfer from Gurgáon to North-West Provinces	347	272	619
Loss by transfer from Amritsar to Kapurthala	121	100	221
Population of independent Amb, wrongly included in 1868	1,065	833	1,898
Balance—Or population of British territory as it now stands, according to Census, 1868 .	9,594,308	8,015,210	17,609,518

It is possible, perhaps probable, that the boundary within which the Census of 1868 was confined on our North-West frontier was not precisely the same as that to which the present operations extended. The Deputy Commissioner of Pesháwar then wrote: "The area of the district has been taken up to the red line which marks an imaginary boundary between British "and Independent Territory; but the real limits of the Census are well within this line;" and even in 1881 the Commissioner of Pesháwar was called upon for a ruling as to whether certain villages were or were not to be considered as belonging to the Panjáb for the purposes of the Census. It is impossible to allow for such changes as may have taken place in the Census boundary in this direction. If any, they are certainly very small, and probably include tracts which were excluded from the former Census.

177. Within the Province transfers of territory from one district to another have been numerous, and in some cases very extensive. I attempted in the first instance to base the necessary corrections upon the detailed registers showing the population of each village which had been prepared at the last Census. But in many districts these figures did not agree with those of the printed tables, and in some cases the discrepancies were enormous. Thus in Jálandhar the registers showed 40,000 too few males and 19,000 too many females, while in both Jhang and Ráwalpindi the difference exceeded 6,000 souls, and no examination of the figures threw any light on the matter [1]. This attempt therefore had to be abandoned, and I was compelled to make the adjustments by taking the printed tables as correctly representing the population of the several districts as they stood in 1868, and adding or deducting the population of such villages as were known to have been transferred to or from each since that year. I fear some transfers may have escaped notice; but the resulting error, if any, will certainly be insignificant in comparison with the total population of the district concerned. The figures thus corrected form the basis of Table II.

In the case of individual towns there was literally nothing on record to tell us what boundaries had been followed in 1868. Wherever the records of the last Census gave us separate details of population for urban suburbs, I have included the population of the suburbs now taken as part of the town in the figures for 1868 given in Table XIX. Where this was not the case there was nothing for it but to accept the published figures of 1868 as they stood. In the case of Municipal towns we have an intermediate set of figures available for comparison, as a separate Census of almost all of them was taken on the 28th February 1875. In the report of that Census, indeed, an entirely new set of figures are given for 1868, which agree neither with those of the published report of that year, nor with the figures now given in Table XIX. It does not appear how those figures were obtained [2]. But as regards the Census of 1875 we know exactly what boundaries were followed, as the Census was, in all cases, of the population living within municipal limits.

178. Increase due to greater accuracy of enumeration.—The increase or decrease of the population of a given tract of country during the interval between any two enumerations, as shown by a comparison of the figures of the one with those of the other, may be due to any combination of the following causes:—

(1) Greater accuracy of enumeration on the one occasion than on the other;

(2) Movement of population into or out of the tract during the interval;

(3) Actual increase or decrease of resident population owing to the number of births during the interval having been greater or less than the number of deaths.

And first as to the comparative accuracy of the respective enumerations. It follows almost necessarily from the very nature of things that in 1868 greater accuracy should have been attained than in 1855, and in 1881 than in 1868. In 1855 the Province had not long come under our rule, while even the last thirteen years have seen a great improvement in the administrative machinery, and especially in the revenue staff upon which so large a part of the operations devolved. The system of the present Census was elaborated with far greater pains and minuteness, and far more care was taken to secure uniformity and accuracy than on either of the previous occasions. Above all, whereas at former enumerations a mere figure was given for the total number of souls dwelling in each house, in the present Census each person was separately entered by name; and it is difficult to overrate the capital importance of this change in securing accuracy of enumeration. Meanwhile the people, ignorant always, and at first suspicious of any new thing,

[1] I fear some discrepancies, though not I hope of any large amount, may be found between my tables and the small vernacular abstracts which I have prepared for the use of district officers. The latter are mere extracts made from the bulky original tables (which also have been sent to the District Offices) for convenience of future reference; and errors in copying may have escaped detection. If so, the original tables should be referred to for the correct figures.

[2] But in comparing them with those of 1875, Dr. DeRenzy writes: "It is to be regretted that, owing to the boundaries of towns as censused in 1868 not "coinciding with those which were recognised in the present Census (1875), it is impossible in many cases to draw any safe conclusion as to whether there has been "an increase or a decrease of population."

Part III.—Increase and Decrease of Population.

have been growing more and more accustomed to statistical inquiry and less and less fearful of the motives of Government, while the prejudices which are by no means the smallest of the difficulties to be overcome in an Indian Census have probably weakened in some slight degree. On the frontier especially there has been less difficulty experienced in this than in the last Census, when the susceptibilities of the people were more easily aroused and their jealousy and suspicion of our actions greater than now [1]. Thus it may fairly be assumed that successive enumerations have been marked by increasing accuracy, and the assumption is supported by a very strong body of testimony from officials, both Native and European, who took part in the last Census. So too the increase in accuracy has probably been largest in those parts where an enumeration of the people is most difficult.

Now the faults of a Census enumeration are almost exclusively those of omission. Where, as now, the record is made by name, they are probably entirely so, for it is hardly possible to conceive that imaginary persons should be entered: where, as formerly, mere numbers are given, there is not so much certainty, for a careless man is as likely to overstate as to understate the total number of souls in his house. But even there the number of males, females, children, youths and adults were separately shown, and it is probable that unless some special object was to be gained by exaggeration, such errors as may have occurred tended to give too small rather than too large a population [2]. Thus some part of the increase shown by our figures may be attributed to greater accuracy of enumeration; and that part is probably least in the Eastern Plains, somewhat greater in the Western Plains, greater again (still following the order of difficulty) in the hills, and greatest of all on the frontier.

179. The proportion of the sexes a test of accuracy.—It is impossible to estimate the degree in which increased accuracy may have affected the figures. The percentage of increase due to this cause is probably, in most districts at least, exceedingly small. But there is one test which we can apply, which will in some degree measure at any rate the relative increase of accuracy: it is the proportion of the sexes. It is notorious that the prejudices of the Indian people disincline them to state the number of their women folk, or even to admit their existence; and no better proof can be adduced of the greater care with which one enumeration has been effected in comparison with another, or of the greater success with which it has approximated to the actual facts, than its showing a smaller ratio of males to total population. In 1855 the number of males per 10,000 of both sexes was 5,517 and ranged from 5,702 to 5,265; in 1868 it had fallen to 5,448, the extreme figures being 5,605 and 5,213; it is now 5,416, the variations lying between 5,584 and 5,211, and this notwithstanding the fact that special circumstances had induced a large temporary influx of male immigrants at the time of the late Census.

180. Abstract No. 38 on the opposite page compares the proportion of males to persons for the three enumerations in each district, the districts being arranged in order of magnitude of the proportion of males at the Census of 1855. If it is true that the high percentage of males is due in large part to defects of enumeration, that each enumeration is more accurate than the preceding one, and that the increase in accuracy is greatest where the former defects were most marked, we shall expect to find, first that the percentage of males has decreased in every district at each enumeration, or in other words, that all the figures of columns 6 to 8 of the abstract are positive; and secondly that, broadly speaking, that decrease is greatest where the percentage of males was formerly highest—in other words, that the serial numbers in columns 9 to 11 and again in columns 12 and 13 correspond.

With regard to the first test it will be noticed that out of the 31 districts (omitting Simla), the percentage of males is lower in 1881 than it was in 1855 in all but three districts, lower in 1868 than in 1855 in all but five districts, and lower in 1881 than in 1868 in all but nine districts; while most of the exceptions are at once accounted for by the enormous number of coolies and labourers temporarily collected at the time of the Census in the Ráwalpindi and Peshávar divisions. As for the second test, it cannot of course be expected that the districts will stand exactly in the order which they should theoretically occupy. The circumstances of each—indeed the very boundaries of each—vary from Census to Census, for the figures apply to the districts as they stood at the time in each case; the numbers concerned are often small; and all that can be looked for is a general correspondence in those districts in which no special circumstances exist to affect the figures. Now a general correspondence does exist between the series in columns 9, 10, and 11, and again between those in columns 12 and 13; that is to say, the districts that are respectively high or low in column 9 generally tend to be high or low in columns 10 and 11 also, those that are high in column 12 tend to be high in column 13 also, and those that are low in the one to be low in the other. Thus dividing the districts into three groups of ten each and adding the serial numbers, we get the results in the margin. But the exceptions are many and extremely curious. Anybody who will take the trouble to examine the larger discrepancies in the series will find that they can, almost without exception, be explained by the known facts of migration already discussed in Part II of this Chapter, and that they even throw light on the period of the various movements of population [3]. But the indications possess little value of their own apart from their very curious coincidence with known facts, and I do not pursue the subject further.

Group.	Col. 9	Col. 10	Col. 11	Col. 12	Col. 13
1	55	112	92	55	122
2	155	157	183	155	169
3	255	196	190	286	205
Total	465	465	465	496	496

[1] The Biloch frontier especially was in an excited state in 1868, as Major Grey, Deputy Commissioner of Derah Ismáíl, had just been carried off into the hills by the Qasránis.

[2] Mr. Wakefield, Deputy Commissioner of Lúdhiána, however, is of opinion that the population, at any rate of the town of Lúdhiána, was very much overstated at the last Census, and writes: "The Census statistics of 1868 were not so reliable as those of " 1881; and the tendency, where guess-work is substituted for actual and practical enumeration, is to exaggerate, to overstate being by some " morbid process of reasoning thought the *safe side*, and so the items of 1868 are probably in excess of actuals. The actual increase " has been so palpable in Lúdhiána town that the only reasonable deduction is that the figures of 1868 are exaggerated.

[3] The principle which rules them is as follows. Any immigration of males in excess of females between any two enumerations would tend to reduce the decrease in the male percentage due to increased accuracy, and so to throw the district lower than it

Part III,—Increase and Decrease of Population.

Abstract No. 38, *showing* **Decrease in proportion of Males** *at* **successive Enumerations** *for* **Districts** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	1
Serial No. in Tables.	Districts.	Proportion of Males per 10,000 of both sexes.			Decrease in proportion of Males per 10,000 of both sexes.			Serial order of magnitude according to						Serial No. in Tables.
		1855.	1868.	1881.	1855 to 1881.	1855 to 1868.	1868 to 1881.	Col. 3.	Col. 6.	Col. 7.	Col. 4.	Col. 8.	Col. 5.	
25	Montgomery (a)	5,702	5,565	5,461	241	137	104	1	1	7	3	6	13	25
16	Lahore	5,698	5,551	5,523	175	147	28	2	4	5	6	17	3	16
30	Peshâwar	5,665	5,467	5,560	105	198	—93	3	13	2	16	29	2	30
18	Firozpur	5,649	5,508	5,493	156	141	15	4	5	6	9	21	7	18
13	Amritsar	5,635	5,605	5,493	142	30	112	5	8	20	1	4	8	13
28	Derah Ghâzi Khan	5,634	5,513	5,523	111	121	—10	6	11	8	8	23	4	28
32	Kohât	5,618	5,455	5,584	34	163	—129	7	26	3	17	30	1	32
7	Ambâla (b)	5,600	5,485	5,512	88	115	—27	8	16	9	12	26	6	7
23	Multân	5,576	5,543	5,517	59	33	26	9	22	19	7	18	5	23
14	Gurdaspur	5,559	5,476	5,412	147	83	64	10	6	13	14	11	16	14
8	Ludhiana	5,546	5,475	5,488	58	71	—13	11	23	14	15	25	9	8
10	Jálandhar	5,546	5,495	5,464	82	51	31	12	18	17	11	15	12	10
4	Hissár	5,530	5,506	5,400	130	24	106	13	9	22	10	5	18	4
24	Jhang	5,526	5,564	5,423	103	—38	141	14	14	27	4	2	15	24
15	Sialkot	5,524	5,435	5,332	192	89	103	15	3	10	19	7	26	15
	Total British Territory	**5,517**	**5,448**	**5,416**	**101**	**69**	**32**	**15a**	**15a**	**15a**	**17a**	**14a**	**15a**	...
17	Gujranwala	5,514	5,582	5,408	106	—68	174	16	12	29	2	1	17	17
3	Karnál (b)	5,500	5,415	5,399	101	85	16	17	15	12	20	20	19	3
26	Muzaffargarh (c)	5,493	5,485	5,449	44	8	36	18	25	25	13	13	14	26
19	Ráwalpindi	5,468	5,403	5,476	—8	65	—73	19	28	16	21	28	10	19
11	Hoshiárpur	5,460	5,372	5,342	118	88	30	20	10	11	24	16	24	11
31	Hazara	5,449	5,213	5,370	79	236	—157	21	19	1	31	31	21	31
12	Kangra	5,443	5,291	5,211	232	152	80	22	2	4	29	9	31	12
1	Dehli (b)	5,430	5,360	5,346	84	70	14	23	17	15	25	22	23	1
21	Gujrat	5,400	5,385	5,255	145	15	130	24	7	24	23	3	30	21
29	Bannu (d)	5,386	5,358	5,337	49	28	21	25	24	21	26	19	25	29
5	Rohtak	5,370	5,445	5,351	19	—75	94	26	27	30	18	8	22	5
2	Gurgaon	5,350	5,315	5,280	70	35	35	27	21	18	27	14	28	2
27	Derah Ismail Khan	5,347	5,388	5,399	—52	—41	—11	28	29	28	22	24	20	27
22	Shahpur	5,332	5,310	5,259	73	22	51	29	20	23	28	12	29	22
20	Jhelam	5,265	5,284	5,318	—53	—19	—34	30	30	26	30	27	27	20
6	Sirsa	(e)	5,553	5,476	...	...	77	...	...	..	5	10	11	6

(a) Old Gugaira district.
(b) Old Thanesar district distributed and Tahsil Sunpat transferred.
(c) Old Khangarh district.
(d) Old Leiah district.
(e) Figures not known.

NOTE.—This table may be read thus:—In Jalandhar there were 5,546 males among every 10,000 persons in 1855 (column 3) and 5,495 in 1868 (column 4). Thus the decrease in the proportion of males between 1855 and 1868 was 51 (column 7).

181. Discrimination of that portion of the increase due to migration.—A far more important factor in the increase and decrease of numbers is the actual movement of population from one place to another. Unfortunately it is almost impossible to separate this element from the normal increase due to excess of births over deaths. Our figures for increase refer to the fixed period of time between two enumerations, whereas our figures for migration include the whole lifetime of the present generation. Of three men born in Kashmír, one of whom emigrated to the Panjáb in 1854, another in 1867, and the third in 1880, all three will be shown as immigrants in the migration figures, but the figures for increase between 1868 and 1881 will include one, and those between 1855 and 1881 two of them only. Moreover the present figures include the children of immigrants who have come into the tract since the previous enumeration, and who are therefore not represented in the initial population on which the increase is reckoned. On the other hand the migration figures do not represent the whole of the movement which affects the increase; and this imperfection acts in either of two directions, according as the figures for migration omit to take account of movements which have resulted in increase and decrease, or show movements which have had no such result. For instance, in 1868 there must have been a large number of labourers at work on the railway line between Jagádhri and Jálandhar, many of whom had been attracted from other districts, and thus helped to swell the population, as shown by the enumeration of that year, of the tract in which they were working, and to diminish that of the tract from which they had come. But when the work was over the greater number of them probably returned to their homes, and thus they do not appear at all in the present figures for migration, though the fact that they were enumerated in one place in 1868 and in another in 1881 causes an apparent decrease in the population of the former and increase in that of the latter tract, which is wholly due to movement of population. Exactly the opposite result occurs in the case of most immigrants from foreign countries. Thus the migration figures show an immigration from Europe into the

otherwise would stand in the series. Any emigration of males in excess of females would conversely raise it unduly in the series. If the migration took place between 1855 and 1868 it would affect column 11 as compared with column 9; if between 1868 and 1881, it would affect column 10 as compared with column 9 and column 13 as compared with column 12, but not column 11 as compared with column 9. If the movement extended to both periods it would affect all three comparisons.

Part III.—Increase and Decrease of Population.

Panjáb of 17,824 souls; and as there is practically no emigration proper from the Panjáb to Europe, the whole of this movement is rightly shown as gain by migration. But although it is probable that by far the greater number of these 17,824 persons have entered the Panjáb since 1855, yet it is also probable that in 1855 there were very nearly as many Europeans in the Province, who have since then returned to Europe, their place being taken by the new comers; and thus the immigration, while it represents actual gain to the Panjáb population, does not represent increase since 1855, although the individual immigrants have entered the Province since that year. At a future Census a comparison of the birth-place figures as they then stand with those of the present Census will render possible an estimate of the amount of migration which has taken place within the interval. But no record of birth-place was made at either of the two previous enumerations, and any such comparison is in the present case impossible.

182. The problem with which we have to deal may be thus stated. We know that, within the lifetime of the present generation, the population of a given tract has increased by a certain percentage as the result of migration: we know that it has increased during the interval since a previous Census by a certain other percentage: find how much of the former increase is included in the latter, and deducting that portion, how much of the latter remains as the effect of the natural excess of births over deaths. Had we really accurate, or even approximately accurate statistics of births and deaths, the solution would be simple enough. But this is far from being the case. We have only just begun to register births outside the large towns; there is reason to believe that the urban and rural rates differ enormously; and a glance at Supplementary Table L of Appendix C, which gives death-rates as registered for the last 12 years, is sufficient to show how incomplete the registration must be in many of the Panjáb districts. Great advances have been made; but it will be long before we are able to construct really trustworthy life-tables for the Panjáb.

In the absence of such tables there are three points of view from which our problem may be attacked, all of them uncertain in their application.

Where the conditions which determine the natural increase of population are identical in any two tracts, but the rate of increase since last Census has been greater in the one than the other, it follows that the gain by migration since last Census has been greater in the former than in the latter. Suppose two districts, each with a population of 4,000 souls in 1868, and in each of which the total gain by migration has been 3,000, but the present populations of which are respectively 5,000 and 6,000: if the normal rate of increase is identical in both, it follows that, even supposing the whole gain by migration in the former district to have taken place before 1868, at least 1,000 of the similar gain to the latter district must be of a date subsequent to that year.

The second test is based upon the assumption that the rate of natural increase is tolerably constant in the same district. If it were quite constant, the population of 1881 would bear the same proportion to that of 1868 as that of 1868 did to that of 1855,—excluding migration from consideration—since the two intervals between the successive enumerations are equal; and if we found that the population of a district was 4,000 in 1855, 6,000 in 1868, and only 8,000 (instead of 9,000) in 1881, we should conclude that there had been greater gain (or less loss) by migration during the former than during the latter interval.

The third test is afforded by the proportion between the sexes. If the gain by migration always consisted of males and females in the same proportion as the sexes bear to each other in the indigenous population, the application of this standard would not help us. But this is seldom the case, for, as we have already seen, either males or females generally predominate among the migrants. Now under normal conditions the natural rate of increase by excess of births over deaths will probably be very nearly the same for both sexes in any given tract. Thus where we find that the increase within a given interval has been markedly greater for one sex than for the other, we may suspect that the tract has gained by migration during that interval if the sex which has increased fastest preponderates among the migrants, or lost if that sex is in the minority.

183. Examination of the figures—All three tests are exceedingly difficult of application, and exceedingly uncertain in their indications. We know next to nothing of the vital statistics of the Province except that they vary enormously, not only from district to district but from year to year, and that we are almost wholly ignorant of the conditions which determine their variation. I have already pointed out in section 131 how delicately poised is the balance between life and death for the great mass of the population, how little will cause it to incline in one direction or the other, and how violent are the oscillations of the vital index which result. It is not safe to assume that the natural rate of increase is the same for two contiguous districts with apparently identical physical conformation, for permanent physical conditions are not perhaps even the most important of the factors concerned. A heavy assessment, a local failure of rain, any one of a thousand incidental circumstances may disturb the apparent equality. Still less is it possible to assume that the rate of increase of one period of 13 years is the same as that of the next 13 years, for we know the exact contrary to be the case. And though we know in general terms the distribution of the sexes in migration, yet our figures only represent a portion of the actual movement of population, while increasing accuracy of enumeration ever tends to raise the proportion of females throughout the Province.

Still, a careful examination of the figures in the light of the preceding paragraphs will afford in most cases a basis for an approximate estimate of the degrees in which increase or decrease is respectively due to migration and to the relative numbers of births and deaths. Such figures as are available are given in Abstract No. 39 on the opposite page. Unfortunately the boundaries of many of the districts have changed so entirely since 1855 that no comparison with the figures of that year is possible. Columns 3, 6, and 9 show the net gain by migration, columns 4, 7, and 10 show the increase of population since 1855, and columns 5, 8, and 11 that since 1868, all in rates per mille of the present population. Columns 12 to 14 show the natural increase since 1855, *on the assumption that all the migration has taken place since that year.* Columns 15 to 17 give similar figures for 1868.

Part III.—Increase and Decrease of Population.

Abstract No. 39, *comparing* Gain by Migration *with* actual increase *for* Districts.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	1
		PROPORTIONS PER MILLE OF PRESENT POPULATION.															
		Persons.			Males.			Females.			Net increase deducting gain by migration.						
Serial No.	Districts and Divisions.	Gain by migration.	Increase. Since 1855.	Increase. Since 1868.	Gain by migration.	Increase. Since 1855.	Increase. Since 1868.	Gain by migration.	Increase. Since 1855.	Increase. Since 1868.	Since 1855. Persons.	Since 1855. Males.	Since 1855. Females.	Since 1868. Persons.	Since 1868. Males.	Since 1868. Females.	Serial No.
1	Dehli	61	...	34	50	...	32	73	...	36	...	...	...	—27	—18	—37	1
2	Gurgáon	—23	—32	—74	—33	—48	—80	—12	—15	—66	—9	—15	—3	—51	—47	—54	2
3	Karnál	18	...	7	3	...	4	33	...	9	...	...	...	—11	1	—24	3
4	Hissár	88	344	39	137	326	19	30	364	61	256	189	334	—49	—118	31	4
5	Rohtak	37	146	41	18	142	23	59	147	59	109	124	88	4	5	...	5
6	Sirsa	266	398	168	286	...	158	239	...	185	132	...	...	—98	—128	—54	6
7	Ambála	—13	...	36	8	...	41	—40	...	31	...	...	...	49	33	71	7
8	Ludhiana	10	148	54	5	139	57	15	158	50	138	134	143	44	52	35	8
9	Simla	231	...	208	401	...	217	—77	...	197	...	...	...	—23	—184	274	9
10	Jálandhar	10	103	— 6	5	88	—12	19	118	1	93	83	99	—16	— 17	—18	10
11	Hoshiárpur	—64	63	—40	—68	42	—46	—59	86	—34	127	110	145	24	22	25	11
12	Kangra	— 1	17	—18	...	—28	—33	— 2	64	— 1	18	—28	66	—17	— 33	1	12
13	Amritsar	14	...	68	5	...	52	26	...	87	...	...	...	54	47	61	13
14	Gurdaspur	—28	...	—100	—30	...	—124	—27	...	—71	...	...	...	—72	— 94	—44	14
15	Sialkot	—23	...	7	—37	...	— 12	—10	...	28	...	...	...	30	25	38	15
16	Lahore	117	...	147	109	...	142	125	...	153	...	...	...	30	33	28	16
17	Gujranwala	—32	...	107	—40	...	81	—22	...	136	...	...	...	139	121	158	17
18	Ferozepur	79	...	155	84	...	149	74	...	161	...	...	...	76	65	87	18
19	Ráwalpindi	80	326	133	113	326	144	41	324	119	246	213	283	53	31	78	19
20	Jhelam	29	...	150	37	...	154	19	...	144	...	...	...	121	117	125	20
21	Gujrat	— 7	249	106	—22	228	83	9	272	130	256	250	263	113	105	121	21
22	Shahpur	—20	...	126	—26	...	118	— 16	...	136	...	...	...	146	144	152	22
23	Multán	67	255	144	85	248	142	47	263	148	188	163	216	77	57	101	23
24	Jhang	—43	363	122	—52	350	98	—30	378	149	406	402	408	165	150	179	24
25	Montgomery	—10	278	155	—10	246	139	—11	316	174	288	256	327	165	149	185	25
26	Muzaffargarh	51	...	120	55	...	116	47	...	126	...	...	...	69	61	79	26
27	Derah Ismáil Khan	84	...	106	88	...	106	79	...	103	...	...	...	22	18	24	27
28	Derah Gházi Khan	41	343	149	49	330	152	30	359	149	302	281	329	108	103	119	28
29	Bannu	42	...	144	59	...	143	23	...	147	...	...	...	102	84	124	29
30	Peshâwar	110	241	117	149	227	133	62	258	98	131	78	196	7	—16	36	30
31	Hazára	28	272	102	32	261	131	24	285	69	244	229	261	74	99	45	31
32	Kohát	161	444	199	211	436	218	101	448	176	283	225	347	38	7	75	32
I	Dehli	20	...	—11	7	...	—15	32	...	— 6	...	...	...	—31	—22	—38	I
II	Hissar	101	270	64	116	230	48	82	250	83	169	114	168	—37	—68	1	II
III	Ambála	1	...	47	19	...	51	—21	...	42	...	...	...	46	32	63	III
IV	Jálandhar	— 20	61	—22	—24	34	—31	—17	91	—13	81	58	108	— 2	— 7	4	IV
V	Amritsár	—12	153	— 5	—21	127	—25	—4	182	15	165	148	186	7	— 4	19	V
VI	Lahore	64	260	137	60	241	127	68	283	150	196	181	215	73	67	82	VI
VII	Ráwalpindi	27	...	128	36	...	129	17	...	128	...	...	...	101	93	111	VII
VIII	Multán	20	...	136	24	...	125	15	...	151	...	...	...	116	101	136	VIII
IX	Deraját	57	...	133	67	...	135	47	...	130	...	...	...	76	68	83	IX
X	Peshâwar	91	282	124	119	271	145	54	297	101	191	152	243	33	26	47	X
—	**British Territory**	**22**	**194**	**66**	**25**	**176**	**59**	**19**	**209**	**72**	**172**	**151**	**190**	**44**	**34**	**53**	—

NOTE.—This table may be read thus. Derah Ghazi Khan has gained on the whole 41 per mille of both sexes by migration (column 3). The population has increased by 343 per mille since 1855 (column 4) and by 149 per mille since 1868 (column 5). Thus if all the migration is subsequent to 1855, the natural increase since that year is 302 per mille (column 12); if subsequent to 1868, the natural increase since that year is 108 per mille (column 15).

NOTE TO ABSTRACT.—The figures do not exactly represent the real rates of increase. For them to do this the initial population, as it stood before migration took place, should have been taken as their basis. But this would have made the table exceedingly complicated; and except in those districts where migration has been very extensive, the difference is quite inappreciable.

184. It is sufficiently obvious that if the population of Jálandhar has lost 0·6 per cent. in the last 13 years while it has gained 10·3 since 1855, and if migration represents a net loss of 1 per cent., the loss by emigration must have taken place since 1868. Still more clear is it that the loss of 6·4 per cent. by migration in Hushyárpur dates since 1868, since the population has decreased by 4·0 per cent. since that year, but increased by 6·3 per cent. since 1855. Again in Sirsa, where the increase during 13 and 26 years has been 16·8 and 39·8 per cent. respectively, and 26·6 per cent. of the population is due to gain by migration, the gain was probably distributed tolerably equally over the two intervals between the Censuses. In Hissar the gain is 32·6 per cent. for males and 36·4 for females since 1855, and only 1·9 for males and 6·1 for females since 1868, while the net gain by migration is 13·7 and 3·0 for the two sexes respectively. It seems obvious that before 1868 there was an enormous immigration, and that since that year *the district has been losing* by an emigration in which males preponderate considerably. In Peshâwar the percentages of increase for the sexes are 22·7 and 25·8 since 1855, and 13·3 and 9·8 since 1868; while gain by migration is 14·9 and 6·2 for males and females respectively. It is clear that the immigration which has so largely consisted of males has chiefly taken place since 1868. In Jhang and Montgomery, two very similar districts, the population of the former has increased by 36·3 since 1855 and by 12·2 since 1868, while the corresponding figures for the latter are 27·8 and 15·5. In both the net result of migration has been loss; but it is clear that the migration is very differently distributed in point of time in the two districts, and that the movement of population since 1868 has been very much to the advantage of the Montgomery district. Deducting loss by migration from total increase in these two cases we find, *on the assumption that that loss took place wholly since either Census*, that the remaining rate of increase has been 40·6 in Jhang and 28·8 in Montgomery since 1855, and 16·5 in each since 1868. But as that

loss has just been shown to have been earlier in Jhang than in Montgomery, even if the latter district has not actually gained by migration since 1868, the disproportion between the natural rates of increase in the two districts becomes less marked for the longer and more marked for the shorter interval, and more conclusively proved on the whole. These instances will serve as examples of the manner in which the figures may be discussed. I shall not attempt to examine them in detail, since to do so would require lengthy explanations and minute discussions which the very approximate nature of the results would not warrant. But generally they will be found to indicate as probable results that the emigration from the overcrowded districts has only lately begun, and was in many cases probably preceded by immigration; that the immigration into the eastern districts largely preceded, and that into the median and western districts has been for the most part subsequent to the Census of 1868; that the natural rate of increase is much higher in the western than in the eastern districts; and that among the former the presence of canal irrigation has a marked effect in lowering the natural rate of increase due to excess of births over deaths.

185. Effect of density of population upon increase and decrease.—Abstract No. 40 below is prepared on exactly the same plan as Abstract No. 38 on page 88, density of population per square mile being taken as the basis of arrangement instead of proportion of males to persons. The limits of many of the districts have altered greatly since 1855; but such changes affect density much less than they affect total population, and the comparison is probably not much impaired by them in the majority of instances.

Abstract No. 40, *showing* **Increase of Population** *compared with* **Density** *for* **Districts.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	1
Serial No. in Tables.	Districts.	Population per square mile.			Percentage of Density per square mile.			Serial order of magnitude according to						Serial No. in Tables.
		1855.	1868.	1881.	1881 on 1855.	1868 on 1855.	1881 on 1868.	Col. 3.	Col. 6.	Col. 7	Col. 4.	Col. 8.	Col. 5.	
10	Jálandhar	513	596	597	116	116	100	1	20	13	1	24	1	10
1	Dehli (a)	487	496	504	103	102	102	2	26	28	4	22	4	1
15	Sialkot	475	510	517	109	107	101	3	23	21	3	23	3	15
14	Gurdaspur	470	490	452	96	105	92	4	29	23	5	28	5	14
13	Amritsar	437	533	567	130	122	106	5	13	9	2	17	2	13
11	Hoshiárpur	384	450	413	108	117	92	6	25	11	6	29	8	11
8	Ludhiana	383	429	450	117	112	105	7	19	18	7	18	6	8
7	Ambála (a)	374	394	415	111	105	105	8	22	24	8	19	7	7
2	Gurgáon	342	346	331	97	101	96	9	28	29	9	27	10	2
5	Rohtak	281	295	306	109	105	104	10	24	25	11	21	11	5
21	Gujrat	270	324	349	129	120	108	11	14	10	10	16	9	21
3	Karnál (a)	231	260	260	113	113	100	12	21	16	12	25	12	3
16	Lahore	209	218	253	121	104	116	13	17	27	13	7	13	16
18	Firozpur	187	204	236	126	109	116	14	16	20	16	8	16	18
30	Pesháwar (b)	180	209	237	132	116	114	15	12	14	14	12	15	30
17	Gujranwala	147	207	238	162	141	115	16	4	3	15	10	14	17
—	**Total British Territory**	**141**	**165**	**177**	**126**	**117**	**107**	**16a**	**16a**	**11a**	**16a**	**16a**	**16a**	—
19	Ráwalpindi (b)	114	146	169	148	128	116	17	6	7	17	9	17	19
4	Hissár	100	137	143	143	137	105	18	7	5	18	20	19	4
31	Hazára (b)	98	122	134	137	125	110	19	9	8	20	15	20	31
20	Jhelam	80	128	151	189	151	118	20	1	1	19	4	18	20
12	Kangra (b)	79	82	81	103	105	99	21	27	26	21	26	24	12
22	Shahpur	75	79	90	120	106	114	22	18	22	23	13	22	22
23	Multán (b)	70	80	94	134	114	118	23	10	15	22	5	21	23
28	Derah Ghází Khan	60	68	80	133	113	118	24	11	17	24	6	25	28
25	Montgomery (b) (c)	55	64	77	140	117	120	25	8	12	26	3	26	25
26	Muzaffargarh (d)													26
27	Derah Ismáil Khan	54	60	69	128	112	115	26	15	19	28	11	27	27
29	Bannu (e)													29
6	Sirsa	51	68	84	165	133	124	27	3	6	25	1	23	6
24	Jhang	44	61	69	157	139	114	28	5	4	27	14	28	24
32	Kohát	36	52	64	178	145	123	29	2	2	29	2	29	32

(a) Old Thanesar District distributed, and Sunpat *tahsil* transferred.
(b) Present areas taken throughout.
(c) Old Gugaira District.
(d) Old Khangarh District.
(e) Old Leiah District.

NOTE.—This table may be read thus The density of the Dehli population was 487 per square mile in 1855 (column 3) and 496 in 1868 (column 4). Thus the increase in density was 2 per cent. (column 7).

Now if the increase of population had always been largest in those districts in which the population was least dense at the beginning of the interval during which the increase has taken place, the serial numbers of columns 10 and 11 would be in exactly the reverse order of those of column 9, and those of column 13 the reverse of those of column 12, the sum of the two figures for each district in each case amounting to 33. That this is generally the case is obvious from inspection of the figures. Dividing them into six groups as they stand, we have for the totals of the serial numbers the figures shown in the margin, the fifth group being spoilt by Kángra, the only conspicuous exception, and a district in which density of population on total area has no significance, much of it being uninhabitable mountain. Generally the tendency to most rapid increase in the least densely populated districts is very well marked, the variations being explainable by causes to be presently noticed.

Group.	Column 9.	Column 10.	Column 11.	Column 12.	Column 13.
1st	15	111	94	15	114
2nd	40	118	107	40	109
3rd	65	80	87	65	75
4th	90	27	24	90	56
5th	115	74	92	115	51
6th	110	25	31	110	30
Total	435	435	435	435	435

186. Increase since 1855.—Abstract No. 41 on the opposite page shows the increase of population during the intervals between the successive enumerations for districts, those in which the increase since 1855 has been greatest being put at the top of the list.

Part III.—Increase and Decrease of Population.

Abstract No. 41, *showing the* Increase of Population *between* 1855, 1868, *and* 1881 *for* Districts *arranged in* order of magnitude.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	1
		Persons.					Males.					Females.					Serial order of increase.						
Serial No. of Tables.	Territorial Unit.	1855.	1868.	1881.	Number living at the end, per 1,000 living at the beginning of the period from 1855 to 1868.	1868 to 1881.	1855.	1868.	1881.	Number living at the end per 1,000 living at the beginning of the period from 1855 to 1868.	1868 to 1881.	1855.	1868.	1881.	Number living at the end per 1,000 living at the beginning of the period from 1855 to 1868.	1868 to 1881.	Persons. 1855 to 1868.	Persons. 1868 to 1881.	Males. 1855 to 1868.	Males. 1868 to 1881.	Females. 1855 to 1868.	Females. 1868 to 1881.	Serial No. of Tables.
4	Hissár	330,852	484,681	504,183	1,465	1,040	183,211	266,847	272,267	1,457	1,020	147,641	217,834	231,916	1,475	1,065	1	14	1	15	2	12	4
32	Kohát	101,232	145,419	181,540	1,436	1,248	56,956	79,323	101,369	1,393	1,278	44,276	66,096	80,171	1,493	1,313	2	1	2	1	1	2	32
6	Sirsa	152,182	210,795	253,275	1,385	1,202	...	...	...	...	4,185	...	...	...	...	1,222	3	2	3	2	3	1	6
24	Jhang	251,769	347,043	395,296	1,378	1,139	139,149	193,053	214,382	1,387	1,110	112,620	153,990	180,914	1,367	1,175	4	8	4	10	4	5	24
28	Derah Ghází Khan	238,964	309,192	363,346	1,294	1,175	134,631	170,446	200,667	1,265	1,177	104,333	138,746	162,679	1,330	1,172	5	4	6	3	5	6	28
19	Ráwalpindi	553,730	711,256	820,512	1,284	1,154	302,786	384,286	449,287	1,269	1,169	250,964	326,970	371,225	1,303	1,135	6	6	5	4	6	9	19
II	Hissár Division*	956,185	1,226,594	1,311,067	1,283	1,069	437,071	556,058	568,491	1,272	1,022	366,932	459,741	489,301	1,253	1,064	6a	11c	4a	14a	7b	12a	II
31	Hazára	296,364	365,520	407,075	1,233	1,114	161,861	190,358	218,616	1,175	1,148	134,503	174,962	188,459	1,301	1,077	7	11	8	8	7	11	31
X	Peshávar Division	847,695	1,033,891	1,181,289	1,220	1,143	473,798	555,687	649,509	1,173	1,169	373,897	478,284	531,780	1,279	1,112	7a	7a	9a	4a	7a	9a	X
VII, VIII, IX	Ráwalpindi Division, Multán Division, Derajat Division	3,856,284	4,663,874	5,370,474	1,209	1,152	2,103,642	2,531,279	2,899,567	1,203	1,145	1,752,642	2,132,595	2,470,907	1,217	1,159	7b	6a	6a	9b	7c	6a	VII, VIII, IX
21	Gujrat	517,626	616,509	689,115	1,191	1,118	279,537	332,009	362,162	1,188	1,091	238,089	284,500	326,953	1,195	1,149	8	10	7	11	10	8	12
V	Amritsar Division	2,313,628	2,743,659	2,729,109	1,186	995	1,290,728	1,512,359	1,476,153	1,172	976	1,022,900	1,231,300	1,252,956	1,204	1,018	8a	15b	9b	16a	9a	15a	V
20, 22, 26, 27, 29	Jhelum, Shahpur, Muzaffargarh, Derah Ismáíl Khan, Bannu	1,574,769	1,847,161	2,123,712	1,173	1,150	842,483	989,110	1,135,605	1,174	1,148	732,286	858,051	988,107	1,172	1,152	9	7	9	9	11	7	20, 22, 26, 27, 29
25	Montgomery	308,020	360,445	426,529	1,170	1,183	175,633	200,567	232,947	1,142	1,161	132,387	159,878	193,582	1,208	1,211	10	3	10	6	9	3	25
VI	Lahore Division	1,620,690	1,888,945	2,191,517	1,166	1,160	911,034	1,047,830	1,201,277	1,150	1,146	709,656	841,115	990,240	1,185	1,177	10a	5a	9c	9a	10a	3a	VI
30	Peshávar	450,099	523,152	592,674	1,162	1,133	254,981	286,006	329,524	1,122	1,152	195,118	237,146	263,150	1,215	1,110	11	9	13	7	8	10	30
	Total British Territory†.	15,161,321	17,575,523	18,799,319	1,159	1,069	8,272,868	9,455,637	10,035,799	1,143	1,061	6,736,271	7,909,091	8,510,245	1,174	1,076	10a	11b	9d	11a	10b	11a	
23	Multán	411,386	472,268	551,964	1,148	1,169	229,423	261,808	304,517	1,141	1,163	181,963	210,460	247,447	1,157	1,176	12	5	11	5	12	4	23
5	Rohtak	473,151	531,118	553,609	1,122	1,042	253,860	289,211	296,224	1,139	1,024	219,291	241,907	257,385	1,103	1,064	13	13	12	14	16	13	5
10	Jálandhar	708,728	794,418	789,555	1,121	994	393,120	436,526	431,435	1,110	988	315,608	357,892	358,120	1,134	1,001	14	16	14	16	13	16	10
8	Ludhiana	527,722	585,547	618,835	1,110	1,057	292,699	320,571	339,598	1,095	1,059	235,023	264,976	279,237	1,127	1,054	15	12	15	12	15	14	8
11	Hushyárpur	845,354	937,699	901,381	1,109	961	461,614	503,744	481,526	1,091	956	383,740	433,955	419,855	1,131	968	16	18	16	18	14	18	11
IV	Jálandhar Division	2,273,037	2,475,999	2,421,781	1,089	978	1,246,123	1,333,841	1,293,828	1,070	970	1,026,914	1,142,158	1,127,953	1,112	988	16a	17a	16a	16b	15a	17a	IV
1, 3, 7	Dehli, Karnál, Ambála	2,103,594	2,267,980	2,333,399	1,078	1,029	1,162,757	1,231,885	1,268,459	1,059	1,030	940,837	1,036,095	1,064,940	1,101	1,028	17	15	17	13	17	15	1, 3, 7
I, III	Dehli Division, Ambala Division‡	3,293,802	3,542,561	3,594,082	1,076	1,015	1,810,472	1,918,583	1,946,974	1,060	1,015	1,483,330	1,623,978	1,647,108	1,095	1,014	17a	15a	16b	15a	17a	15b	I, III
2	Gurgáon	662,486	689,034	641,848	1,040	932	355,016	366,127	338,917	1,031	926	307,470	322,907	302,931	1,050	938	18	19	18	19	19	19	2
12	Kangra	718,955	743,882	730,845	1,035	982	391,389	393,571	380,867	1,006	968	327,566	350,311	349,978	1,069	999	19	17	19	17	18	17	12

* Sirsa excluded from males and females. † Simla and Khaibar Pass excluded throughout, and Sirsa from males and females. ‡ Simla excluded.

Note.—(*a*). The Census here quoted as that of 1855 was taken on 1st January 1853 in Dehli, Gurgaon, Hissar, Rohtak and part of Karnal. For Sirsa the figures are taken from a Settlement Census made village by village between 1852 and 1863. In the rest of the Province the Census was taken on 1st January 1855.

(*b*). Between the enumeration of 1855 and 1868, Dehli gained Balabgarh and lost its trans-Jamna parganah. Rohtak also gained Jhajjar; but a proportionate addition has been made to its figures for 1855.

Part III.—Increase and Decrease of Population.

Unfortunately the boundaries of some of the districts have changed so much that I have been unable to give separate figures for them. Even as it is, the respective figures do not in all cases refer to exactly the same areas; but the difference is generally small. The districts of Hissár and Sirsa, the extraordinary development of which has so often been alluded to, head the list, the increase since 1855 having been 47 per cent. in the one and 39 per cent. in the other. In company with them stand the frontier districts of Kohát, Hazára, and Derah Ghází, and the dry and healthy districts of Jhang and Ráwalpindi. The increase in the frontier districts is doubtless due in part to more accurate enumeration[1], and it is probable that Derah Ismáíl and Bannú would stand with them if their figures could be separated from those of the canal-irrigated tracts of Muzaffargarh. Montgomery, Peshawar, and Multán, with their copious irrigation from canals, come well at the bottom of the districts of the Western Plains, and this notwithstanding that gain by migration has been greater in the two last than in almost any other of the western districts. The difference between the rates of increase in the east and west of the Province respectively is very striking. The Ráwalpindi, Multán, and Derájat divisions taken together have increased by 21 per cent. since 1855, while the increase in the Dehli and Ambála divisions has been only 7½ per cent.; and the contrast is chiefly due to actual difference in the normal rates of increase of the two tracts, for the whole gain by migration in the western divisions has been only about 5 per cent. But the reason is obvious. In 1855 the Eastern Panjáb had been for 52 years under a strong and orderly rule, while the western districts had only been six years in our hands.

187. The figures are too incomplete to call for more minute examination, but columns 6 and 7 deserve a word of notice. The intervals between the successive enumerations having been identical, the figures of these columns should be equal; and where they are not equal it follows that the rate of increase during the last 13 years has been different from that obtaining during the 13 years previous to 1868. The increase between 1868 and 1881, however, is smaller than that between 1855 and 1881 in every case except in Montgomery and Multán, where the increase during the latter interval has been considerably greater than during the former. The exception is of course due to the extension of canal irrigation which has lately taken place in those two districts. The generally smaller increase has already been explained by the famine and disease which succeeded the Census of 1868 and preceded that of 1881. But the cases in which the contrast is very large are interesting. In Hissár the tide of immigration had evidently ceased to flow by 1868, while in Sirsa it has continued in almost unabated fulness. The loss to Jhang by emigration to the new canals of the neighbouring districts, most of which are of later date than 1868, accounts for the contrast between the figures. The emigration from the crowded districts of the Jálandhar and Amritsar divisions, also, has evidently largely taken place within the last 13 years, the rate of increase in these districts between 1855 and 1868 having been quite normal.

188. Increase since 1868; Western Districts.—Abstract No. 42 on the opposite page gives statistics regarding the increase of population since 1868[2]. I have taken the increase in the *male* population only for the basis of the abstract, as giving on the whole a more trustworthy indication of real increase as distinguished from apparent increase due to more accurate enumeration.

The same general features which have already been discussed here present themselves again. The increase altogether has been small owing to the famine and disease which have marked so many of the last 13 years. But these influences have had much less effect in the western than in the eastern districts. Not only are the former with their small rainfall generally far healthier than the latter, but their cultivation is almost entirely protected by irrigation, and failure of rain means only a smaller yield, whereas in the east it means that no crops are even sown over a large proportion of the area. Moreover, as Mr. Dames remarks of Derah Ismáíl Khán—

> "Bad seasons and high prices do not operate with the same force on a scattered population accustomed to regard bad seasons "as a part of the order of nature, and not as abnormal visitations, as they do in the more favoured parts of India where the conditions "of life allow the population to increase up to the verge of subsistence, and where a failure of crops means famine. The famine "prices of Behar and Oudh would here be considered as phænomenally low, yet the prevailing high prices do not betoken any-"thing resembling famine, and have no effect in checking the natural expansion of the population."

Especially the increase has been large in the frontier districts, partly because of special circumstances which created a temporary demand for labour, but still more because in those districts peace and order have made greater advances within the last 13 years than in any other part of the Province. Major Plowden writes from Kohát:—

> "It is a common saying in those villages more exposed than others to incursions from trans-border, that whereas formerly they "could only cultivate within gunshot of their villages, they can now do so wherever water will reach."

With them stand at the top of the list the not long ago desert district of Sirsa[3] and the districts of Fírozpur, Lahore, Multán, and Montgomery, in which canal irrigation has been enormously extended since 1868. In all these districts the increase lies between 18½ and 16 per cent., or, taking both sexes into account, between 20 and 13 per cent. Considering the immigration into Muzaffargarh, almost all of which is of recent date, the low rate of increase is extraordinary, and seems to point to the same unhealthiness and infecundity as results of extensive canal irrigation of which I shall presently display more lamentable examples in the Dehli Division. Emigration to the new canals explains the small increase in Jhang, Sháhpur, and Gújránwála; the population of Derah Ismáíl is uncertain, depending much upon the amount of *pawindah* immigration for each year; while some cause or other, probably pressure of population, is driving people out of Gújrát; and this brings us to the second break in the figures of column 3, the increase in the districts mentioned above lying between 13 and 9 per cent., or, if both sexes be taken, between 14 and 12 per cent. Here the average for British Territory divides the list into two parts, and also sepa-

[1] It is just possible that the feudal territories of Tanáwál and Teri in Hazára and Kohát respectively were not included in the Census of 1855.

[2] I should like to have compared this increase with increase in cultivation during the same period. But the available figures for cultivation are so absolutely worthless (showing, for instance, that the cultivated area in the Montgomery district has decreased by 33 per cent. since 1868) that I will not waste time over them.

[3] It is worthy of note that Sirsa is now making up its proportion of females, which is always low in an immigrant population attracted to a developing district. The increase in females has been 22 per cent. and in males only 18½ per cent.

Part III.—Increase and Decrease of Population.

rates the eastern from the western districts, Sirsa and Simla being the only eastern districts which lie above it.

Abstract No. 42, *showing* **Increase of Population** *between* **1868** *and* **1881** *for* **Districts** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	2	1
Serial No. in Tables.	Districts and Divisions.	Numbers living in 1881 per 10,000 living in 1868.			Number living in each year, per 10,000 living in the preceding year.			Number of years in which population would be doubled or halved at the rates shown in columns 6, 7, 8.			Serial Nos. showing order of increase in			Districts and Divisions.	Serial No. in Tables.
		Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.		
32	Kohát	12,779	12,129	12,484	10,190	10,150	10,172	36·7	46·7	40·9	1	3	2	Kohát	32
9	Simla	12,763	12,405	12,632	10,189	10,167	10,182	36·9	41·8	38·6	2	1	1	Simla	9
6	Sirsa	11,849	12,223	12,015	10,131	10,156	10,142	53·1	44·9	49·0	3	2	3	Sirsa	6
20	Jhelam	11,842	11,677	11,764	10,131	10,120	10,126	53·3	58·1	55·5	4	11	6	Jhelam	20
28	Derah Gházi Khan	11,773	11,725	11,751	10,126	10,123	10,125	55·2	56·6	55·8	5	9	7	Derah Gházi Khan	28
18	Firozpur	11,766	11,923	11,836	10,126	10,136	10,131	55·4	51·2	53·5	6	5	4	Firozpur	18
19	Ráwalpindi	11,691	11,353	11,536	10,121	10,098	10,110	57·7	70·9	63·0	7	16	11	Ráwalpindi	19
X	Peshávar Division.	11,688	11,120	11,426	10,121	10,082	10,103	57·8	84·9	67·6	7a	17a	12a	Peshávar Division.	X
16	Lahore	11,662	11,795	11,721	10,119	10,128	10,123	58·6	54·6	56·7	8	6	8	Lahore	16
29	Bannu	11,636	11,724	11,677	10,117	10,123	10,120	59·5	56·6	58·1	9	10	10	Bannu	29
23	Multán	11,631	11,758	11,688	10,117	10,126	10,121	59·6	55·7	57·8	10	7	9	Multán	23
25	Montgomery	11,614	12,108	11,834	10,115	10,148	10,130	60·2	47·1	53·6	11	4	5	Montgomery	25
30	Peshávar	11,522	11,097	11,329	10,110	10,080	10,096	63·6	86·6	72·2	12	18	15	Peshávar	30
IX	Derajat Division.	11,510	11,496	11,501	10,109	10,108	10,108	64·1	64·6	64·4	12a	14a	11a	Derajat Division.	IX
31	Hazara	11,485	10,771	11,143	10,107	10,057	10,084	65·1	121·3	84·9	13	20	19	Hazára	31
VI	Lahore Division.	11,464	11,773	11,602	10,106	10,126	10,115	66·0	55·2	60·7	13a	7a	10a	Lahore Division.	VI
VII	Ráwalpindi Division.	11,445	11,503	11,472	10,105	10,108	10,106	66·7	64·3	65·6	13b	14b	11b	Rawalpindi Division.	VII
VIII	Multán Division.	11,433	11,777	11,586	10,104	10,127	10,114	67·3	55·0	61·2	13c	6a	10b	Multán Division.	VIII
22	Shahpur	11,338	11,567	11,445	10,097	10,113	10,104	71·8	61·9	66·8	14	13	12	Shahpur	22
26	Muzaffargarh	11,285	11,449	11,356	10,093	10,105	10,098	74·5	66·6	70·9	15	15	14	Muzaffargarh	26
27	Derah Ismáíl Khan	11,208	11,156	11,184	10,088	10,084	10,086	78·9	82·4	80·5	16	17	17	Derah Ismáíl Khan	27
24	Jhang	11,105	11,748	11,390	10,081	10,125	10,101	85·9	55·9	69·2	17	8	13	Jhang	24
21	Gujrat	10,908	11,193	11,178	10,067	10,108	10,086	103·7	64·8	80·9	18	14	18	Gujrat	21
17	Gújránwála	10,885	11,590	11,197	10,065	10,114	10,087	106·3	61·1	79·7	19	12	16	Gújránwála	17
—	**Total British Territory.**	**10,642**	**10,780**	**10,705**	**10,048**	**10,058**	**10,053**	**144·9**	**120·0**	**—3·23**	**19a**	**19b**	**20a**	**Total British Territory.**	—
8	Ludhiana	10,594	10,538	10,569	10,044	10,040	10,044	156·3	171·9	156.5	20	23	21	Ludhiana	8
13	Amritsar	10,550	10,948	10,726	10,041	10,070	10,054	168·2	99·5	128·6	21	19	20	Amritsar	13
III	Ambála Division	10,543	10,429	10,492	10,041	10,033	10,037	170·3	214·3	187·6	21a	23a	21a	Ambála Division.	III
II	Hissár Division.	10,506	10,911	10,689	10,038	10,067	10,051	182·5	103·4	135·3	21b	19a	20b	Hissár Division.	II
7	Ambála	10,430	10,315	10,378	10,033	10,024	10,029	214·2	290·9	242·9	22	25	24	Ambála	7
1	Dehli	10,325	10,386	10,353	10,025	10,029	10,027	281·9	238·0	259·7	23	24	25	Dehli	1
5	Rohtak	10,243	10,640	10,423	10,019	10,048	10,032	376·0	145·3	216·0	24	22	22	Rohtak	5
4	Hissár	10,203	10,647	10,403	10,015	10,048	10,030	448·3	143·8	228·4	25	21	23	Hissár	4
3	Karnál	10,045	10,113	10,075	10,003	10,009	10,006	1,993·6	800·4	1,212·9	26	27	26	Karnál	3
15	Sialkot	9,884	10,301	10,074	9,991	10,023	10,006	771·9	304·2	1,219·2	27	26	27	Sialkot	15
10	Jálandhar	9,881	10,006	9,939	9,991	10,001	9,995	753·3	14,132·8	1,467·0	28	28	28	Jálandhar	10
I	Dehli Division	9,856	9,936	9,893	9,989	9,995	9,992	622·0	1,399·9	838·5	28a	29a	28a	Dehli Division	I
V	Amritsar Division	9,761	10,176	9,947	9,981	10,013	9,996	371·9	516·8	1,694·9	28b	26a	27a	Amritsar Division	V
IV	Jálandhar Division.	9,700	9,876	9,781	9,977	9,990	9,983	295·9	719·9	406·9	28c	29a	29a	Jálandhar Division.	IV
12	Kangra	9,677	9,991	9,825	9,975	9,999	9,986	274·6	9,466·4	509·6	29	29	29	Kangra	12
11	Hushyárpur	9,559	9,675	9,613	9,965	9,975	9,961	199·8	272·8	228·1	30	30	30	Hushyárpur	11
2	Gurgáon	9,257	9,381	9,315	9,941	9,951	9,946	116·7	141·1	127·0	31	31	31	Gurgáon	2
14	Gurdaspur	8,894	9,334	9,090	9,910	9,947	9,927	76·8	130·7	94·5	32	32	32	Gurdaspur	14

189. Increase since 1868, Eastern districts.—Below this line the northern districts of the Eastern Plains stand highest. Lying immediately below the over-crowded sub-montane districts, they have received their surplus population; but they have suffered terribly from sickness and somewhat less severely from drought during the 13 years since the last Census, they are for the most part fully developed, and their resources will not bear any further strain. The opening of the Sarhind canal now promises to afford them timely relief. In these districts the increase in males varies between 6 and 4 per cent., and in both sexes between 7 and 4 per cent.

Next to them stand the districts of the Jamna zone; and here disease has been even more rife, and famine far more severe than in the group just discussed, and in the dry and healthy uplands of Hissár and Rohtak the small amount of increase must be attributed to this cause. The figures of Abstract No. 43 in the margin show how terrible a death-rate prevailed in this portion of the Province during 1878-79.

Abstract No. 43, *showing* **annual Death-rates** *from* **1866 to 1881** *for* **Divisions.**

Serial No.	Divisions.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	Averages.
I	Dehli	16	27	25	23	26	24	22	26	22	22	56	70	32	34	30
II	Hissár	11	25	16	17	17	14	18	21	16	15	30	50	23	29	22
III	Ambála	15	21	23	18	21	16	17	23	24	18	32	35	27	29	23
IV	Jálandhar.	23	32	28	23	28	23	20	32	44	22	44	35	29	30	29
V	Amritsar.	21	34	29	23	29	26	19	36	39	21	32	34	27	36	29
VI	Lahore	12	21	18	17	26	23	17	24	34	22	41	34	27	32	25
VII	Ráwalpindi	15	23	27	24	25	21	17	21	21	20	31	43	30	23	25
VIII	Multán	12	22	21	19	22	19	18	24	23	21	25	20	23	27	21
IX	Derajat	8	17	20	19	21	14	14	14	18	17	22	20	24	20	18
X	Peshávar.	6	18	13	11	14	10	10	13	14	11	21	23	17	21	15
	Total	15	26	24	21	25	20	18	25	28	20	36	38	27	30	25

But in Dehli and Karnál artificial conditions exist to which the smallness of increase must be largely attributed. I allude to the terrible evils which have been allowed to grow up along the course of the Western Jamna Canal. Saline efflorescence has covered many square miles of once fertile fields and driven their owners to seek new homes in Jínd, while miles of

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continuous swamps have poisoned the air with miasma, killing or enfeebling the people, and rendering the men impotent and the women barren. So long ago as 1856 the officer sent by Government to report on the tract spoke of "the spectacle of sick women and diseased children crouching among the ruins of their houses (for in many cases the very rafters had been sold), of haggard cultivators wading in the swamps and watching their sickly crops, or attempting to pasture their bony cattle on the unwholesome grass." For 40 years this evil has been permitted to continue, and now it is to be hoped that the new works at last nearing completion will do much to remedy it. In the 19 villages of the Karnál district which had suffered most severely from drought in 1877, the population was found to have decreased between 1868 and 1881 from 37,202 to 30,759. But here the decrease was only temporary. The land was still there, the people were still alive in some neighbouring tract where they had found employment for a while, and at the present time at which I write they have probably returned to their homes and resumed the cultivation of their fields. In the 20 villages of the same district which had suffered most severely from the canal, the population was said to have decreased between 1868 and 1881 from 54,791 to 44,561. But here the decrease was permanent. The parents had died untimely, the children who should have taken their place had never been born, while those who had left the home of their fathers in search of new land will never return to the acres of snow-white salt which now represent what was once a smiling sheet of cultivation. In the Kaithal *tahsil*, where the famine of 1868-69 was officially declared to have been more severe than in any other part of the Province, the population has increased by 6 per cent. In the Karnál and Pánipat *tahsils*, which are "protected" by the Western Jamna Canal, it has fallen off by 2½ per cent. In Dehli the evil is no less marked. The population of Balabgarh, where there is no canal, shows an increase of 9 per cent., while that of the canal-watered tract of Sunpat has decreased by 4 per cent. Out of 22 selected canal villages the decrease is 38 per cent. in 1, over 30 per cent. in 4, over 25 per cent. in 8, and over 15 per cent. in 15; while 10 per cent. is the smallest decrease, and the total population has fallen from 25,381 to 19,365 since 1868. In 1877 a special Census was taken of 25 canal villages in *tahsíl* Sunpat, and taking their population in 1868 as 100, it had decreased to 95·6 in 1877 and to 92·5 in 1881. In 1880, a healthy year, the birth-rate for the Dehli Canal villages was 31 and the death-rate 47; in 1879, a year of fever, the corresponding rates were 24 and 65, and in the canal villages of Karnál 22 and 76.

190. In the remaining districts of the Panjáb there has been an actual decrease of population since 1868; and, with the two exceptions of Kángra and Gurgáon to be referred to presently, they are all sub-montane districts. Here too disease has made terrible havoc within the last few years. But this is not the main cause of the decrease. The districts are distinctly over-populated; the denudation of the lower hills has not only deprived a considerable portion of the population of the subsistence they derived from pasturing their flocks and collecting wood and other forest produce in the minor ranges, but has resulted in actual destruction of cultivation by the hill torrents as they flow through the fertile plains below. Thus emigration has been extensive, while the railway has drawn away their urban population, and the rapidly developing districts which lie below them have profited by both movements. In Kángra the same causes have been at work to some extent, as the population is very large in proportion to the culturable area. But I believe that the apparent decrease is due in large part to an error in the figures of the last Census. The details now existing in the district office fall short of the published totals by several thousands, and I cannot help thinking that they are right and the totals wrong. Moreover, it is stated that at the Census of 1868 no precautions were taken against double enumeration in Spiti and Láhul, and that when these tracts were censused after the opening of the passes, a considerable population was counted over again who had already been enumerated during the winter months in the lower valleys of Kúlu and Kángra. In Gurgáon very special causes have contributed to cause the decrease. In the first place this district bore the full brunt of that terrible scourge of fever which in 1878-79 literally decimated the population of some of the western districts of the North-West Provinces, but which was felt only in diminished intensity to the west of Dehli. The figures are given in Supplementary Table L, Appendix C. It must be remembered that it is fever, not cholera, that kills our Panjábis, as a reference to Abstract No. 21 on page 56 will show. Between 1868 and 1881 about six million deaths were registered in the Panjáb, of which four millions were ascribed to fever and only 100,000 to cholera. The intimate connection between the amount of rainfall and the number of deaths by fever has been elaborately discussed by Dr. Bellew in the Sanitary Report of 1880. Rain produces chill, and chill fever; and hence arises the great superiority in the matter of healthiness of our western over our eastern districts. In the month of October 1879 the death-rates per mille per annum from fever alone reached the terrible figures shown in the margin. Further, it so happened that just as disease and drought were trying the people of Gurgáon to the utmost, a considerable enhancement of what had been an exceptionally light assessment was imposed upon perhaps the most thriftless land-owning class in the Panjáb. No sooner was the demand raised than the cultivation from which alone it could be paid failed for want of rain, while fever robbed the people of the strength to cultivate; wholesale emigration was added to an extraordinary mortality, and the result is that while the population of the Province has increased by 24 per cent. since 1855, and while every other district in the Panjáb has shared in that increase, the population of Gurgáon, which had increased by 4·0 per cent. between 1855 and 1868, is now smaller by 3·2 per cent. than it was 26 years, and by 6·8 per cent. than it was 13 years ago.

Gurgáon	225
Rohtak	185
Dehli	153
Karnál	101
Panjáb	30

191. Increase and decrease in the population of towns.—Table XIX, Appendix A, shows the changes in the population of each town since 1868; Supplementary Table K of Appendix C gives the figures for each Municipality according to the enumerations of 1868, 1875, and 1881, that population only being included which resided within municipal limits; while Abstract No. 44 on the opposite page shows the increase and decrease of urban side by side with those of total population for each district. The increase in urban has been markedly greater than that of rural population in those districts through which the railway runs, while the reverse is the case in those which lie on either side of and at a moderate distance from the line

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of rail, the effect being naturally most marked in both cases where the construction of the railway has taken place since the Census of 1868. There can be little doubt that the new means of communication has largely attracted to itself the commercial population of the tracts which it traverses, and an inspection of the figures of Table XIX, and of Supplementary Table K, will show how enormously the towns situated on the line of rail have developed in comparison with those at some little distance from it. The towns which are still further removed from it naturally retain their importance as local centres of commerce, and have suffered less from the introduction of transit by steam.

Abstract No. 44, *showing* **increase in urban and total Population** *for* **Districts.**

Districts.	Town Population.		Percentage of Population of 1881 on that of 1868.		Districts.	Town Population.		Percentage of Population of 1881 on that of 1868.	
	1868.	1881.	Urban.	Total.		1868.	1881.	Urban.	Total.
Dehli	184,632	203,717	110	104	Ráwalpindi	59,252	85,327	144	115
Gurgáon	78,776	72,259	92	93	Jhelam	48,236	61,109	127	118
Karnál	85,364	78,328	92	101	Gujrat	43,776	42,396	97	112
Hissár	74,354	76,118	102	104	Shahpur	48,093	51,631	107	115
Rohtak	94,782	99,462	105	104	Multán	75,195	88,083	117	117
Sirsa	25,109	30,963	123	120	Jhang	38,582	36,981	96	114
Ambála	127,454	140,332	110	104	Montgomery	20,676	23,589	114	118
Ludhiana	77,868	83,052	107	106	Muzaffargarh	22,471	21,856	97	114
Simla	14,670	22,036	150	126	Derah Ismáíl Khan	57,551	47,882	83	112
Jálandhar	153,952	137,221	89	99	Derah Ghází Khan	44,386	43,204	97	118
Hushyárpur	85,858	73,973	86	96	Bannu	24,569	25,776	105	117
Kángra	29,432	24,482	83	98	Peshawar	123,614	128,773	104	113
Amritsar	174,606	187,899	108	107	Hazára	18,674	18,790	101	111
Gurdaspur	91,150	81,362	89	91	Kohát	14,340	18,179	127	125
Sialkot	80,909	83,990	104	101					
Lahore	176,600	204,553	116	117					
Gújránwála	71,551	71,994	101	112					
Firozpur	61,126	66,040	108	118	**Total British Territory**	**2,327,608**	**2,439,530**	**105**	**107**

192. Future increase and decrease of population.—Hitherto all sanitary and other statistics have been calculated on the figures of the Census of 1868; for the changes in boundaries between that Census and the enumeration of 1855 were too great to allow of any detailed comparison of the two sets of figures. We are now, however, able to state the rate of increase and decrease of population for each district and division during the last 13 years; and I have accordingly given in Supplementary Table J, Appendix C, the population of each district for each year from 1882 to 1891 inclusive, *supposing the rate of increase and decrease which obtained between* 1868 *and* 1881 *to continue.* It is probable that the rate of increase will diminish in those districts which have been gaining most by immigration; and especially in those, such as Kohát, Jahlam, Peshawar, and Ráwalpindi, in which the immigration was largely due to exceptional and temporary conditions. And it is to be hoped that the rate of increase will grow higher in the districts of the Dehli division and in Rohtak, where the unusual mortality of late years has diminished it. But in the case of the remaining districts at any rate, I believe that the figures of this table will give a more trustworthy basis for vital statistics than can be obtained by taking the figures of the present Census unaltered for the next ten years.

Postscript.

THE COLONISATION OF SIRSA.

1. According to tradition some parts of the Sirsa district were once before the seat of a flourishing civilisation, and the extensive remains of old sites, most numerous along the banks of the Ghaggar, less frequent here and there throughout the dry tract known as the Rohi or Jangal, corroborate this story. But the insecurity of life and property which attended the decline of the Mughal empire, and more especially the terrible famine of 1840 Sambat (1783 A.D.) laid the whole country waste, and in the beginning of the present century, when the region first came under British influence, there were only a few settlements of marauding Bhattis, and some struggling communities of Rains on the banks of the Ghaggar. The sandy country to the south of that valley, and the great tract stretching away north-west to the Satlej were absolutely deserted by man—indeed the people say that, for want of water in the dry season there was hardly a beast or bird to be found, so complete was the waste. The country about Sirsa formed part of the territory made over to the British by Sindia by the treaty of Sárji Anjengaon in 1803 A.D., but British authority was not directly asserted till, in 1818 A.D., the raids of the Bhatti leader Zabta Khan roused the wrath of the British Government, and a force was sent against him and the country brought under English rule, and attached to the district of Hariana (now Hissar), under the N.-W. Provinces Government. For the first few years, however, only the fertile lands along the Ghaggar were brought under control, and the boundaries of the dry tract beyond being ill-defined, the people of the neighbouring states, encouraged by the comparative security due to the approach of British influence, and urged on by their rulers who wished to occupy the debateable land, began to settle along the edges of the desert. From 1818 to 1823 A.D., the Rája of Bíkáner settled some villages in the sandy tract to the south of the Ghaggar valley. About the same time the Sikhs of Patiala, who had been gradually encroaching on the waste since the beginning of the century, began to press southwards, the first settlers being those who had a tradition that before the famine of 1840 Sambat their ancestors had held land here. The Sukhera Rajput Musalmáns too, whose tradition was that their ancestors had lived for generations at Abohar, returned from the neighbourhood of Fathabad and roamed in the centre of the waste with their great herds of cattle. About the same time the Wattus, Bodlas, and Chishtis crossed the Satlej from the west and settled under the Nawabs of Baháwalpur and Mamdot. The tide of immigration which then commenced has rolled ceaselessly on till now, and the desert has gradually become peopled with flourishing villages and been brought under the plough.

2. Almost all over the district are scattered the remains of former settlements. In some places, as on the Ghaggar, there are high mounds of earth which must have been, probably for centuries, the sites of flourishing villages; elsewhere only slight heaps, which are probably the remains of small hamlets, the only permanent sign of former human habitation being the works of the potter's hand—pieces of red earthen vessels or burnt brick. As such remains would in such a country and climate as this last practically for ever, we have here the marks of settlements which rose, flourished, and perished at different periods for probably thousands of years. It is then certain that these *thehs* (or *thehrs* or *thehris*), as they are called, were never all, or nearly all,

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inhabited at one and the same time. Still in view of the state of the country at the beginning of this century, it is astonishing to see the number of such remains. There are in the whole district, including old sites recently resettled, 592 such *thehs,* thickest along the course of the Ghaggar, and to some extent along the old drainage channels further west, which now carry no water. The sandy tract south of the Ghaggar valley has a great number of these remains, which are also numerous immediately to the north of that valley, but it is interesting to remark that never at any time, until within the last 30 years, were there many settlements in the west of the district, and it seems probable that never, in the history of man, was the district so generally peopled, or its population so numerous as at the present day.

3. At the beginning of this century however, just before the country came within the range of British influence, there were within the present boundaries of the district only 35 inhabited villages, of which 11 were in the valley of the Ghaggar, 12 on the Satlej, and 12 elsewhere, chiefly scattered in the great dry tract, where one might have travelled 70 miles without coming near a human habitation. In 1820, soon after part of the country came directly under British rule, there were within the present boundaries altogether 94 inhabited villages, still most numerous on the Ghaggar, where they had increased to 33, and on the Satlej, where there were 21. In the dry tract there were only 36 villages, scattered along the Patiala border. In 1840, soon after the dry tract came under British rule, and the district was separately placed under a British officer, there were altogether 331 inhabited villages, of which 81 were on the Ghaggar, 47 in the sandy tract to the south of it, 34 on the Satlej, and 169 in the dry tract between the two rivers, chiefly along the present north-east border. A large area round Abohar was still uninhabited. In 1850 the number of inhabited villages had increased to 431, the chief increase being in the dry tract, where the number had risen from 164 to 239; the whole district, except a tract round Abohar and towards the Satlej, had been fairly settled. In 1868, the number of inhabited villages was 628 (only 30 of the 658 mauzas being then uninhabited). In the present Census the number is returned as 635, so that very few new villages have been founded in the interval.

4. While the villages have steadily increased in number they have also increased in size. From the returns of the Revenue Survey of 1841, so far as they are available, it appears that in 123 villages in different parts of the district the average number of families per village was then 35; in the same tracts in 1868 there were 242 villages with an average of 72 families per village, and the average of the whole district was 68 families per village. According to the present Census the average is 81 families per inhabited village. The general increase in the size of the villages also appears from the following comparison.

Number of villages and towns containing [1]	1868.	1881.
Above 10,000 inhabitants	1	1
" 5,000 "	1	2
" 2,000 "	5	6
" 1,000 "	21	31
" 500 "	101	132
" 200 "	361	423
Total	628	635

5. For a comparison of the population at different times we have no reliable returns previous to the Census of 1868. In 1849, when the district was about the same size as it is at present, though since then a small *parganah* has been transferred to Bikaner, and another added from Firozpur, the population was given, probably after a rough enumeration, as 1,12,974. At the first regular settlement which was in progress from 1852 to 1862, a Census was made of each village as its lands were measured, and according to that Census the total population of the present district was 1,52,182; but the Census was not taken simultaneously over the whole district and therefore does not give the total population on any one date. In 1868 the population was 2,10,795. It is now 2,53,275. If we take the Settlement Census as representing the population of 1858, we have the rates of increase shown above. The comparison with the figures of the last Census is exact, for since 1868 there has been no change in the boundaries of the district or of the tahsíls, except the insignificant changes caused by alluvion and diluvion on the Satlej.

Year of Census.	Total Population.	Increase since previous Census.	Percentage of increase.	Interval since previous Census in years.	Approximated annual increase per cent. average.
1849	1,12,974	—	—	—	—
1858	1,52,182	39,208	35	9	4
1868	2,10,795	58,613	38	10	4
1881	2,53,275	42,480	20	13	1½

6. It appears then that while, for the 19 years previous to 1868, the population of the district increased at the rate of something like 4 per cent. per annum, it has in the 13 years since increased by 20 per cent., which gives an average increase of about 1½ per cent. per annum, while the rate of increase for the whole Panjáb for the same period is only 7 per cent., and Simla and Kohát are the only two districts which show so large a rate of increase as Sirsa.

7. Some part of this increase is no doubt due to the healthy climate and the general prosperity of the people and to the consequent normal excess of births over deaths. The district has passed through several seasons of scarcity since 1868, but has suffered from no famine so severe as to seriously increase the number of deaths or check the fecundity of the population. Nor has any epidemic of cholera or fever carried off many of the inhabitants. The dry climate of the greater part of the district seems very healthy, and comparatively few of the population are of weak constitution, or liable to succumb to the diseases which are so fatal in moister climates. But a considerable part of the increase of population since 1868 must be due to immigration, which caused so much of the rapid increase of population before the last Census. As the district became more fully settled and the land occupied and cultivated, the tide of immigration naturally slackened, but still immigrants continue to find their way into the district. As might be expected, the new comers take some time to settle down, and a season of scarcity drives some of them from one part of the district to another, or back to their former home, or onwards to some more promising country; but emigration out of the district is quite small in extent as compared with the number who still enter the district from other tracts and settle here. There is no means of estimating the number of immigrants since 1868, but the present Census returns show that of the present population of 2,53,275 only 1,58,381 were born in the district; so that 94,894, or 37 per cent.—more than a third—of the present population are immigrants from other districts or states. Of these the largest proportion have come from the districts or states shown above in the margin. Thus no fewer than 17 per cent. of the present population are immigrants from the Rájpútána States to the south, and 7 per cent. fom the Sikh States to the north; while 6 per cent. have come from British districts to the east, 4 per cent. from the north, and 2 per cent. from the west. 24,617 persons born in the Sirsa District are returned as living in other districts or states of the Panjáb, chiefly in Patiala, Baháwalpur, Firozpur, Hissár, Montgomery. Many of the 13,658 females who have thus emigrated are no doubt women who have been given in marriage by their parents in Sirsa to relatives or connections near their former homes, while the others and the 10,959 male emigrants must simply have wandered in search of greater comfort, especially in times of scarcity. The population, though gradually becoming more attached to the land, is still given to wandering. Allowing for the considerable number of persons born in Sirsa who now reside in Bikaner, we have still a clear gain by immigration over emigration of at least 60,000 persons (or about one-fourth of the total population) in the present generation.

State or District.	Number of Immigrants.	Percentage of total Population.
Bikaner State	38,741	15
Other Rajput States	5,319	2
Patiala State	12,948	5
Other Cis-Satlej States	5,187	2
Hissár District	12,719	5
Other British Districts to the East	2,934	1
Firozpur District	7,790	3
Other British Districts to the North	2,406	1
Montgomery District	3,876	2
Other British Districts to the West	415	—

8. This extraordinary immigration and colonisation of the waste are undoubtedly due to the *pax Britannica* which followed on the troubles of last century and gave to every colonist security of life and property, in a region where previously neither had been worth a day's purchase. Land was plentiful and was offered to immigrants at a very low rate of assessment, and all who suffered from oppression or want in the neighbouring Native States and British districts hastened to the country thus newly opened up to them, where they found an opportunity of acquiring wealth by breaking up the waste, and an assurance of being allowed to

[1] I have taken the liberty of altering the form, though not the figures, of this statement.—D. I.

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enjoy in peace and security the produce of their labour. The history of the district affords a striking illustration of the blessings of British rule, of the political advantage of having a well-governed tract of country in close proximity to Native States, and of the readiness of some classes of the Indian population to migrate from one part of the country to another when the advantages of migration are evident and within their reach.

9. With the increase in population cultivation has spread, and the waste has rapidly been brought under the plough. In 1841, in about one-third of the district for which the statistics of the revenue survey are available, only 20 per cent. of the total area had been brought under cultivation: at last settlement in 1853—57 the percentage of area cultivated in the same tracts was 35: at the revenue survey of 1876—79 the percentage of cultivated area was 51. Taking the whole district, the percentage of total area cultivated at last settlement 1853—61 was only 34: now 55 per cent. of the area is cultivated. Since 1868 the cultivated area has been increasing at the rate of a little over 1 per cent. per annum, and has thus not quite kept pace with the increase in population. In the Census statements of 1868 the cultivated area is given as 9,21,696 acres—it is now 10,66,816 acres, an increase of 16 per cent., while population has increased 20 per cent.

10. The extent to which population and cultivation have kept increasing together, and the way in which the increase is spread over the district may be better seen by taking separately the different tracts into which, with reference both to physical features and social history, the district has been divided for settlement purposes. The sandy tract south of the Ghaggar valley was colonised from Bikaner soon after 1818, and in 1853 the area cultivated was 78 per cent. of the whole; it has since then actually decreased by about 6 per cent., and similarly the population of the tract, though in 1868 it had increased by 23 per cent. from 1853, has since fallen off by 9 per cent. In the valley of the Ghaggar cultivation has increased by 24 per cent. since last settlement in 1855, and the population has increased by 6 per cent. since 1868. In the dry tract stretching from the Ghaggar valley for nearly 70 miles to the Danda, or old bank of the Satlej, cultivation has increased by 76 per cent. since 1861, and the population by 33 per cent. since 1868. In the narrow tract between the Danda and the present valley of the Satlej, which was last colonised, cultivation is nearly four times what it was in 1861, and the population has increased by 42 per cent. since 1868. And in the present Satlej valley, which was colonised at an early date, cultivation has increased by only 10 per cent. since 1861, and population by only 8 per cent. since 1868. At the time of the Census some parts of the district were suffering from drought, and part of the population, as their custom is in such seasons, had emigrated for the time. This partly accounts for the large number of houses in villages returned as unoccupied on the night of the Census. The number so returned is 2,645, or 1 in 11. The migrations were chiefly from the dry tracts south of the Ghaggar and south of Fazilka, either to the Satlej valley or out of the district altogether; but I do not think they were on 17th February sufficiently important to affect appreciably the population of the district as a whole; though, no doubt, the population of the tracts mentioned was affected, and part, though not all, of the decrease in the population of the tract south of the Ghaggar is due to this migration, which is probably to some extent only temporary.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELIGIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

PART I.—INTRODUCTORY AND COMPARATIVE.

193. Introductory and Figures.—The religion of the people is, with the doubtful exception of their caste, by far the most interesting matter that I have to deal with in this report. It is also the widest; and volumes have already been written on the subject, many of them displaying the most profound erudition and research. But they all without exception, so far as I am acquainted with them, fail utterly and entirely in conveying to the reader the faintest idea of the religions which they describe as actually practised by their million followers in the villages of the country. The books on Hinduism, for instance, describe Hinduism as it ought to be, Hinduism as it once was, perhaps Hinduism as it now is among the Pandits and educated Bráhmans of the holy cities; but they do *not* describe Hinduism as it is in the daily life of the great mass of the population. This defect I have endeavoured to supply in such imperfect measure as my own deficient knowledge and the limitations as to space under which I write will allow of; and my object throughout the present chapter has been, first to tell the reader where he may find a full description and discussion of the esoteric doctrines of the various faiths in their purity, and then, taking those doctrines for granted, to attempt to show him how small a part they play in the every-day belief and practice of the Panjáb peasant, and to indicate generally what that belief and that practice are.

The statistics of religion will be found in Table III which gives the numbers professing each religion, rural population being distinguished; in Tables III A and III B which give details of Christian and Mahomedan sects respectively; and in Table IV which shows the composition of the population of each district by religion. All these tables are to be found in Appendices A and B, and in all of them except III A, separate figures are given for the rural population. In Table XX the population of each town in the Province will be found classed according to their religions. Besides these direct statistics, the figures for age, civil condition, caste, education, and infirmities are given separately for each religion in their respective tables. The statistics of religion are, I believe, exceedingly accurate so far as the original record and the mechanical processes of compilation are concerned. But the limitations and explanations which must be borne in mind before it will be fully understood what our tables mean when they show so many thousands of Hindus, Musalmáns, and so forth are many and various, and are so important and so intimately connected with the proper understanding of the religions of the Panjáb, that I give them separately in sections 195—7. The figures of Table III A, however, which deals with Christian sects, are in great measure meaningless, and in every way misleading; but as I have little else to say regarding those figures, I reserve the explanation of the reasons why they are so for the section of this chapter which deals with Christianity in the Panjáb.

194. Bibliography.—The books that have been published on the religions of India are innumerable, and the learning that many of them display profound. For the practical purposes of the intelligent but unlearned reader who wishes to have some acquaintance with the main outlines of the creeds professed by the people among whom he has to pass his life, I cannot too strongly recommend three small books lately published by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, called *Buddhism*, *Hinduism*, and *Islám*, and written respectively by Rhys Davids, Monier Williams, and Mr. Stobart. They will tell him as much as he wants to know, and far more than he will remember. More learned and detailed information will be found in Professor Wilson's *Religion of the Hindus*, and in Barth's *Religions of India* (Trübner's Oriental Series), which, however, contain no account of Mahomedanism. *Indian Wisdom* by Monier Williams gives a good outline of the sacred writings of the Hindu group of creeds, while *Colebrooke's Works*, his *Collected Essays*, and Wilson's *Hindu Sects* are full of information of a more detailed nature. There are many standard works on Buddhism; but I believe that, with the exception of Burnouf's *Introduction a L'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, they deal for the most part with the Southern or Singhalese school, with which we in the Panjáb have no concern. The little book on *Buddhism* already mentioned, and the introduction to Beale's *Chinese Pilgrims in India*, contain much information, and give references to all the best authorities; while at pages 284 *et seq.* of Dr. Wilson's *Indian Caste*, and in the foot-notes of pages 102 to 107 of Barth's *Religions of India*, will be found a long list of publications on the subject. Slight sketches of the Buddhist doctrines will also be found in *Hinduism* and the *Religion of the Hindus* already referred to, and in Elphinstone's *History of India*; while the Lamaism of Tibet, the form of Buddhism which is professed in the Panjáb, is admirably described in Chapter XIII of Cunningham's *Ládák*. I understand that the great authority on the Jain religion is Warren's *Over de Godsdjenstige en wijs geerige Begriphen der Jainas* (1876), but the best account of it in English is probably that contained in three papers at pages 244 to 322 of Vol. IX of the *Asiatic Researches*, and more especially in the last of the three by H. T. Colebrooke. Slight sketches of the subject will also be found in *Hinduism*, and Elphinstone's *History of India*, and a fuller account in Wilson's *Religion of the Hindus*.

There is no book, so far as I know, which deals with Sikhism as a religion; but the reader will find an admirable sketch of the subject in Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, while Macgregor's History of the same people, Malcom's *Sketch of the Sikhs*, and Prinsep's *History of the Panjáb* are standard works. The introduction to Trumpp's *Translation of the Adigranth* is a perfect mine of learning. Wilson attempts a description of the Sikh faith in his *Religion of the Hindus*, but it is not a successful one. On the Zoroastrian religion, which I do not again refer to in this chapter, as it is exclusively confined to the few Pársi immigrants who are engaged in commercial enterprise in the Panjáb, Haug's *Essays on the Pársis* lately issued as one of the volumes of Trübner's Oriental Series, and Wilson on the *Pársi Religion*, are probably the best books for general purposes. I cannot quote any work of authority on the general subject of the religion of Mahomet; but the little book on *Islám* which I have already mentioned, is an admirable *résumé* of the subject. The rise and early history of the creed is set forth at length in Sir Wm. Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, the second and one volume edition of which, by the way, omits what many people would consider almost the most valuable portion of the work; while the Rev. Mr. Hughes' *Notes on Muhammadanism* contains a great deal of useful information in a very condensed and convenient shape. The provincial *Settlement Reports* contain much valuable matter in connection with religion scattered here and there through their pages. A good deal of information about the religion of the eastern districts will be found in Chapter IX of my own *Karnál Settlement Report*, while Mr. Lyall's *Kángra Settlement Report* contains a wholly admirable account of the religion of the Panjáb Himálayas.

195. Indeterminate nature of Panjab religions.—The figures on the opposite page show the religions of the people of the Panjáb, with the numbers by which each is professed.

Part I.—Introductory and Comparative.

Religions of the Panjab.

Religions.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Proportion.	Religions.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Proportion.
All religions	**12,322,356**	**10,389,764**	**22,712,120**	**10,000**	Agnostics	2	1	3	...
Musalmáns	6,255,117	5,407,317	11,662,434	5,135	Positivists	2	1	3	...
Hindus	5,044,040	4,208,255	9,252,295	4,074	Freethinkers	3	...	3	...
Sikhs	972,345	743,769	1,716,114	756	Theosophists	1	1	2	...
Jains	22,722	19,956	42,678	19	Atheists	2	...	2	...
Christians	25,199	8,500	33,699	15	Unitarians	1	1	2	...
Buddhists	1,548	1,703	3,251	1	Theists	1	...	1	...
Zoroastrians	313	152	465	...	Monotheists	1	...	1	...
Jews	20	11	31	...	Unspecified	1,036	95	1,131	...
No religion	3	2	5	...					

It would hardly be expected that any difficulty or uncertainty should be felt in classing the natives of the Province under their respective religions. Yet, with the single exception of caste, no other one of the details which we have recorded is so difficult to fix with exactness, or needs so much explanation and limitation before the real value of the figures can be appreciated. The doubt as to how far they still profess the creed in which they were brought up, how far they really believe what they still profess, and what name should be given to the faith, if any, which they have substituted for the dogmas which they have abandoned, which would present itself to so many educated Englishmen if called upon to state their religion, troubles only a few isolated individuals among the native community. Creed is in the Panjáb rather a social than a religious institution; it is as a rule inherited from the womb; and when the son abandons the faith of his fathers he adopts indeed a fresh formula and a new ceremonial, but the change is rather one of the community with which he shall claim fellowship than of conduct and the inner life. And it is this very fact that makes it so difficult in many cases to draw the line between one Indian creed and another; for the distinctions of faith, being based upon and attended by no deep spiritual conviction, are marked by a laxity and catholicity of practice which would be impossible to a bigot or an enthusiast; while each religion maintains its social standard by excluding from its pale the outcasts with whom communion would be pollution, whatever the creed they may profess. In respect of a large part of the community there can, of course, be little or no uncertainty: the Bráhman of Thánesar is a Hindu, the Oswál of Dehli a Jain, the Sikh Jat of Amritsar a Sikh, the Pathán of Peshawar is a Musalmán, and the villager of Spiti a Buddhist, beyond all question or doubt. But on the border lands where these great faiths meet, and especially among the ignorant peasantry whose creed, by whatever name it may be known, is seldom more than a superstition and a ritual, the various observances and beliefs which distinguish the followers of the several faiths in their purity are so strangely blended and intermingled, that it is often almost impossible to say that one prevails rather than another, or to decide in what category the people shall be classed. So too caste-feeling, based upon regard for ceremonial purity, is so strong among all classes and in all parts of the Province, that in every religion will be found large numbers who profess indeed the creed, but whose occupations or habits are held by their fellow-believers to be so impure that they are not admitted to participation in the rites of their faith, and are hardly recognised as belonging to it[1]. I shall show that the Musalmán peasantry of the Dehli Territory are still in many ways almost as much Hindu as their unperverted brethren; that the Sikh of Sirsa is often a Sikh only in speech and habit; that the Hindu of Láhul is almost more a Buddhist than a Hindu; and that the figures which I give for each of the great Indian religions include large numbers of people whose claims to belong to the faith under which they have returned themselves would be unhesitatingly rejected by the great body of its followers.

196. The Census definition of Hindu.—And if the manner in which the people blend the rites of their various creeds, and the social exclusiveness which they carry from the house to the temple, are sources of difficulty and uncertainty, a no less fertile source is the absolute impossibility of laying down any definition or indicating any test by which we may distinguish him who is a Hindu from him who is not. I shall return to this subject when I discuss more particularly the Hindu religion; but I must point out prominently in this place who are those whom we have reckoned as Hindus for the purposes of the Census, as the explanation materially affects the meaning and value of our statistics. Practically, the rule we adopted was this. Every native who was unable to define his creed, or described it by any other name than that of some recognised religion or of a sect of some such religion, was held to be and classed as a Hindu. The assumption at the basis of this rule is that the Native of India must be presumed to be a Hindu unless he belongs to some other recognised faith. There was not the slightest fear that a member of any one of the other great religions, whatever his mode of life or social standing, would fail to describe himself as a Musalmán, a Sikh, a Buddhist, a Jain, a Zoroastrian, or a Christian, either directly, or as belonging to some well-known sect, such as Shíah, Wahhábi, or Saráogi. But it was certain that many of the vagrant and outcast tribes would allege that they belonged to creeds of strange and unfamiliar names; that a gipsy would in many cases return his religion as Sánsi, the name of his tribe; that a scavenger would describe his faith as Lál Begi or Bála Sháhi, from the names of the spiritual preceptors of the caste; and that the followers of the innumerable sects which are ever springing from the womb of Hinduism would return those sects, not as sects but as religions.

In our schedules we recorded sect as well as religion, and it was intended to exhibit the various sects in a single separate table, arranged under the religions to which they belonged. But the religions themselves run through many of our tables, age, civil condition, caste, education, and infirmities being tabulated separately for each; and it would have been most inconvenient, and have seriously increased the labour of tabulation and the complexity and unwieldiness of the results, if we had recognised as a separate religion each sect or shade of opinion or practice which its followers might dignify with a separate name. Now, whatever may be thought of the truth of the assumption upon which we based our rule—and I hope that the reader of the second part of this chapter will agree with me that it was not only the best that could be made, but actually not far if at all removed from the truth—it is clear that no inconvenience whatever would have resulted from it had the original intention of tabulating the figures

[1] Even one of the Commissioners in his Census report commented upon the "impropriety" of classing scavengers professing the Musalmán faith as Musalmáns; and remarked that "the Moslem must consider it a wrong done to him," and that the course followed "deranged our estimate of scavengers, and led to the erroneous conclusion that the people must be a very uncleanly race, as they need "the services of so few scavengers." Yet I can hardly believe that he would refuse to class sincere converts to Christianity as Christians, merely because they belonged to the scavenger classes. I shall show that many of the scavenger class are admitted by the Mahomedans themselves to full religious equality and communion. As for the confusion of figures, of course the religions table was not intended to show occupations, which are exhibited in a separate table of their own.

for the various Hindu sects been adhered to. The sect table would then have shown exactly what and whom we had classed as Hindus; and any person who differed from our definition of the word would have been able to separate without difficulty those figures to the inclusion of which he might take exception. But unfortunately the Hindu sects were not tabulated. The Census Commissioner observed, quite truly, that the great mass of admitted Hindus either had no sect, or, if they had, did not know what it was; and that, accordingly, only a comparatively small portion of the Hindu community would be included in the sect table. He therefore, after the information had been recorded in the schedules, but before the figures had been abstracted, obtained the sanction of the Government of India to the omission of the table; and the Panjáb Government, while recognising the value of the information, was unwilling to increase the already serious labour of compilation by tabulating facts which possessed no immediate administrative value. I hope that at the next Census the omission will be supplied. To my mind the fact that the great mass of the Hindus have no sect is rather an argument for discriminating the sects of those who have; for we shall, at any rate, be sure that the information is exact; and till we obtain this information we shall never know what our figures for Hindus mean, what they include, and in what proportions. And the figures, while their compilation would not materially increase the labour of the compiling staff, would possess the very greatest interest and value for the students of social evolution; for nothing is more extraordinary than the number and variety of sects which are constantly springing up amongst the people, and more especially among the Hindu population. I shall presently notice some of the most remarkable of them.

197. The same difficulty with regard to the definition of Hindu was felt at the last Census; and in fact the absence of some such rule as that followed on the present occasion rendered the figures of 1868 almost meaningless, nearly 6 per cent. of the whole population being classed under "Other Religions" and no two districts following the same rule, if indeed any rule at all was observed anywhere. Thus in Gurgáon only 1 in 10,000 was shown as following "Other Religions," while in the similar and neighbouring district of Karnál that heading included no fewer than 1,532 out of every 10,000 of the people. It must be remembered that we have in the Panjáb none of those aboriginal tribes, dwelling apart in forests and mountains, and clearly demarcated from their more civilised Hindu neighbours, that we find in so many Indian provinces. Had our Census included any such tribes, it might perhaps have been necessary to separate them from Hindus; though even where this has been attempted, I understand that the result has been of doubtful value, and that of two brothers living in the same house, eating from the same hearth, and joining in the same worship, one has returned himself as a Hindu and the other as of an aboriginal religion. The fact is that if a man is not a Musalmán, a Sikh, a Buddhist, a Christian, or a Jain, his caste really tells us more about his religious practice and belief than anything else can do. It is a matter of opinion whether the Chúhra, the Chamár, the Sánsi, who belongs to none of those religions, can properly be called a Hindu or not; but we at any rate know, or may know, exactly what his religion is; and short of ranking the varying tenets of each of the lower castes and tribes as a separate religion called after the name of the caste, the nearest approach to the truth is probably arrived at by classing them all as Hindu, and leaving the caste table to tell its own tale.

198. External characteristics of the several religions.—The distinguishing practices and beliefs of the various religions will be given separately in the description of each, and an attempt will presently be made to estimate the effect of each upon the character of its followers. Briefly, it might perhaps be said that in the Panjáb the most marked characteristic of the Hindu was thrift, of the Sikh bravery, of the Buddhist honesty, and of the Mahomedan pride. But there are a few broad practical matters of every-day life by which the followers of the several religions may be distinguished, and which it may be convenient to give here side by side. They are by no means of universal application, but are generally observed [1]; and the people attach far more importance to them than their often trivial nature would seem to warrant. The Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist believe in their respective Shástras, the Sikh in the Granth, and the Musalmán in the Qurán [2]. The Hindu, Jain, and Sikh pray generally to the east, and never to the south; the Musalmán prays towards Mecca. The first three worship in temples, the last in mosques. The Hindu, Sikh, and Jain reverence the Levitical caste of Bráhmans, the Buddhists have a popular order of celibate monks, while the Musalmán ministrants are chosen from among the congregation. The Hindu venerates the cow, will not kill animals, and often abstains from meat; the Sikh is still more fanatical in his reverence for the cow, but kills and eats most other animals; the Mahomedan abhors the pig and dog, but kills and eats most other animals; the Buddhist and Jain scrupulously respect all animal life; all alike look on carrion, on all vermin such as jackals and foxes, and on lizards, turtles, and crocodiles, as utterly impure. These are eaten by vagrant and outcast tribes. The Sikh abstains from tobacco, but substitutes spirits and narcotics; the Hindu may indulge in all; to the Musalmán spirits only are forbidden. The Hindu and Jain shave their heads with the exception of a scalp-lock; the Sikh allows the hair of his head and face to grow uncut and untrimmed; the Musalmán never shaves his beard, but always the lower edge of his moustache; he often shaves his head, and when he does so leaves no scalp-lock. The Hindu, Sikh, and Jain button their coats to the right, the Musalmán to the left. The male Hindu or Jain wears a loin cloth tucked up between the legs; the Sikh short drawers reaching to the knee only; the Musalmán long drawers, or a loin-cloth worn like a kilt. The Hindu, Jain, or Sikh woman wears a petticoat, the Musalmán woman drawers. The Hindu's and Buddhist's special colours are red and saffron, and the former abominates indigo-blue; the Sikh wears blue or white, and detests saffron; the Musalman's colour is indigo-blue or green, and he will not wear red. The Musalmán and Buddhist alone wear caps in the Hindu portions of the Province, while on the frontier the skull-cap is still the sign of, and was till lately the only head-dress permitted to a Hindu. The Hindu or Jain may cook in, but not eat out of an earthen vessel which has already been used for that purpose [3], his earthen vessels may be ornamented with stripes, and his metal ones will be of brass or bell-metal; a Musalmán may use an earthen vessel over and over again to eat from, but it must not be striped, and his metal vessels will be of copper; the Sikh follows the Hindu in the main, but is less particular than he. The Hindu and Sikh observe daily ablutions, the Musalmán and Buddhist do not bathe of necessity [4]. The Hindu, Jain, and Sikh marry by circumambulation of the sacred fire (*phera*); the Musalmán by consent of the parties formally asked and given before witnesses (*nikáh*). The Musalmán practises circumcision, while the Sikh has a baptism of initiation and a ceremony of communion. Finally, the Hindu, Jain, and Sikh burn, the Musalmán buries, and the Buddhist burns, buries, or exposes his dead. The customs regulating eating, drinking, and smoking together depend more upon caste than upon religion, and will be noticed in the section on Caste. But while, subject to caste rules, a Musalmán will eat

[1] The exceptions are of considerable importance. It will generally be found that they afford some indication of origin, or have some special reason.

[2] The sacred scriptures of the Hindus are written in Sanskrit, of the Jains in the Sauraseni Prákrit, of the Buddhists in the Magadhi Prákrit or Páli, of the Sikhs in an old form of Panjábi closely allied to Western Hindi, and of the Musalmáns in Arabic.

[3] This affords an easy means of telling whether a deserted site was held by Hindus or by Musalmáns. If by the former, there will be numbers of tiny earthen saucers (*rikábis*) found on the spot, which are used for one meal and then thrown away.

[4] I have more than once, on reproaching a man for personal uncleanliness only too apparent to the nose, been told by him as sufficient justification that he was a Musalmán.

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and drink without scruple from the hands of a Hindu, no Hindu will take either food or water from a Musalmán, partly because of the difference already noted in their use of earthen vessels. The Hindus of the Panjáb proper will often refuse to eat while standing on the same carpet with Musalmáns, though those of the east have not the same objection. Neither will use the other's pipestem; and the pipes of a village, when left about in the common rooms or fields, are generally distinguished by something tied round the stem—blue rag for a Musalmán, red for a Hindu, a piece of leather for a leather-worker, of string for a scavenger, and so on, lest any should defile himself by mistake.

199. The effect of Hinduism upon the character of its followers.—Hinduism being defined as the normal religion of the native of India, and as a national almost as much as a religious element, it can hardly be said to have an effect upon the character of its followers, for it is itself the outcome and expression of that character. And, thus defined, it includes so many and diverse forms and such a heterogeneous multitude of tribes and peoples that, while it is easy to point out the effect that a change from Hinduism to a better defined or more alien creed produces upon the character of the converts, it is difficult to represent except by negative propositions the material in which that effect was wrought. In fact the effect of Hinduism upon the character of its followers is perhaps best described as being wholly negative. It troubles their souls with no problems of conduct or belief, it stirs them to no enthusiasm either political or religious, it seeks no proselytes, it preaches no persecution, it is content to live and let live. The characteristic of the Hindu is quiet, contented thrift. He tills his field, he feeds his Bráhman, he lets his womenfolk worship their gods and accompanies them to the yearly festival at the local shrine, and his chief ambition is to build a brick house, and to waste more money than his neighbour at his daughter's wedding.

200. The effect of Buddhism upon the character of its followers.—As regards the effect of Buddhism on the character of its followers, Mr. Lyall says:—

"Murder, theft, or violent assaults are almost unknown among them, and they seem to me to be fair and often kind in their "dealings with each other. On the other hand, I agree with Mr. Heyde in considering the standard of sobriety and chastity among "them to be exceptionally low. Drinking is a common vice in all cold countries, and the want of chastity is accounted for by the "custom of polyandry in Lahaul, and of celibacy of younger sons in Spiti, which leave a large proportion of women in both countries "unmarried all their lives. In spite of those two frailties, the Botis seem to me to be an eminently religious race; they seem to "think that to withstand those particular temptations is to be a saint, and that in ordinary men who do not aim so high, to succumb "is quite venial. The lives of their saints are full of the most austere acts of virtue and mortification of the flesh commencing "from the cradle, which are certainly calculated to make the ordinary mortal abandon the task of imitation in despair; and their "religion, though it fails here, has, in my opinion, considerable influence for good in other respects,—more at least than the forms of "religion practised by other races, Hindu and Mahomedan, have at the present day in the parts of Hindustan with which I am "acquainted. This is not surprising, as the moral teaching to be found in the Buddhist books is of a very high kind; the love of "one's neighbours is one of its principles, and this is extended to include even the brute creation. So again, though good works "are balanced against sins, yet their worthlessness, when not done in a humble and reverent spirit, is recognised. In regard to "veracity, I have found them superior to Hindus; in hearing lawsuits I have very rarely had to call witnesses; cross-examination "usually brought about a perfect agreement as to facts."

The last statement will seem so extraordinary to officers accustomed to the people of the plains, that almost anybody but Mr. Lyall would be suspected of exaggeration. And Mr. Alex. Anderson writes: "I "am sorry to say that there has been a great falling away from veracity since Mr. Lyall wrote."

201. The effect of Sikhism upon the character of its followers.—The Sikh Jats of the Panjáb are proverbially "the finest peasantry in India." Much no doubt is due to the sturdy independence and resolute industry which characterise the Jat of our Eastern Plains, whatever his religion. But much is also due to the freedom and boldness which the Sikh has inherited from the traditions of the Khálsa. I know of nothing more striking in the history of India than the bravery with which the Sikh fought against us, the contented cheerfulness with which he seems to have accepted defeat, and the loyalty with which he now serves and obeys us. It is barely thirty years since the Khálsa was the ruling power in the land; yet outside a few fanatical bodies, there is, so far as we know, no secret repining, no hankering after what has passed away. But the Sikh retains the energy and determination which made his name renowned, and, though still inclined to military service, carries them into the more peaceful pursuits of husbandry. In 1853 Sir Richard Temple wrote: "The staunch foot soldier has become the sturdy cultivator, and the brave officer is now the village elder;" and their children now grasp the plough with the same strong hand with which the fathers wielded the sword. The prohibition against the use of tobacco has driven them to spirits and drugs, which are not unseldom indulged in to excess. But the evil is largely confined to the wealthier classes, and is more than counterbalanced by the manly love of field sports and open-air exercise which their freedom from restraint in the matter of taking animal life, and their natural pride in exercising and displaying that freedom, have engendered in them. The Sikh is more independent, more brave, more manly than the Hindu, and no whit less industrious and thrifty; while he is less conceited than the Musalmán, and not devoured by that carking discontent which so often seems to oppress the latter.

202. The effect of Islam upon the character of its followers.—It is curious how markedly for evil is the influence which conversion to even the most impure form of Mahomedanism has upon the character of the Panjáb villager; how invariably it fills him with false pride and conceit, disinclines him for honest toil, and renders him more extravagant, less thrifty, less contented, and less well-to-do than his Hindu neighbour. It is natural enough that the Pathán or Biloch of the frontier, but lately reclaimed from the wild independence of his native hills, should still consider fighting as the one occupation worthy of his attention. It is hardly to be wondered at that the still semi-nomad Musalmán tribes of the Western Plains should look upon the ceaseless labour of the husbandman as irksome. If the Arab of the cities keeps from rusting the intellect which God has given him by employing it in defrauding his nearest female relations, he has the love of subtlety natural to the race, the intricacy of his law of inheritance, and the share which he has inherited of the grant made by some old ruler, too small to satisfy his needs, yet large enough to give him a nominal position and to suggest the propriety of idleness, to excuse him. And if the Saiyad will not dig and is not at all ashamed to beg, and thinks that his holy descent should save his brow from the need of sweating, he is worse only in degree than his Bráhman rival. But when we move through a tract inhabited by Hindus and Musalmáns belonging to the same tribe, descended from the

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same ancestor, and living under the same conditions, and find that as we pass each village, each field, each house, we can tell the religion of its owner by the greater idleness, poverty, and pretension, which mark the Musalmán, it is difficult to suggest any explanation of the fact. It can hardly be that the Musalmán branch of a village enjoyed under the Mahomedan Emperors any such material advantage over their Hindu brethren as could develop habits of pride and extravagance which should survive generations of equality. And yet, whatever the reason, the existence of the difference is beyond a doubt. The Musalmán seems to think that his duty is completely performed when he has proclaimed his belief in one God, and that it is the business of Providence to see to the rest; and when he finds his stomach empty he has a strong tendency to blame the Government, and to be exceedingly discontented with everybody but himself. His Hindu brother asks little either of his gods or of his governors save that they should let him alone; but he rises early and late takes rest, and contentedly eats the bread of carefulness. I speak of those parts of the Province where the two religions are to be found side by side among the peasantry. Where either prevails to the exclusion of the other, the characteristics of the people may be, and probably are, tribal rather than due to any difference of religion.

203. Distribution of the several religions by Provinces.—Abstract No. 45 below shows the proportions of the population of each of the Indian provinces which profess the various religions, arranged in order of the prevalence of Islám.

Abstract No. 45, *showing* **proportions** *of* **each Religion** *to* **Total Population** *for* **Indian Provinces** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	Numbers of each Religion per 10,000 of all Religions.							Serial No. in order of magnitude.						
Provinces.	Christian.	Musalmán.	Hindu.	Sikh.	Jain.	Buddhist.	Others.	Christian.	Musalmán.	Hindu.	Sikh.	Jain.	Buddhist.	Others.
Panjab	**15**	**5,135**	**4,074**	**756**	**19**	**1**	...	**9**	**1**	**20**	**1**	**9**	**4**	...
Bengal	18	3,122	6,537	...	..	23	300	8	2	18	...	...	2	9
Assam	15	2,698	6,274	...	..	13	1,000	10	3	19	...	...	3	3
N. W. Provinces and Oudh, Native States	...	2,232	7,768	...	...	...	...	...	4	13	...	...	...	...
Total India	**73**	**1,974**	**7,402**	**73**	**48**	**135**	**295**	**6a**	**4a**	**15a**	**2a**	**7a**	**1a**	**9a**
Bombay British Territory	84	1,836	7,480	77	132	...	391	6	5	15	2	5	...	7
N. W. P. and Oudh—British Territory	11	1,344	8,627	...	18	...	...	12	6	7	...	10	...	...
Ajmere	...	1,255	8,162	...	528	...	55	...	7	10	...	1	...	11
Bombay Native States	10	1,086	7,962	...	406	...	535	14	8	12	...	2	...	5
Hyderabad	14	941	9,033	...	...	...	12	11	9	5	...	...	...	14
Rájputána	1	853	8,750	...	375	...	21	18	10	6	...	3	...	12
Baroda	3	801	8,480	...	214	...	502	17	11	8	...	4	...	6
Coorg	177	703	9,113	...	6	...	1	5	12	3	...	12	...	15
Berar	5	702	9,076	2	75	...	140	16	13	4	3	6	...	10
Madras	228	620	9,143	...	8	...	...	3	14	2	...	11	...	...
Travancore	2,076	612	7,312	...	...	...	...	2	15	16	...	...	...	...
Cochin	2,272	556	7,152	...	...	...	20	1	16	17	...	...	...	13
Central India	8	551	8,422	2	54	...	963	15	17	9	4	7	...	4
Mysore	70	479	9,451	...	...	...	...	7	18	1	...	...	...	...
Burmah	225	452	236	...	..	8,702	384	4	19	21	...	...	1	8
Central Provinces—British Territory	11	248	7,536	...	40	...	2,165	13	20	14	...	8	...	1
Do. do.—Native States	...	...	8,102	..	...	...	1,898	...	...	11	...	...	...	2

NOTE.—I have not thought it necessary to show the actual numbers of each religion in the various provinces. The figures can be obtained within a small fraction of the truth by applying those proportions to the total populations given in Abstract No. 13 page 34.

It will be seen that the Panjáb is by far the most Musalmán province in India. It however includes less than twelve million Musalmáns; while Bengal, which comes next in the proportional list, contains nearly twenty-two millions, the whole Musalmán population of India being fifty millions. The six millions of the North-Western Provinces, the three and a half millions of Bombay, and the two millions of Madras account for the greater part of the remainder. On the other hand, the Panjáb has a smaller proportion of Hindus among its people than any other province except Burmah; and though only Bengal, Bombay, Madras, and the North-Western Provinces contain larger Hindu populations, yet the Central Provinces, Central India, Haidarábád, and Rájpútána follow it very closely. Of the 1,853,426 Sikhs in India, 1,716,114 live in the Panjáb; next to which comes Bombay with 127,100, most of whom are probably, as will be explained further on (section 264), *not true Sikhs at all* as we understand the term. Nearly nine out of the twelve hundred thousand Jains who are found in India live in Bombay and Rájpútána; and in respect of proportion of Jains to total population the Panjáb comes next after these two and Central India with their dependencies. Burmah, Bengal, and Assam include almost the whole of the Buddhists of India, but the Panjáb comes next both in actual numbers and in proportion.

204. Relative distribution of the several religions by districts.—Abstract No. 46 on the opposite page shows the proportion which the followers of each religion bear to the population of all religions in each district and major state, separate figures being given for rural and total population, and the districts being arranged in order of the prevalence of Islám among the villagers.

Part I.—Introductory and Comparative.

Abstract No. 46, *showing* **Composition of the Population by Religion** *for* **Districts and States,** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	1
		PROPORTIONS PER 10,000 OF ALL RELIGIONS.												SERIAL NO. IN ORDER OF MAGNITUDE.												
		VILLAGES.						TOTAL POPULATION.						Christian.		Musalman.		Hindu.		Sikh.		Jain.		Buddhist.		
Serial No. of Tables.	TERRITORIAL UNIT.	Christian.	Musalmán.	Hindu.	Sikh.	Jain.	Buddhist.	Christian.	Musalmán.	Hindu.	Sikh.	Jain.	Buddhist.	Villages.	Total.	Villages.	Total.	Villages.	Total.	Villages.	Total.	Villages.	Total.	Villages.	Total	Serial No. of Tables.
30	Peshávar	1	9,645	331	23	...	...	69	9,215	663	52	...	...	16	2	1	3	32	30	24	22	...	...	...	...	30
31	Hazára	...	9,619	354	27	...	...	2	9,476	487	34	...	...	...	23	2	1	31	32	23	27	...	...	...	...	31
X	Peshávar Division	2	9,615	356	27	...	...	37	9,321	584	57	...	...	13e	4b	2a	2a	30a	30a	23a	21a	...	...	...	...	X
32	Kohát	9	9,516	430	42	3	...	12	9,321	542	123	2	...	2	11	3	2	30	31	20	17	12	20	...	...	32
29	Bannu	...	9,260	733	7	...	...	2	9,051	921	24	2	...	...	22	4	4	28	29	29	28	...	19	...	...	29
IX	Derajat Division	1	9,128	854	17	...	...	4	8,804	1,158	33	1	...	16c	18a	4a	5a	26a	25a	26a	27a	...	23a	...	...	IX
27	Dera Ismáil Khan	2	9,088	888	22	...	...	6	8,724	1,233	38	...	...	13	15	5	7	26	25	25	25	...	...	...	...	27
19	Ráwalpindi	4	9,077	703	215	2	...	47	8,672	1,051	217	13	...	5	4	6	9	29	26	13	13	15	9	...	...	19
20	Jhelam	2	9,064	784	150	...	...	7	8,768	1,034	190	1	...	12	13	7	6	27	28	14	14	...	22	...	...	20
28	Dera Ghází Khan	...	9,050	930	19	...	...	2	8,677	1,285	36	...	...	...	21	8	8	25	23	26	26	...	...	...	...	28
VII	Ráwalpindi Division	2	8,996	844	157	1	...	18	8,703	1,105	169	4	...	13c	9a	8a	7a	26b	25b	13a	14b	18a	16c	...	...	VII
21	Gujrát	4	8,931	938	128	...	...	4	8,816	1,051	129	...	...	6	18	9	5	24	27	16	16	...	...	...	...	21
26	Muzaffargarh	...	8,927	986	86	...	...	1	8,638	1,279	82	...	...	...	31	10	10	23	24	18	20	...	...	...	...	26
22	Shahpur	...	8,852	1,045	102	...	...	1	8,487	1,400	112	...	...	...	30	11	11	22	22	17	18	...	...	...	...	22
11	*Baháwalpur*	...	*8,591*	*1,377*	*29*	...	...	...	*8,374*	*1,591*	*29*	*4*	...	...	...	*11a*	*11a*	*20b*	*21a*	*22a*	*27b*	...	*16d*	...	...	*11*
24	Jhang	...	8,564	1,357	79	...	...	...	8,270	1,642	88	...	...	...	...	12	12	21	21	19	19	...	...	...	...	24
23	Multán	5	8,439	1,527	30	...	...	34	7,897	2,029	38	1	...	3	6	13	13	20	19	22	24	...	23	...	...	23
VIII	Multán Division	2	8,416	1,463	119	...	...	12	8,093	1,776	119	...	...	13d	11a	13a	12a	20a	20a	16b	17a	...	...	...	...	VIII
25	Montgomery	1	7,865	1,851	282	...	...	2	7,748	1,969	280	...	...	15	20	14	14	18	20	12	12	...	...	...	...	25
17	Gújránwála	...	7,520	1,866	612	1	...	3	7,337	2,064	586	9	...	...	19	15	15	17	18	10	10	18	15	...	...	17
15	Siálkot	2	6,665	2,941	392	...	...	15	6,617	2,957	397	14	...	11	10	16	16	14	14	11	11	...	8	...	...	15
16	Lahore	4	6,632	1,749	1,613	2	...	50	6,487	2,092	1,359	11	...	4	3	17	17	19	17	4	4	14	13	...	...	16
VI	Lahore Division	2	6,329	1,993	1,672	4	...	29	6,218	2,233	1,508	11	...	13b	7a	17a	17a	16b	16b	3a	3b	10a	13a	...	...	VI
3	*Kapurthala*	...	*5,774*	*3,071*	*1,154*	*1*	...	*1*	*5,660*	*3,282*	*1,049*	*8*	...	...	*31c*	*17b*	*17b*	*13d*	*13d*	*6a*	*6a*	*18b*	*15b*	...	...	*3*
—	**Total British Territory.**	**2**	**5,663**	**3,654**	**629**	**10**	**2**	**18**	**5,583**	**3,783**	**595**	**19**	**2**	**13f**	**9b**	**17c**	**17c**	**13b**	**13b**	**9b**	**9b**	**7a**	**7f**	**1d**	**1d**	—
V	Amritsar Division	2	5,424	3,313	1,261	...	...	10	5,403	3,375	1,205	7	...	13a	12a	17d	17d	13c	13c	5b	4a	...	15d	...	...	V
—	**Total Province**	**2**	**5,163**	**4,022**	**802**	**9**	**2**	**15**	**5,135**	**4,074**	**756**	**19**	**1**	**13g**	**10a**	**17e**	**17e**	**13a**	**13a**	**7a**	**7b**	**8a**	**7g**	**1e**	**1f**	—
18	Firozpur	...	4,847	2,410	2,733	9	...	26	4,774	2,593	2,595	12	...	...	8	18	18	16	16	2	1	8	12	...	...	18
14	Gurdáspur	2	4,711	4,368	919	...	...	6	4,752	4,362	879	1	...	10	14	19	19	12	12	7	7	...	21	...	...	14
13	Amritsar	...	4,544	2,693	2,763	1	...	10	4,626	2,939	2,422	3	...	...	12	20	20	15	15	1	2	17	17	...	...	13
10	Jálandhar	...	4,480	4,242	1,276	2	...	20	4,542	4,285	1,144	9	...	...	9	21	21	13	13	5	5	13	14	...	...	10
6	Sirsa	...	3,752	5,003	1,225	18	...	1	3,683	5,156	1,117	43	...	...	28	22	22	10	10	6	6	6	6	...	...	6
11	Hushyárpur	...	3,079	6,237	680	3	...	1	3,219	6,104	663	12	...	...	29	23	24	9	9	9	8	11	11	...	...	11
8	Ludhiána	...	3,059	4,625	2,303	13	...	5	3,457	4,448	2,055	35	...	...	16	24	23	11	11	3	3	7	7	...	...	8
2	Gurgáon	...	3,033	6,934	1	32	...	1	3,094	6,844	2	59	...	...	24	25	25	7	7	31	32	5	5	...	...	2
7	*Kalsia*	...	*2,788*	*6,268*	*937*	*7*	...	...	*2,944*	*6,149*	*874*	*32*	...	...	...	*25a*	*25d*	*8a*	*8a*	*6b*	*7a*	*8e*	*7a*	...	*7*	*7*
III	Ambala Division	5	2,784	5,937	1,267	7	...	43	3,036	5,768	1,132	20	...	3a	4a	25b	25a	9a	9a	5a	5a	8d	7d	...	...	III
—	**Total Native States**	...	**2,770**	**5,594**	**1,629**	**6**	**1**	**1**	**2,945**	**5,494**	**1,541**	**18**	**1**	...	**31f**	**25c**	**25c**	**9b**	**9b**	**3b**	**3a**	**8f**	**7h**	**1f**	**e**	—
5	*Farídkot*	...	*2,728*	*2,823*	*4,439*	*10*	...	...	*2,992*	*2,830*	*4,142*	*36*	...	...	...	*25d*	*25b*	*14a*	*15a*	*b*	*a*	*7c*	*6a*	...	...	*5*
7	Ambála	2	2,669	6,628	697	4	...	35	2,850	6,458	641	12	...	9	5	26	26	8	8	8	9	9	10	...	...	7
IV	Jálandhar Division	1	2,659	6,683	642	2	13	8	2,841	6,508	622	8	12	16b	12b	26a	26a	7a	7a	9a	9a	15a	15a	1b	1b	IV
I	Dehli Division	1	2,301	7,590	51	56	...	11	2,645	7,213	48	83	...	16a	11b	26b	2b	6a	6a	19a	2a	3a	2a	...	...	I
—	Total Eastern Plains	...	2,222	5,202	2,567	8	...	...	2,507	5,122	2,345	25	...	...	...	26c	27a	9c	10a	2a	2a	8c	7c	...	...	—
4	Hissár	...	2,215	7,707	40	38	...	1	2,251	7,624	62	62	...	...	26	27	29	5	3	21	21	4	4	...	...	4
3	Karnál	1	2,190	7,602	142	65	...	1	2,508	7,286	130	75	...	14	25	28	27	6	6	15	15	3	3	...	...	3
II	Hissár Division	...	2,044	7,646	263	46	...	1	2,184	7,504	241	70	...	...	31a	28a	29b	5a	5a	12a	12a	3b	3a	...	...	II
6	*Maler Kotla*	...	*2,012*	*2,299*	*5,673*	*16*	...	...	*3,465*	*2,277*	*4,072*	*186*	...	...	...	*28b*	*22a*	*16a*	*16a*	*a*	*b*	*6a*	*a*	...	...	*6*
1	*Patiála*	...	*1,898*	*5,077*	*3,016*	*8*	...	...	*2,190*	*5,008*	*2,781*	*20*	...	...	...	*28c*	*29a*	*9e*	*10c*	*d*	*d*	*8b*	*7e*	...	...	*1*
2	*Nábha*	...	*1,728*	*5,133*	*3,129*	*10*	...	*1*	*1,916*	*5,102*	*2,967*	*14*	...	...	*31b*	*28d*	*29c*	*9d*	*10b*	*c*	*c*	*7b*	*8a*	...	...	*2*
1	Dehli	3	1,491	8,427	2	77	...	31	2,328	7,511	15	114	...	7	7	29	28	4	5	30	29	1	1	...	...	1
8	*Dujána*	...	*1,380*	*8,619*	...	...	...	...	*2,269*	*7,730*	...	...	...	...	...	*29a*	*28a*	*3c*	*2d*	...	...	...	...	...	...	*8*
17	*Nálagarh*	...	*1,154*	*8,713*	*131*	*1*	...	*1*	*1,349*	*8,462*	*125*	*63*	...	...	*31e*	*29b*	*31b*	*3b*	*2a*	*15a*	*16a*	*18c*	*3b*	...	...	*17*
5	Rohtak	...	1,048	8,883	1	67	...	1	1,436	8,470	3	90	...	...	27	30	31	3	2	32	31	2	2	...	...	5
4	*Jind*	...	*1,004*	*8,860*	*122*	*14*	...	...	*1,371*	*8,430*	*173*	*26*	...	...	...	*30a*	*31a*	*3a*	*2b*	*16a*	*14a*	*6b*	*7b*	...	...	*4*
9	*Pataudi*	...	*934*	*9,038*	...	*28*	...	*4*	*1,841*	*8,109*	...	*45*	...	...	*18b*	*30b*	*29d*	*1c*	*2c*	...	...	*5a*	*5a*	...	...	*9*
9	Simla	247	825	8,911	11	4	...	780	1,615	7,551	47	5	...	1	1	31	30	2	4	27	23	10	6	...	...	9
10	*Lohárú*	...	*631*	*9,367*	...	*2*	...	...	*1,102*	*8,888*	...	*8*	...	...	...	*31a*	*31c*	*1b*	*1b*	...	...	*15b*	*15c*	...	...	*10*
13	*Chamba*	*2*	*554*	*9,406*	*3*	...	*35*	*7*	*592*	*9,361*	*6*	...	*33*	*13h*	*13a*	*31b*	*31d*	*1a*	*1a*	*29c*	*30a*	...	...	*1a*	*1a*	*13*
12	Kangra	3	486	9,459	10	1	41	4	536	9,409	10	2	39	8	17	32	32	1	1	28	30	16	18	1	1	12
14	*Náhan*	*1*	*304*	*9,661*	*34*	...	...	*2*	*377*	*9,579*	*42*	*1*	...	*16d*	*23b*	*32a*	*32a*	*j*	*j*	*21a*	*23a*	...	*23b*	...	...	*14*
—	Total Hill States	1	281	9,691	21	1	5	2	321	9,644	23	5	5	16e	23a	32b	32b	i	i	25a	28a	18d	16b	1c	1c	...
12	*Mandi*	...	*150*	*9,846*	*2*	...	...	*1*	*158*	*9,837*	*3*	...	...	...	*31d*	*32c*	*32c*	*h*	*h*	*30a*	*31a*	...	...	...	...	*12*
15	*Biláspur*	...	*146*	*9,854*	...	...	...	...	*146*	*9,854*	...	...	...	...	...	*32d*	*32d*	*g*	*g*	...	...	...	...	...	...	*15*
20	*Bághal*	...	*137*	*9,863*	...	...	...	...	*137*	*9,863*	...	...	...	...	...	*32e*	*32e*	*f*	*f*	...	...	...	...	...	...	*20*
18	*Suket*	...	*133*	*9,864*	*3*	...	...	...	*132*	*9,865*	*3*	...	...	...	...	*32f*	*32f*	*e*	*e*	*29d*	*31b*	...	...	...	...	*18*
19	*Keonthal*	*3*	*99*	*9,892*	*6*	...	...	*3*	*99*	*9,892*	*6*	...	...	*8b*	*19b*	*32g*	*32g*	*d*	*d*	*29a*	*30b*	...	...	...	...	*19*
16	*Bashahr*	*3*	*57*	*9,935*	...	*5*	...	*3*	*57*	*9,935*	...	*5*	...	*8a*	*19a*	*32h*	*32h*	*c*	*c*	...	...	*8g*	*16a*	...	...	*16*
22	*Bhajji*	...	*37*	*9,957*	*6*	...	...	...	*37*	*9,957*	*6*	...	...	...	...	*32i*	*32i*	*b*	*b*	*29b*	*30c*	...	...	...	...	*22*
21	*Jubbal*	...	*19*	*9,981*	...	...	...	...	*19*	*9,981*	...	...	...	...	...	*32j*	*32j*	*a*	*a*	...	...	...	...	...	...	*21*

Part I.—Introductory and Comparative.

The districts of the Peshάwar division come quite at the top of the list, and in them only do the Mahomedans constitute as many as 95 per cent. of the rural population. After them come the districts of the Salt-range Tract and the Derajάt, closely followed by those of the Western Plains. In all of these 75 per cent. or more of the villagers are Musalmán. Next come the districts between Lahore and Jálandhar, and Sirsa, in which last the immigration from across the Satluj has raised the proportion of Mahomedans. In this group the proportion falls from 67 to 38 per cent., and below it it nowhere rises higher than 30 per cent.

The Hill tracts are very markedly the most Hindu portions of the Province, 97 per cent. of the rural population of the Hill States and 95 per cent. of that of Kángra belonging to that religion. Next to them in order of Hinduism, if for the moment we count Sikhs as Hindus, comes the south-eastern portion of the Panjáb, Rohtak, Jínd, Hissár, Karnál, Patiála, and Nábha, in none of which does the percentage fall below 78. The interval is occupied by the north-eastern districts of Ambála, Lúdhiána, and Hushyárpur, and by Gurgáon with its large population of Musalmán Meos.

The Sikh element is strongest in the States of Maler Kotla, Farídkot, Patiála, and Nábha. There alone the followers of that religion number as many as 30 per cent. of the total population, and the highest figure reached is 57 per cent. in Maler Kotla. Next to them come Amritsar, Fírozpur, and Lúdhiána, with a Sikh percentage of from 23 to 27. Lahore follows with 17, and Jálandhar, Sirsa, and Kapúrthala with 12 to 13 per cent. The sub-montane districts of Ambála with Kalsia, Gurdáspur, Hushyárpur, and Gújránwála, stand next with from 6 to 7, and Siálkot with 4 per cent.; and in no other district or State do Sikhs form as many as 3 per cent. of the rural population.

The Jains naturally form the largest proportion of the population in the districts bordering upon Rájpútána, the great stronghold of the faith in North-Western India. But even here they rise above 1 per cent. of total population only in Dehli, while it is in these districts only that they are to be found in any numbers among the rural population. In Maler Kotla they constitute 2 per cent., the highest proportion reached in the Panjáb. West of Lahore they hardly form a perceptible element in the population. The Buddhists are wholly confined to those parts of Kángra and Chamba which border on and geographically belong to Tibet.

205. Distribution between towns and villages.—Abstract No. 47 below shows the urban proportion of the followers of each religion for each division.

Abstract No. 47, *showing the* **urban element** *in each* **Religion** *for* **Divisions.**

	PROPORTION PER 10,000 LIVING IN TOWNS.								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1
Divisions, &c.	Hindu.	Sikh.	Jain.	Buddhist.	Zoroastrian.	Musulmán.	Christian.	All religions.	Divisions, &c.
Dehli	1,431	1,374	4,448	...	...	2,914	9,190	1,857	Dehli
Hissár	1,415	816	4,468	...	...	2,113	9,057	1,575	Hissár
Ambála	1,168	397	6,993	...	...	2,133	9,020	1,419	Ambála
Jálandhar	731	704	7,369	...	8,750	1,549	8,847	973	Jálandhar
Amritsar	1,455	894	9,414	...	8,750	1,253	8,818	1,294	Amritsar
Lahore	2,470	646	6,760	...	9,406	1,412	9,516	1,563	Lahore
Ráwalpindi	3,093	1,602	8,864	...	9,730	649	8,625	955	Ráwalpindi
Multán	2,585	978	9,206	...	9,403	635	8,579	996	Multan
Deraját	3,382	5,579	...	...	6,154	697	8,082	1,027	Deraját
Peshάwar	4,761	5,882	682	...	...	1,132	9,556	1,403	Peshάwar
Total British Territory	**1,498**	**790**	**5,411**	...	**9,502**	**1,170**	**9,108**	**1,294**	**Total British Territory**
Native States	**961**	**615**	**7,010**	**26**	...	**1,650**	**5,806**	**1,122**	**Native States**
Total Province	**1,375**	**729**	**5,668**	**3**	**9,505**	**1,217**	**9,078**	**1,265**	**Total Province**

The Christians and Zoroastrians are naturally almost wholly confined to the towns; while of the Buddhists of the Panjáb all but one are to be found in the villages. The Sikhs are almost wholly rustics, save in the Derajάt and Peshάwar Divisions, where a large proportion of them are soldiers collected in cantonments from other parts of the Province. The Hindus show a larger urban proportion than do the Musalmáns, the Musalmáns dwelling more largely in towns in the east and the Hindus in the west, or where the religion of each is less prevalent. But the Musalmán figures never reach so high as do those for Hindus in the western divisions; and those latter even do not fully represent the actual facts. West of the Jahlam the Hindus are almost exclusively traders; and throughout the Ráwalpindi and Peshάwar Divisions the Hindu is scarcely to be found anywhere but in the towns and larger villages, save perhaps an occasional petty shop-keeper; while hundreds of villages are without a single Hindu inhabitant. Nothing corresponding to this exists in the east, where even in the most generally Hindu tracts a fair proportion of the people of every village will certainly be Musalmán[1].

206. Local distribution of Hindus and Musulmans.—There is a very singular feature of the local distribution of the several religions in the Panjáb which our figures do not bring out, but which is very clearly marked on the map of religions. It is that, speaking generally, wherever Hindu and Musalmán landowners occupy a tract of country side by side, it will be found that the Musalmáns chiefly lie along the rivers, while the Hindus will be found in greatest numbers in the more arid *doábs* which lie between. Mr. Wilson of Sirsa thus accounts for the fact:—

"The reason probably is that the river population, living on the most fertile lands, were more reluctant to leave them, more exposed to compulsion by the Muhammadan Emperors (and perhaps more enervated by the malarious climate) and thus under greater

[1] Mr. Wilson, however, notes that some of the Bishnoi villages in Sirsa have no Musalmán inhabitants.

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" inducement to become Musalmáns than the population of the dry tracts, who were more out of the reach of the Muhammadan " armies and more ready to give up their lands and retire towards the desert to avoid a compulsory change of religion."

Add to this that tribal emigration generally follows the course of a river; that the fertile riverain tracts offered greater inducements than did the central steppes to the countless Mahomedan families which have so constantly risen to local power in the Panjáb, and to the sainted bigots who are commonly credited with the conversion of so large a portion of the population; that it was from the former that the old Emperors generally made grants to the favourites of their own faith whom they delighted to honour; and that the pastoral and semi-nomad tribes who are found in the median jungles have always been more primitive, more ignorant, and less inclined to trouble themselves over religious matters than the more settled husbandmen of the river valleys, and I think that the peculiarity is accounted for.

207. Distribution of each religion by caste.—Abstract No. 48 below shows the number belonging to each of the principal castes out of every 1,000 males[1] of all castes in each religion.

Abstract No. 48, *showing the* Composition of each Religion by caste *for* the Province.

Castes.	Number per 1,000 of all Castes in each Religion.				
	Hindu.	Sikh.	Jain.	Musalmán.	All religions.
AGRICULTURAL.					
Jat	166	663	...	157	200
Rájpút	41	11	...	111	74
Thakar	4	...	...	...	2
Ráthi	9	...	...	...	4
Kanet	36	1	...	...	15
Ghirath	16	1	...	...	7
Ahír	19	...	...	...	8
Gújar	17	1	...	40	28
Saini	15	8	...	...	7
Máli	7	...	...	...	3
Kamboh	6	17	...	4	6
Ror	4	...	...	...	2
Koli	3	...	...	...	1
Bághbán	...	...	...	7	4
Pathán	...	...	...	75	38
Aráín	...	...	...	68	35
Awán	...	...	...	44	23
Biloch	...	...	...	30	16
Meo	...	...	...	10	5
Mughal	...	...	...	9	4
Dogar	...	...	...	6	3
Tanáoli	...	...	...	4	2
Khokhar	...	...	...	3	2
Gakkhar	...	...	...	2	1
Total Agricultural	**343**	**702**	...	**570**	**490**
RELIGIOUS.					
Bráhman	116	4	...	...	48
Shekh	...	...	...	32	16
Saiyad	...	...	...	21	11
Faqír	17	3	1	22	19
Total Religious	**133**	**7**	**1**	**75**	**94**
MERCANTILE.					
Arora	60	23	...	...	27
Banya	43	2	723	...	19
Khatri	42	22	...	...	19
Súd	2	...	...	...	1
Bhábra	...	...	265	...	1
Khojah	...	...	...	6	3
Total Mercantile	**147**	**47**	**988**	**6**	**70**

Castes.	Number per 1,000 of all Castes in each Religion.				
	Hindu.	Sikh.	Jain.	Musalmán.	All religions.
ARTISAN.					
Jhínwar	29	12	...	12	19
Máchhi	...	...	...	14	7
Malláh	1	...	...	5	3
Tarkhán	24	65	...	22	26
Kumhár	18	7	3	26	21
Nái	14	12	...	16	15
Sunár	12	8	...	2	7
Lohár	11	14	1	16	14
Koli	10	...	...	...	4
Chhímba	6	10	...	2	5
Dhobi	2	3	...	9	6
Charhoa	...	...	...	3	2
Lílári	...	...	...	2	1
Juláha	5	1	...	49	27
Teli	...	...	...	23	12
Mírási	...	...	...	17	9
Kashmíri	...	...	...	15	8
Qassáb	...	...	...	8	4
Barwála	...	...	...	4	2
Kalál	2	5	...	1	2
Mochi	...	...	...	30	15
Total Artisan	**134**	**137**	**4**	**276**	**209**
MENIAL AND OUT-CAST.					
Chamár	102	56	...	1	47
Chúhra	67	26	...	34	47
Dúmna	7	...	...	...	3
Dhának	7	...	...	...	3
Dági	5	...	...	...	2
Mahtam	4	5	...	1	2
Labána	4	8	...	...	2
Meg	4	...	...	...	2
Báwaria	2	1	...	...	1
Sánsi	2	...	...	...	1
Od	1	...	...	...	1
Changar	...	...	...	2	1
Total Menial and Out-cast	**205**	**96**	...	**38**	**112**
Total Agricultural	343	702	...	570	490
" Religious	133	7	1	75	94
" Mercantile	147	47	988	11	73
" Artisan	134	137	4	276	209
" Menial and Out-cast	205	96	...	38	112
Total	**962**	**989**	**993**	**965**	**975**

Of course only the principal castes are shown; and I have not classified the remainder, so that the totals fall short of the whole 1,000. But the defect is small, and no caste is omitted which reaches 1 per mille of the total number of any religion. Of course the classification as agricultural, religious, and so forth, is of the roughest possible description, and only meant to represent the prevailing tendency of each caste.

[1] I have taken males only in all figures relating to the caste composition of religions, as there is some doubt as to how the religion of, for instance, a Hindu woman who has married a Sikh husband has been returned.

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Further details will be found under the headings of the various religions in the subsequent sections of this chapter. The most striking fact brought out by the figures is perhaps the small proportion of the Hindu population which is agricultural. One reason doubtless is that, as already explained, all miscellaneous and outcast tribes which do not profess any other religion have been classed as Hindu. But another reason is brought out by the more detailed figures of a similar nature which are given at the end of the separate description of each religion. These latter figures show that the Hindu religion furnishes the mercantile element in even those parts of the Province where Hinduism is least prevalent. Thus the proportion which the mercantile castes bear to the whole is very much higher among Hindus than among Sikhs or Musalmáns. Moreover, though I have classed the Bráhmans as religious, by far the greater portion are really agricultural rather than religious. A very large area is held and cultivated by the Bráhmans of the Panjáb; and a large proportion of those who live in the villages never perform from the cradle to the grave any more priestly function than that of being fed at the expense of the religiously disposed. If the Bráhmans be added to the agricultural figures, the proportion for Hindus approaches much more nearly to that for Musalmáns. Seventy per cent. of the Sikh population is agricultural; and the large proportion which belongs to the Jat caste or race is very striking. Rájpúts have not as a rule sacrificed their pride of race to the levelling tendencies of Sikhism, and after Jats the most common caste among the Sikh cultivators is Kamboh, who are found chiefly in the Sikh districts of the Province.

In the figures for religion it is curious to mark how large is the proportion of *faqírs*, under which term are included all members of mendicant and religious orders or bodies, among the Musalmán population, and how small among the Sikhs and Jains. The detailed figures will show that the high Musalmán figure is largely due to the holy men of the frontier, the position of whom in the religion of the frontier tribes will presently be described. The Sikhs and Jains commonly reverence and give alms to Hindu *faqírs*, and indeed the mercantile classes to which the Jains are almost entirely confined rarely take to an ascetic life. The Shekh is of course "miscellaneous" rather than religious; but I put him where he is because I did not know what else to do with him. The figures for mercantile castes show that nearly 99 per cent. of the Jains belong to those classes, while the Sikh merchants are almost confined to the Aroras and Khatris, and hardly any traders are to be found among the Musalmáns. The disproportion between the percentages of Hindus and Musalmáns respectively which are shown as artisan, is largely due to the fact that the first eight castes which are shown as menial and outcast, are really as much artisans, using the term of course in a very wide sense, as many of the castes which I have included in the class above them. But I have separated these eight castes to mark the fact that they would not as a rule be recognised as co-religionists by the body of the church under which they are classed. Thus the Mochis, who correspond among the Musalmáns with the Chamárs among the Hindus and Sikhs, are classed as artisan and not as outcast, because they are not excluded from participation in religious rites. If we add these to the artisan class, we get the following figures per mille: Hindu 324, Sikh 232, Jain 4, Musulmán 312, which much more nearly expresses the actual state of things. The high place which Tarkháns or carpenters occupy among the Sikhs and Juláhas or weavers among the Musalmáns is very curious. The large proportion of menial and outcast classes among the Hindus has been explained by inference in the above remarks. It results from the fact that all outcasts who profess no other religion have been classed as Hindus, and that the occupation of the largest artisan class, namely the Chamárs, is regarded as impure by the Hindus and Sikhs but not by the Musalmáns. The subject is discussed in more detail at the end of the several parts of this chapter which deal with the separate religions, and under the heading of the various castes in the Caste section of the Report.

208. Relative Progress of the several religions.—It is much to be regretted that the figures available are of such uncertain significance that it is impossible to ascertain with any degree of accuracy what progress has been made of late years by each of the various religions. In 1855 the whole population was classed as either Hindu or Mahomedan; it is probable, though not certain, that Sikhs, Jains, and Buddhists were included among the Hindus; but it is impossible to guess how the outcast tribes were treated. The proportions for the two religions, including the districts then under the Government of the North-Western Provinces, the Census of which was taken in 1853, but excluding Sirsa for which no figures are available, are given in the margin side by side with the corresponding figures for the two subsequent enumerations. The boundaries of districts have changed so greatly since 1855 that any more detailed comparison is impossible. So far as the figures go, Islám has made steady progress as compared with the Hindu group; but their significance is so uncertain that it is impossible to draw any profitable conclusion from them.

	1855.	1868.	1881.
Musalmáns	5,329	5,302	5,583
Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists	4,671	4,149	4,399
Others	...	549	18
TOTAL	10,000	10,000	10,000

209. The figures for 1868 are hardly more satisfactory. There indeed Sikhs are distinguished, while Buddhists or Jains, though shown together, are separated from other religions. But the method, or rather want of method, by which the lower castes were classified leaves the whole meaning of the figures uncertain. Abstract No. 49 on the opposite page shows them side by side with those of the present Census, the districts being arranged in order of the prevalence of Mahomedanism. It will be seen that while in Rohtak only 5 in every 10,000 are classed as "Other religions," in the adjoining and very similar district of Karnál no fewer than 1,481 are so treated.

The figures of columns 2 to 16 show the proportion per 10,000 of all religions which followed each religion at the respective enumerations. Columns 17 to 22 give the proportion which the above figures for 1881 bear to those for 1868, so that where the entry is less than 1,000 the proportionate strength of the religion has fallen off; where more, it has increased.

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Abstract No. 49, *showing* Progress of each Religion since 1868.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	1
	NUMBER PER 10,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION FOLLOWING EACH RELIGION IN 1868 AND 1881.															PROPORTION OF FIGURES OF 1881 TO THOSE OF 1868 PER THOUSAND.						
DISTRICTS.	Other Religions.	Musalmán.		Hindu, Sikh, Jain, and Buddhist.		Christian.		Hindu.		Sikh.		Buddhist.	Jain.	Buddhist and Jain.		Musalmán.	Hindu, Sikh, Jain, and Buddhist.	Christian.	Hindu.	Sikh.	Buddhist and Jain.	DISTRICTS.
	1868.	1881.	1868.	1881.	1868.	1881.	1868.	1881.	1868.	1881.	1868.	1881.	1881.	1881.	1868.							
Hazára	41	9,476	9,425	521	532	2	2	487	506	34	26	...	...	...	...	1,006	979	1,000	962	1,308	...	Hazára
Kohát	25	9,321	9,391	667	580	12	4	542	450	123	126	...	2	2	4	993	1,150	3,000	1,204	976	500	Kohát
Pesháwar	170	9,215	9,203	715	562	69	65	663	524	52	38	...	...	...	...	1,001	1,272	1,062	1,265	1,368	...	Pesháwar
Bannu	9	9,051	9,061	947	929	2	1	921	912	24	17	...	2	2	...	999	1,019	2,000	1,010	1,414	...	Bannu
Gujrát	77	8,816	8,724	1,180	1,198	4	1	1,051	863	129	335	...	...	...	...	1,011	985	4,000	1,218	385	...	Gujrát
Jhelam	71	8,768	8,666	1,225	1,262	7	1	1,034	980	190	277	...	1	1	5	1,012	971	7,000	1,055	686	200	Jhelam
Dera Ismáíl Khan	150	8,724	8,569	1,271	1,275	6	6	1,233	1,235	[illegible]	40	...	...	...	...	1,018	993	1,000	994	959	...	Dera Ismáíl Khan
Dera Ghazi Khan	149	8,677	8,565	1,321	1,284	2	2	1,285	1,245	36	36	...	...	...	3	1,013	1,029	1,000	1,032	1,000	...	Dera Ghazi Khan
Ráwalpindi	28	8,672	8,733	1,281	1,208	47	31	1,051	854	217	342	...	13	13	12	993	1,060	1,516	1,231	635	1,085	Ráwalpindí
Muzaffargarh	215	8,638	8,454	1,361	1,330	1	1	1,279	1,243	82	87	...	...	...	...	1,022	1,023	1,000	1,029	943	...	Muzaffargarh
Shahpur	177	8,487	8,284	1,512	1,539	1	...	1,400	1,453	112	85	...	...	...	1	1,025	982	...	966	1,318	...	Shahpur
Jhang	486	8,270	7,781	1,730	1,732	...	1	1,642	1,646	88	86	...	...	...	...	1,063	999	...	998	1,023	...	Jhang
Multán	469	7,897	7,638	2,068	1,867	34	26	2,029	1,845	38	19	...	1	1	3	1,034	1,108	1,308	1,100	2,000	333	Multán
Montgomery	...	7,748	7,715	2,249	2,284	2	2	1,969	1,942	280	342	...	...	...	...	1,004	985	1,000	1,014	819	...	Montgomery
Gújránwála	891	7,337	6,494	2,659	2,613	3	2	2,064	1,891	586	707	...	9	9	15	1,130	1,018	1,500	1,091	829	600	Gújránwála
Sialkot	1,300	6,617	5,990	3,368	2,692	15	18	2,957	2,176	397	500	...	14	14	16	1,105	1,251	833	1,359	794	875	Sialkot
Lahore	1,009	6,487	5,954	3,462	2,999	50	38	2,092	1,473	1,359	1,510	...	11	11	16	1,090	1,154	1,316	1,420	900	688	Lahore
Total British Territory.	**536**	**5,583**	**5,302**	**4,399**	**4,149**	**18**	**13**	**3,783**	**3,478**	**595**	**650**	**2**	**19**	**21**	**21**	**1,053**	**1,060**	**1,385**	**1,088**	**915**	**1,000**	**Total British Territory**
Firozpur	1,330	4,774	4,472	5,200	4,181	26	17	2,593	1,245	2,595	2,922	...	12	12	14	1,068	1,244	1,529	2,083	889	857	Firozpur
Gurdaspur	1,030	4,752	4,531	5,242	4,437	6	2	4,362	3,812	879	610	...	1	1	15	1,049	1,181	3,000	1,144	1,441	66	Gurdaspur
Amritsar	1,155	4,626	4,636	5,364	4,204	10	5	2,939	1,766	2,422	2,424	...	3	3	14	997	1,276	2,000	1,164	999	214	Amritsar
Jálandhar	2	4,542	4,509	5,438	5,480	20	9	4,285	3,997	1,144	1,474	...	9	9	9	1,007	992	2,222	1,072	778	1,000	Jálandhar
Sirsa	1,382	3,683	3,896	6,316	4,720	1	2	5,156	3,651	1,117	1,021	...	43	43	48	945	1,338	500	1,412	1,094	896	Sirsa
Lúdhiána	1,042	3,457	3,542	6,538	5,412	5	4	4,448	3,761	2,055	1,636	...	35	35	15	976	1,208	1,250	1,183	1,256	2,333	Lúdhiána
Hushyárpur	1,328	3,219	3,386	6,779	5,285	1	1	6,104	4,425	663	846	...	12	12	14	951	1,283	1,000	1,379	784	857	Hushyárpur
Gurgáon	...	3,094	3,102	6,905	6,897	1	1	6,844	6,889	2	2	...	59	59	6	997	1,001	1,000	993	1,000	9,833	Gurgáon
Ambála	15	2,850	2,770	7,111	7,202	35	13	6,458	6,627	641	545	...	12	12	30	1,029	987	2,692	974	1,176	400	Ambála
Karnál	1,481	2,508	2,483	7,491	6,032	1	4	7,286	5,832	130	152	...	75	75	48	1,010	1,242	250	1,249	855	1,563	Karnál
Dehli	512	2,328	2,146	7,640	7,305	31	37	7,511	7,208	15	9	...	114	114	88	1,085	1,046	838	1,042	1,667	1,295	Dehli
Hissár	61	2,251	2,124	7,748	7,812	1	3	7,624	7,715	62	37	...	62	62	60	1,060	992	333	988	1,676	1,033	Hissár
Simla	275	1,615	1,625	7,603	7,311	780	789	7,551	7,190	47	120	...	5	5	1	994	1,040	989	1,050	392	5,000	Simla
Rohtak	5	1,436	1,324	8,563	8,670	1	1	8,470	8,497	3	5	...	90	90	168	1,085	988	1,000	997	600	536	Rohtak
Kángra	...	536	653	9,460	9,344	4	4	9,409	9,324	10	18	39	2	41	2	821	1,012	1,000	1,009	556	20,500	Kángra

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Now it is possible, perhaps probable, that most of those classed as "Others" in 1868 should have been included with Hindus, and very few of them with Sikhs or Musalmáns; and this is rendered more probable by the fact that they are most numerous in the east of the Province. If this be so, then column 17 gives us a fair estimate of the progress of Islám within the last thirteen years. According to those figures Mahomedanism has made some very slight progress in the Western Plains and Salt-range Tract, where it is already predominant, with the exceptions of Kohát and Ráwalpindi where an influx of troops and immigrants from the east has temporarily lowered its relative position; in the centre of the Province it has made considerable, and in the Jamna zone and the south-eastern corner slight progress; while in Kángra, Hushyárpur, Amritsar, Lúdhiána, Gurgáon, and Sirsa, it has distinctly gone back. On the whole its position relatively to Hinduism is some 5 per cent. better than in 1868. The figures of 1868 for Buddhist and Jain are impossible; in fact only 278 Buddhists seem to have been then returned for the Panjáb, and *none* for Kángra. Thus we may take the figures as referring to Jains only. They show a large increase in the east of the Province, where alone Jainism has any real hold, and a general decrease elsewhere, the total being unaltered. I doubt whether the figures are worth examining. The statistics regarding Sikhism are discussed separately in sections 271—3, as they involve some explanations which fall more properly in that portion of the chapter. On the whole little conclusive can be elicited from the figures, and we must await another Census before we can discuss the question with profit.

PART II.—THE HINDUS OF THE PANJAB.

210. The elasticity of Hinduism.—What is Hinduism—not the Hinduism of the Vedas, which was a clearly defined cult followed by a select society of a superior race living among despised barbarians of the lowest type, but the Hinduism of to-day, the religion of the masses of India, which has to struggle for existence against the inroads of other and perhaps higher forms of belief? The difficulty of answering this question springs chiefly from the marvellous catholicity and elasticity of the Hindu religion. It is in the first place essentially a cosmogony rather than a code of ethics. The esoteric teaching of the higher forms of Hinduism does doubtless include ethical doctrines, but they have been added to rather than sprung from the religion itself. Indeed it seems to me that a polytheistic creed must, from the very nature of things, be devoid of all ethical significance. The aspects of Nature and the manifestations of physical force are manifold, and can reasonably be allotted to a multiplicity of gods, each supreme in his separate province; but only one rule of conduct, one standard of right and wrong is possible, and it cannot conveniently be either formulated or enforced by a Divine Committee. In many respects this separation of religion from ethics is doubtless an advantage, for it permits of a healthy development of the rules of conduct as the ethical perceptions of the race advance. When the god has once spoken, his worshippers can only advance by modifying their interpretation of his commands; and no greater misfortune could befall a people than that their religion should lend all the sanctions of its hopes and terrors to a precise code of right and wrong, formulated while the conscience of the nation was yet young and its knowledge imperfect.

But if the non-ethical nature of the Hindu religion is in some respects an advantage to its followers, it has also greatly increased the difficulty of preserving that religion in its original purity. The old Aryans who worshipped the gods of the Vedas were surrounded by races whose deities differed from their own in little but name, for both were but personifications of the forces of Nature. What more natural then that, as the two peoples intermingled, their gods should gradually become associated in a joint Pantheon. If the gods of the Vedas were mightier, the gods of the country might still be mighty. If malevolent it was well to propitiate them; if benevolent, some benefits might perhaps be had from them. In either case it was but adding the worship of a few new gods to that of many old ones; for since neither these nor those laid down any immutable rules of conduct or belief, no change of life, no supersession of the one by the other was necessary. The evils the Hindus feared from their deities were physical; the help they hoped for material and not spiritual. Their gods were offended, not by disbelief and sin, but by neglect; they were to be propitiated, not by repentance and a new life, but by sacrifice and ceremonial observance; and so long as their dues were discharged they would not grudge offerings made to others as an additional insurance against evil[1]. The members of the Hindu Pantheon had many ranks and degrees, and, among the superior gods at any rate, each worshipper selected for himself that one which he would chiefly venerate. Thus it was easy to add on at the bottom of the list without derogating from the dignity of those at the top; while the relative honour in which each was held presently became a matter for the individual to decide for himself. And so we find that the gates of the Hindu Olympus have ever stood open to the strange gods of the neighbourhood, and that wherever Hindus have come into contact with worship other than their own they have combined the two, and even have not unseldom given the former precedence over the latter. The Hindu of the plains worships the saints of his Musalmán neighbours, and calls his own original gods by Mahomedan names unknown to an Indian tongue; the Hindu of the hills worships the devils and deities of the aborigines, and selects for special honour that one of his own proper divinities whose nature is most akin to theirs; both mollify by offerings innumerable agencies, animal, human, demoniacal, or semi-divine, who are not perhaps ranked with the greater gods of the temples, but who may do harm, and to propitiate whom is therefore a wise precaution.

211. Brahminism the distinguishing feature of Hinduism.—But through all these diversities there does run a common element, the clue to which is to be found in the extraordinary predominance which the priestly class have obtained in India, as the explanation of the diversity itself is largely to be found in the greed of that class. In polytheistic Europe the separation of ethics from religion was no less complete than in India; but while in the latter the study of the two was combined, in Europe Greece developed religion into philosophy while Rome formulated practical ethics in the shape of law, and each was content to receive at the hands of the other the branch which that other had made her own. When Christianity swept away the relics of the old gods, the separation had become too complete to be ever wholly obliterated; and though the priests of the new monotheism struggled fiercely, and with no small measure of success, to recombine the two and to substitute the canon for the civil law, yet there ever existed by the side of but distinct from the clergy, a lay body of educated lawyers who shared with them the learning of the day and the power which that learning conferred. If then under such circumstances the political power of the Church in Europe was for centuries so immense for good or evil as we know it to have been, it may be conceived how wholly all authority was concentrated in the hands of the Bráhmans and with what tyranny they exercised that power in India, where all learning of every sort

[1] I suspect that in many cases the strictly territorial nature of the aboriginal gods facilitated their inclusion in the Hindu worship. It would be less difficult to recognise a deity who did not even claim authority beyond certain set bounds, or pretend to rival the Vedic gods in their limitless power; and it would seem especially reasonable on entering a territory to propitiate the local powers who might be offended by the intrusion. The gods of the hills were, and many of them are still, undoubtedly territorial—see note to page 123. It would be interesting to discover whether the aboriginal gods of the plains presented the same characteristic. With them the limits of the tribe would probably define the territory, in the absence of any impassable physical boundaries such as are afforded by mountain ranges.

and kind was absolutely confined to the priestly class [1]. The result was that Hinduism early degenerated from a religion into a sacerdotalism, and would, in its present form, be far better described as Braihmanism than by any other single word; and it is this abject subjection to and veneration for the Bráhman which forms the connecting link that runs through and binds together the diverse forms of worship and belief of which I have spoken.

212. It is in this predominance of the priesthood, moreover, that we may find an explanation at once of the catholicity and of the exclusiveness which characterise the Hindu religion. If to give to a Bráhman is to worship God, the larger the circle of worshippers the better for the Bráhman; and if new worshippers will not leave their gods behind them, it would be foolish to exclude them on that account, as there is ample room for all. On the other hand, as the Levitical body so increased in numbers that a portion of them was necessarily illiterate, the Bráhmans were compelled to fall back upon hereditary virtue as the only possible foundation for the power of their class. Here they found in the tribal divisions of the people, and in the theory of the hereditary nature of occupations which had sprung from them, an institution suited to their purpose and ready to their hands; and this they developed into that complex web of caste-restrictions and disabilities which envelops a high-caste Hindu from his mother's womb. And so the special power and sanctity of the Bráhman came to depend for its very existence upon the stringency with which caste-distinctions were maintained, the act of worship was subordinated to the idea of ceremonial purity, and for a definite creed was substituted the domination of a priestly class, itself divided into a thousand sects and holding a thousand varieties of doctrine. To the aborigine who, with his gods on his back, sought admission within the pale of Hinduism, these restrictions presented no obstacle. They were but developments of the system which obtains in all primitive forms of society; and so far as they differed from the rules which he already observed, they tended to raise him in the social scale by hedging him round with an exclusiveness which was flattering if inconvenient. But to the outcast whose hereditary habits or occupation rendered him impure from the birth, admission was impossible, at least to the full privileges of Hinduism [2].

213. The sacerdotal despotism has now altogether overshadowed the religious element; and the caste-system has thrust its roots so deep into the whole social fabric that its sanction is social rather than religious. A man may disbelieve in the Hindu Trinity, he may invent new gods of his own however foul and impure, he may worship them with the most revolting orgies, he may even abandon all belief in supernal powers, and yet remain a Hindu. But he must reverence and feed the Bráhman, he must abide by caste rules and restrictions, he must preserve himself from ceremonial pollution and from contact and communion with the unclean on pain of becoming Anathema Maranatha. With individuals indeed even these restrictions are relaxed, on the condition that they affect a personal sanctity which, by encouraging superstition and exciting terror, shall tend to the glorification of the priesthood; and the filthy Aghori, smeared with human ordure and feeding on carrion and even on human carrion [3], is still a Hindu. But the masses must observe the rules; and any who should, like Buddha or Bába Nának, propose to admit the body of the laity to share in a license which is permitted to the naked ascetic, would at once be disavowed. The Christian and Buddhist recognise no distinction of caste, nor does the Musalmán save where influenced by the example of those whom he has so bitterly persecuted, while all three profess to disregard the Bráhman; and for this reason, and not because they worship a different god, the Hindu holds their touch to be pollution. The Sikh has fallen away from his original faith; in his reverence for the Bráhman and his observance of caste-rules he differs only in degree from his Hindu neighbour; and I shall presently show how difficult it is to draw the line between the two religions. The Jain I take to be little more than a Hindu sect.

214. Modern Hinduism defined.—Thus, while Hinduism in its purity may be defined as the religion of the original Aryan immigrants into India as set forth in the Vedas, Hinduism as it now exists may perhaps be best described as a hereditary sacerdotalism, with Bráhmans for its Levites, the vitality of which is preserved by the social institution of caste, and which may include all shades and diversities of religion native to India, as distinct from the foreign importations of Christianity and Islám, and from the later outgrowths of Buddhism, more doubtfully of Sikhism, and still more doubtfully of Jainism [4]. If this description be correct, it will be seen that the assumption upon which we acted in compiling our figures for Hindus is not far removed from the truth. The only definition that I have had offered me is that of Mr. Benton of Karnál, who would define a Hindu as one who receives religious service at the hands of Bráhmans. For practical purposes I do not know that this definition helps us much. It substitutes for the question "Who is a Hindu?" the question "Who receives religious service at the hands of Bráhmans?" Though probably too narrow in some respects and too wide in others, I believe it to involve the cardinal idea of Hinduism. But the test proposed is almost impossible of application. Nearly all Sikh villagers reverence and make use of the Bráhman almost as freely as do their Hindu neighbours. The Jain priests are invariably Bráhman. Many tribes of converted Musalmáns retain and fee Bráhmans as a matter of course; while some actually employ them to conduct their marriages after the Hindu ceremonial, only adding the Mahomedan ritual as a legal precaution. There is a class of Musalmán Bráhmans who minister solely to Mahomedans;

[1] The position of the Bráhmans with respect to religion in India seems to have been closely analogous to that which the lawyer formerly held with respect to law in England. The language in which religious rites were conducted was scrupulously kept from the knowledge of the people, while the procedure was extremely technical, and any error in form, however minute, destroyed the efficacy of the ceremony.

[2] I had, after repeated warnings, to fine severely one of my Hindu compilers, a man in a good position, and of education and intelligence, but who positively refused to include scavengers who returned themselves as Hindus in the figures for that religion.

[3] An Aghori was caught by the police in the Rohtak district, not many months ago, in the act of devouring a newly buried child which he had dug up for the purpose.

[4] Sardár Gurdiál Singh points out that the word is commonly used by the people themselves in precisely this sense; and that a true Sikh, if asked whether he is a Hindu or a Musalmán, will answer that he is a Hindu. The Sardár further writes: "When I filled up the Census schedule for my camp, my sweeper (Chúhra) was at a loss how to describe his religion. After some hesitation he said that he was not a Musalmán and therefore must be a Hindu."

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while almost every impure caste or outcast tribe, however low its position, has its own priests of undoubted Bráhman origin, though they have, by associating with their clients, cut themselves off from the society of their unpolluted fellows. The burning of the adult dead has been proposed as a test; and in many respects it is not a bad one [1]. But certain classes of Hindu ascetics are always buried; the Bishnois never burn the corpse; some of the lower castes burn and bury indifferently, even in the same household; and cremation is a common Buddhist practice. In short, I do not believe that there is any exact test by which a Hindu can be discriminated: the term is in one sense as much national as religious; and I am compelled to fall back upon my original proposition, and to say that all natives of India who are not either Musalmáns, Christians, Sikhs, Jains, or Buddhists, must for all practical purposes be classed as Hindus. What their religion is, as practised in the villages, I shall now endeavour to describe.

215. The Pantheon of the Hindu peasant [2].—Of all the districts of the Panjáb, those bordering on the Jamna to the east of the Province and those lying in the hills of Kángra are the ones whose people have turned to foreign creeds in the smallest numbers, and therefore the ones in which we may hope to find Hinduism least corrupted. I shall first describe Hinduism as it exists in the villages of the Dehli Territory, chiefly from my own personal knowledge; to that I shall add a brief notice of the most salient points which distinguish the Hinduism of the hills; and I shall complete this section of my subject by a glance at the position of the Hindu on our western frontier. I shall thus have described Hinduism as it exists on the extreme confines of the Province. Between them the change of practice and belief takes place so gradually that it is impossible to draw any very definite lines; and it is sufficient to say that the religion of the sub-montane tracts is midway between that of the hills and that of the plains; while eastern Hinduism obtains almost unchanged to the borders of Rájpútána and as far west as Lahore, and then, as we enter the purely Musalmán portion of the Province, rapidly changes to the type prevailing on the frontier.

The student who, intimately acquainted with the gods of the Hindu Pantheon as displayed in the sacred texts, should study the religion of the peasantry of the Dehli Territory, would find himself in strangely unfamiliar company. Brahma is there never mentioned save by a Bráhman, while many of the villagers would hardly recognize his name. It is true indeed that all men know of Siva and of Vishnu; that a peasant, when he has nothing else to do to that degree that he yawns perforce, takes the name of Nárain; that the familiar salutation is Rám Rám, and that Bhagwán is made responsible for many things not always to his credit. But these are the lords of creation and too high company for the villager. He recognizes their supremacy indeed; but his daily concern in this work-a-day world is with the host of deities whose special business it is to regulate the matters by which he is most nearly affected [3]. The temples to these great gods are generally built, those to Vishnu by Bráhmans or Bairági monks, and those to Siva by Banyas; and the villager will perhaps not enter them oftener than twice a year, while, as they should be entered fasting, the young men of the family who cannot spare the time from their ploughs will never set foot inside them. But if the peasant takes but small heed of the great Trinity of his faith, he has acquired, perhaps from his Musalmán brethren who live in the same village with him, a strong monotheistic bias, and his innate belief in the divinities whom he worships is I suspect often of the weakest. He will generally end any information he may be giving you about his gods by remarking, with a smile and a shake of the finger, "but it is a *kacha* religion," or "after all there is but one Great One;" and in one village they told me laughingly that if Government was going to assess their shrines they would pull them all down at once. Of course the existence of such a feeling is exceedingly compatible with the most scrupulous care on his part not to neglect any of the usual observances; and whatever might be his private conviction or absence of conviction, a man would feel that it would be pre-eminently unsafe to omit the customary offerings, and would be thought ill of if he did so.

216. The godlings of the villages.—The godlings with whom the peasant chiefly concerns himself may be broadly divided into two classes, the pure and the impure. To the former such offerings are made as are pure food to a Hindu, cakes or sweets fried in *ghi*, and the like; they are very generally made on a Sunday, and they are taken by Bráhmans. To the second class the offerings are impure, such as leavings from the meal, fowls, pigs, and so forth; they are never made on a Sunday, and they are taken, not by Bráhmans, but by impure and perhaps aboriginal castes. Of course the line cannot always be drawn with precision, and Bráhmans will often consent to be fed in the name of a deity while they will not take offerings made at his shrine, or will allow their *girls*, but not their boys, to accept the offerings as if the girls die in consequence it does not much matter. The former class of deity is usually benevolent; the latter are generally malevolent, and, as malevolent deities seem to be, all over the world, of the female sex, and their worship is often confined to women and to children at their mothers' apron, the men not sharing in it. I cannot help suspecting that the latter are often the modern representatives of the non-Aryan deities which were worshipped by the aborigines of India. The Aryan invaders must have intermarried, probably largely, with the aboriginal women; these latter would have preserved the cult of their fathers; and it would be natural that the newcomers, while not perhaps caring to invoke the aid of the beneficent *genii loci*, might think it well worthwhile to propitiate, or at least to allow their womenfolk to propitiate, the local powers of evil on whose territory they had trespassed [4].

[1] For the importance attached to this test by the people, see the story in section 218, and see also the story of Gúga Pír in section 223.

[2] Some part of the following paragraphs is taken almost word for word from my Settlement Report of Karnál. Where I had nothing to alter or add, I did not think it worthwhile to re-write the text.

[3] A peasant expressd the matter to me thus: "We know, sir, that the Lieutenant-Governor is above all at Lahore, but we only "adore him once in every few years when he visits these parts. You, as yet, are subordinate to him, but we worship you daily and "hourly."

[4] Some support is lent to this theory by the fact that Siva, who is almost beyond a doubt a non-Aryan god (see, among other books, Burgess on the *Caves of Elephanta*, p. 8 *ff*) is so far held impure in the Dehli Territory that no Bráhmans can partake of offerings made to him or be priests in his temple, though they will worship him, and will sometimes even assist in the ceremonies. Lower down the peninsula, I believe that they will not enter his shrine. The priests of Siva are, in the Panjáb, almost invariably monks, either of the Gosáín or of the ear-pierced Jogi order.

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217. First among the pure and benevolent gods comes *Súraj Devata*, or, *the Sun godling*. The Sun was of course one of the great Vedic deities; but his worship has apparently in a great measure dropped out of the higher Hinduism, and the peasant calls him, not Deva but Devata, a godling, not a god. No shrine is ever built to him, but on Sunday the people abstain from salt, and they do not set their milk as usual to make butter from, but make rice milk of it and give a portion to the Bráhmans. After each harvest, and occasionally between whiles, Bráhmans are fed in his honour; and he is each morning saluted with an invocation as the good man steps out of his house. He is *par excellence* the great god of the villager, who will always name him first of all his deities. After him comes, at least in the east of the Province, *Jamna Ji*, or, *Lady Jamna*. She is bathed in periodically, Bráhmans are fed in her honour, and the waters of the canal which is fed from her stream are held in such respect by the villagers, that they describe the terrible evils which they work in the land as springing "from Lady Jamna's friendship." *Dharti Máta*, or, *Mother Earth*, holds the next place of honour. The pious man does obeisance to and invokes her as he rises from his bed in the morning, and even the indifferent follows his example when he begins to plough or to sow. When a cow or buffalo is first bought, or when she first gives milk after calving, the first five streams of milk drawn from her are allowed to fall on the ground in honour of the deity; and at every time of milking the first stream is so treated. So, when medicine is taken, a little is sprinkled in her honour. *Khwájah Khizr*, or, *the god of water*, is an extraordinary instance of a Musalmán name being given to a Hindu deity. Khwája Khizr is properly that one of the great Mahomedan saints to whom the care of travellers is confided. But throughout the Eastern Panjáb at any rate, he is the Hindu god of water, and is worshipped by burning lamps and feeding Bráhmans at the well, and by setting afloat on the village pond a little raft of sacred grass with a lighted lamp upon it.

218. The four deities above mentioned are the only ones to whom no temples are built. To the rest a small brick shrine from 1 to 2 feet cube, with a bulbous head and perhaps an iron spike as a finial, is erected, and in the interior lamps are burnt and offerings placed. It never contains idols, which are found only in the temples of the greater gods. The Hindu shrine must always face the east, while the Musalmán shrine is in the form of a grave and faces the south. This sometimes gives rise to delicate questions. In one village a section of the community had become Mahomedans. The shrine of the common ancestor needed rebuilding, and there was much dispute as to its shape and aspect. They solved the difficulty by building a Musalmán grave facing south, and over it a Hindu shrine facing east. In another village an imperial trooper was once burnt alive by the shed in which he was sleeping catching fire, and it was thought well to propitiate him by a shrine, or his ghost might become troublesome. He was by religion a Musalmán; but he had been burnt and not buried, which seemed to make him a Hindu. After much discussion the latter opinion prevailed, and a Hindu shrine with an eastern aspect now stands to his memory. The most honoured of the village deities proper is *Bhúmia* or *the god of the homestead*, often called *Khera* (a village). The erection of his shrine is the first formal act by which the proposed site of a new village is consecrated; and where two villages have combined their homesteads for greater security against the marauders of former days, the people of the one which moved still worship at the Bhúmia of the deserted site. Bhúmia is worshipped after the harvests, at marriages, and on the birth of a male child, and Bráhmans are commonly fed in his name. Women often take their children to the shrine on Sundays; and the first milk of a cow or buffalo is always offered there[1].

The *Singhs*, or *Snake gods*, occupy an intermediate place between the two classes into which I have divided the minor deities. They are males, and though they cause fever are not very malevolent, often taking away pain. They have great power over milch cattle, the milk of the eleventh day after calving is sacred to them, and libations of milk are always acceptable. They are generally distinguished by some colour, the most commonly worshipped being Káli, Hari, and Bhúri Singh, or black, green, and gray. But the diviner will often declare a fever to be caused by some Singh whom no one has even heard of before, but to whom a shrine must be built; and so they multiply in the most perplexing manner. Dead men also have a way of becoming snakes, a fact which is revealed in a dream, when again a shrine must be built. If a peasant sees a snake he will salute it; and if it bite him, he or his heirs, as the case may be, will build a shrine on the spot to prevent a repetition of the occurrence. They are the servants of Rája Básak Nág, King of Patál or Tartarus; and their worship is most certainly connected in the minds of the people with that of the *pitr* or ancestors, though it is difficult to say exactly in what the connection lies. Sunday is their day, and Bráhmans do not object to be fed at their shrines, though they will not take the offerings which are generally of an impure nature. The snake is the common ornament on almost all the minor Hindu shrines.

219. *The Sítala*, or *small-pox goddess*, also known as Máta, is the eldest of a band of seven sisters by whom the pustular group of diseases is supposed to be caused, and who are the most dreaded of all the minor powers. The other six are Masáni, Basanti, Máhá Mái, Polamde, Lamkariá, and Agwáni, whose small shrines generally cluster round the central one to Sítala. Each is supposed to cause a specific disease, and Sítala's speciality is small-pox. These deities are never worshipped by men, but only by women and children, enormous numbers of whom attend the shrines of renown on "Sítala's 7th." Every village has its local shrine also, at which the offerings are all impure. Sítala rides upon a donkey, and gram is given to the donkey and to his master the potter at the shrine, after having been waved over the head of the child. Fowls, pigs, goats, and cocoanuts are offered, black dogs are fed, and white cocks are waved and let loose. An adult who has recovered from small-pox should let a pig loose to Sítala, or he will again be attacked. During an attack no offerings are made; and if the epidemic has once seized upon a village all worship is discontinued till the disease has disappeared. But so long as she keeps her hands off nothing is too good for the goddess,

[1] Bhúmia should, by his name, be the god of the land and not of the homestead. But he is most certainly the latter, and is almost as often called Khera as Bhúmia. There is also a village god called Khetrpál or the field nourisher, and also known as Bhairon; but he is not often found. In some places, however, the *Khera Devata* or godling of the village site is also called Chanwand and alleged to be the wife of Bhúmia (*Channing's Gurgáon Report*, p. 34; *see also Alwar Gazettee, page 70*). It is a curious fact that among the Gonds and Bheels the word Bhúmia means priest or medicine man, while among the Korkus, another Kolian tribe, Bhúmka stands for high-priest.

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for she is the one great dread of Indian mothers. She is, however, easily frightened and deceived; and if a mother has lost one son by small-pox, she will call the next Kurria, he of the dunghill, or Báharu, the outcast, or Máru, the worthless one, or Molar, bought, or Mangtú, borrowed[1], or Bhagwána, given by the Great God; or will send him round the village in a dust-pan to show that she sets no store by him. So too, many mothers dress their children in old rags begged of their neighbours till they have passed the dangerous age.

220. The worship of the sainted dead.—The worship of the dead is universal; and they again may be divided into the sainted and the malevolent dead. First among the sainted dead are the *Pitr* or *ancestors*. Tiny shrines to these will be found all over the fields, while there will often be a larger one to the common ancestor of the clan. Villagers who have migrated will periodically make long pilgrimages to worship at the original shrine of their ancestor; or, if the distance is too great, will bring away a brick from the original shrine, and use it as the foundation of a new local shrine which will answer all purposes. In the Panjáb proper these larger shrines are called *játhera*, or "ancestor;" but in the Dehli Territory the *Satti* takes their place in every respect, and is supposed to mark the spot where a widow was burnt with her husband's corpse[2]. The 15th of the month is sacred to the *pitr*, and on that day the cattle do no work and Bráhmans are fed. But besides this veneration of ancestors, saints of widespread renown occupy a very important place in the worship of the peasantry. No one of them is, I believe, malevolent, and in a way their good nature is rewarded by a certain loss of respect. *Gúga beta na dega, tau kuchh na chhín lega*—"If Gúga doesn't give me a son, at least he will take nothing away from me." They are generally Mahomedan, but are worshipped by Hindus and Musalmáns[3] alike with the most absolute impartiality. There are three saints who are pre-eminently great in the Panjáb, and thousands of worshippers of both religions flock yearly to their shrines.

221. Greatest of all is *Sakhi Sarwar Sultán* or the generous Prince Sarwar, also called Lakhdáta or the Giver of Lákhs, and Rohiánwála or He of the Hills. His real name was Saiyad Ahmad, and he flourished about the middle of the 12th century. His principal shrine is at Nigáha in the Derah Gházi Khán district, and contains, besides the tombs of the saint and his wife, a shrine to Bábá Nának and a temple to Vishnu, thus exemplifying the extraordinary manner in which religions are intermingled in the Panjáb. Sakhi Sarwar is said indeed to have been a disciple of Bábá Nának; but if so it must have been by anticipation, as he died nearly 300 years before the first Sikh Guru. The shrine is celebrated throughout the Province, and thousands of pilgrims from all parts, Hindu, Sikh, and Musalmán, attend the annual fair which is held there, many of them in hopes of or in gratitude for a son, a boon supposed to be specially in the gift of the Saint. A very considerable proportion of the Hindu village population, and especially of the women, of the Amritsar, Jálandhar, and Ambála divisions (excepting Simla and Kángra) and of Northern Patiála are followers of Sakhi Sarwar Sultán, and are known in consequence as Sultánis[4]. They are specially lax in the observances of their religion, and, unlike other Hindus who will eat meat at all, they scrupulously abstain from the flesh of animals killed after the Sikh fashion by the *jatka* or single stroke of the sword, and will indeed only eat it if killed after the *halál* or Mahomedan ceremony of cutting the throat of the living animal. The guardians of the local shrines which exist in almost every village are Musalmáns, and are called Bharái (*q. v.* in chapter on Castes) and conduct the companies of Hindu pilgrims on their way to the shrine at Nigáha. In the Dehli Territory Sakhi Sarwar is not held in quite such high esteem; but he is generally worshipped, shrines in his honour are common, vows and pilgrimages to him are frequent, and Bráhmans tie threads on the wrists of their clients on a fixed date in his name.

222. Next to Sakhi Sarwar comes *Bába Faríd*, surnamed *Shakarganj* or the Fountain of Sweets. His shrine at Pák Pattan in the Montgomery district is perhaps the only one of the Panjáb shrines whose renown extends beyond the confines of India. It is celebrated throughout Mahomedan Asia, and there are few of the invaders of India who have not turned aside from massacring his worshippers to pay their respects to the Saint. There is the Gate of Paradise—

> "A narrow opening in a wall, about five feet by two and a half, through which the pilgrims force their passage during the "afternoon and night of the 5th of the Muharram. Every devotee who contrives to get through the gate at the prescribed time is "assured of a free entrance into Paradise hereafter. The crowd is therefore immense, and the pressure so great that two or three "layers of men, packed closely over each other, generally attempt the passage at the same time, and serious accidents, notwith-"standing every precaution taken by the police, are not uncommon."

The estimated attendance at the annual fair is 50,000, composed of both Hindus and Musalmáns. Bába Faríd flourished about the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century. He was a thrifty saint, and for the last 30 years of his life nourished himself by holding to his stomach wooden cakes and fruits when he felt hungry. This miraculous but inexpensive provender is still preserved.

223. Scarcely less celebrated is *Gúga Pír*, also called Záhir Pír the Saint Apparent, or Bágarwála He of the Bágar, from the fact that his grave is near Dadrewa in Bíkáner, and that he is said to have ruled over the northern part of the Bágar or great prairies of Northern Rájpútána. He flourished about the middle of the 12th century. He is really a Hindu, and his proper name is Gúga Bír or Gúga the Hero (cf. *vir* Latin). But Musalmáns also flock to his shrine, and his name has been altered to Gúga Pír or Saint Gúga, while he himself has become a Mahomedan in the opinion of the people. His conversion is thus accounted for. He killed his two nephews, and was condemned by their mother to follow them below.

[1] Cf. Twopenny, Huitdeniers, &c.

[2] *Jathera* would seem to be from the same root as *Jeth*, or husband's elder brother; and the people commonly speak of their *dadera jathera*, which would seem to mean their ancestors on the fathers' and mothers' sides. If so, it is extremely curious that both the *jathera* and the *satti* involve relationship by marriage. The many and important functions assigned to cognates in marriage and other ceremonies by the natives of the Panjáb are most interesting, and call for study and explanation. *Satti* was not abolished in British India until 1829 A.D.

[3] The Hindu Jats of a part of Gurgáon described their worship as confined to "Shékh Ahmad Chisti, Bráhmans, and the Pípal tree."

[4] Some few of the Sikhs also are Sultánis. It is often supposed, indeed, that the Sultánis *are* Sikhs and Sikhs only. But this is an error due to their commonly describing themselves as "Sikh Sultánis," using the word Sikh in its original sense of "disciple," and meaning nothing more than that they are followers of Sultán. In fact, Sakhi Sarwar is the only one of the local Mahomedan saints whom Sikhs do not ordinarily venerate; and this, because of the prohibition against the *jatka* mentioned in the text.

He attempted to do so; but the earth objected that, he being a Hindu, she was quite unable to receive him till he should be properly burnt. As he was anxious to revisit his wife nightly this did not suit him; and so he became a Musalmán, and, her scruples being thus removed, the earth opened and swallowed him and his horse alive. He is to the Hindus of the Eastern Panjáb the greatest of the snake kings, having been found in the cradle sucking a live cobra's head; and his *chhari* or switch, consisting of a long bamboo surmounted by peacock feathers, a cocoanut, some fans, and a blue flag, may be seen at certain times of the year as the Jogis or sweepers who have local charge of it take it round and ask for alms. His worship extends throughout the Province, except perhaps on the frontier itself. It is probably weakest in the Western Plains; but all over the eastern districts his shrines, of a peculiar shape and name, may be seen in almost every large village, and he is universally worshipped throughout the sub-montane tract and the Kángra hills. There is a famous equestrian statue of him on the rock of Mandor, the ancient capital of Jodhpur.

224. Another saint of great celebrity, and a contemporary of Bába Faríd is *Boáli Qalandar.* He used to ride about on a wall, but eventually settled at Pánípat. The Jamna then flowed under the town: and he prayed so continuously that he found it convenient to stand in the river and wash his hands without moving. After seven years of this he got stiff, and the fishes ate his legs; so he asked the river to step back seven paces and let him dry. In her hurry to oblige the saint she retreated seven miles; and there she is now. He gave the people of Pánípat a charm which drove away all flies from the city. But they grumbled, and said they rather liked flies, so he brought them back a thousandfold. The people have since repented. There was a good deal of trouble about his funeral. He died near Karnál, and there they buried him. But the Pánípat people claimed his body and came and opened his grave, on which he sat up and looked at them till they felt ashamed. They then took some bricks from his grave with which to found a shrine; but when they got to Pánípat and opened the box they found his body in it, so now he lies buried both at Pánípat and at Karnál. His history is given in the "Ayín-i-Akbari." He died in 724 Hij. (1324 A.D.). The *Panch Pír* or *Five Saints* are worshipped all over the Province by both Hindus and Musalmáns. It is a matter of dispute whether they are the five Pándu brothers of the Mahábhárat, or the five great saints of Islám.

225. It must be understood that though the graves of these saints are the centres of their worship, and pilgrimages to them the most effective method of propitiation, yet shrines to some of them will be found scattered all over the country, sometimes in almost every village; while all are worshipped and invoked locally at certain times and on certain occasions. Besides these saints of renown, whose worshippers are drawn from all parts of the Province, the countryside swarms with minor saints of more limited fame, generally, but in the east not always Musalmán, and worshipped alike by Hindu and Mahomedan. If their shrines are large enough to go into, you must be careful to clap your hands before entering; as these gentry occasionally sit on their tombs in their bones to take the air and have been discovered in that condition, an intrusion which they resent most violently. All these saints are benevolent, and pilgrimages and offerings are made to them either in hope of male offspring or of relief from disease, or in fulfilment of a vow made with a similar object.

226. The worship of the malevolent dead.—Far different from them are the malevolent dead. From them nothing is to be hoped, but everything is to be feared. Foremost among them are the *Gyáls* or *sonless dead.* When a man has died without male issue he becomes spiteful, especially seeking the lives of the young sons of others. In almost every village small platforms may be seen with rows of small hemispherical depressions into which milk and Ganges water are poured, and by which lamps are lit and Bráhmans fed to assuage the Gyáls [1], while the careful mother will always dedicate a rupee to them, and hang it round her child's neck till he grows up. Another thing that is certain to lead to trouble is the decease of anybody by violence or sudden death. In such cases it is necessary to propitiate the departed by a shrine; as in the case of the trooper mentioned in section 218. The most curious result of this belief is the existence all over the Eastern Panjáb of small shrines to what are popularly known as *Saiyads.* The real word is *shahíd* or martyr, which being unknown to the peasantry, has been corrupted into the more familiar Saiyad. One story showing how these Saiyads met their death will be found in section 376 of my Karnál Report. But the diviners will often invent a Saiyad hitherto unheard of as the author of a disease, and a shrine will be built to him accordingly. The shrines are Mahomedan in form, and the offerings are made on Thursday, and taken by Musalmán faqírs. Very often the name even of the Saiyad is unknown. The Saiyads are exceedingly malevolent, and often cause illness and death. Boils are especially due to them, and they make cattle miscarry. One Saiyad Bhrúa, of Bari in Kaithal, shares with Mansa Devi of Mani Májra in Ambála the honour of being the great patron of thieves in the Eastern Panjáb.

Many of those who have died violent deaths have acquired very widespread fame; indeed Gúga Pír might be numbered amongst them, though he most certainly is not malevolent; witness the proverb quoted in section 220. A very famous hero of this sort is Teja, a Ját of Mewár, who was taking milk to his aged mother when a snake caught him by the nose. He begged to be allowed first to take the milk to the old lady, and then came back to be properly bitten and killed. And on a certain evening in the early autumn the boys of the Dehli Territory come round with a sort of box with the side out, inside which is an image of Teja brilliantly illuminated, and ask you to "remember the grotto." Another case is that of Harda Lála, brother of the Rája of Urchar in Bandelkand. He was poisoned by his own brother, and is worshipped, often under the name of Bandela, all over Northern India, especially in epidemics. He and Teja are generally represented on horseback. So again Harshu Bráhman, who died while sitting *dharna* [2], is worshipped everywhere east of Lahore.

227. But even though a man have not died sonless or by violence, you are not quite safe from him.

[1] I believe them to be identical in purpose, as they certainly are in shape, with the cup-marks which have lately exercised the antiquaries. They are called *bhorka* in the Dehli Territory.

[2] If a Bráhman asks aught of you and you refuse it, he will sit at your door and abstain from food till he gain his request. If he die meanwhile, his blood is on your head. This is called sitting *dharna.*

Part II.—The Hindus of the Panjab.

His disembodied spirit travels about for twelve months as a *paret*, and even in that state is apt to be troublesome. But if, at the end of that time, he does not settle down to a respectable second life, he becomes a *bhút*, or, if a female, a *churel*, and as such is a terror to the whole country, his principal object then being to give as much trouble as may be to his old friends, possessing them, and producing fever and other malignant diseases. Low-caste men, such as scavengers, are singularly liable to give trouble in this way, and are therefore always buried or burnt face downwards to prevent the spirit escaping; and riots have taken place and the Magistrates have been appealed to to prevent a Chúhra being buried face upwards. These ghosts are most to be feared by women and children, and especially immediately after taking sweets; so that if you treat a school to sweetmeats the sweet-seller will also bring salt, of which he will give a pinch to each boy to take the sweet taste out of his mouth. They also have a way of going down your throat when you yawn, so that you should always put your hand to your mouth, and had also better say "Nárain!" afterwards. Ghosts cannot set foot on the ground, and you will sometimes see two bricks or pegs stuck up in front of the shrine for the spirit to rest on. Hence when going on a pilgrimage or with ashes to the Ganges, you must sleep on the ground all the way there so as to avoid them; while the ashes must not rest on the ground, but must be hung up in a tree so that their late owner may be able to visit them. So in places haunted by spirits, and in the vicinity of shrines, you should sleep on the earth, and not on a bedstead. So again, a woman when about to be delivered is placed on the ground, as is every one when about to die. Closely allied to the ghosts are the *Núris* or Fairies. They attack women only, especially on moonlight nights, catching them by the throat, half choking them, and knocking them down. (? Hysteria). Children, on the other hand, they protect. They are Musalmán, and are propitiated accordingly; and are apparently identical with the Parind or Peri with whom Moore has made us familiar. They are also known as Sháhpuri, but resent being so called; and no woman would dare to mention the word.

228. Divination, Possession, Exorcism, and Charms.—Such being the varied choice in the matter of malevolent spirits offered to the Panjáb peasant by the belief of the countryside, it may be supposed that divination and exorcism are practised widely, and possession and the virtue of charms firmly believed in. Of witchcraft proper one hears but little, and it is, I believe, chiefly confined to the lowest castes; though some wizards are commonly credited with the power of causing a woman to die if they can obtain a lock of her hair, and then bringing her to life again for their carnal enjoyment [1]. Illness is generally attributed to the malignant influence of a deity, or to possession by a spirit; and recourse is had to the soothsayer to decide who is to be appeased, and in what manner. The diviners are called "devotees" (*bhagat*)[2] or "wise men" (*syána*), and they generally work under the inspiration of a snake-god, though sometimes under that of a Saiyad (see above). The power of divination is generally confined to the lower and menial (? aboriginal) castes, is often hereditary, and is rarely possessed by women. Inspiration is shown by the man's head beginning to wag; and he then builds a shrine to his familiar, before which he dances, or, as it is called by the people, "sports" (*khelna, khel kúdna*). He is consulted at night, the inquirer providing tobacco and music. The former is waved over the body of the invalid and given to the wise man to smoke. A butter-lamp is lighted, the music plays, the diviner sometimes lashes himself with a whip, and he is at last seized by the afflatus, and in a paroxysm of dancing and head-wagging declares the name of the malignant influence, the manner in which it is to be propitiated, and the time when the disease may be expected to abate. Or the diviner waves wheat over the patient's body, by preference on Saturday or Sunday: he then counts out the grains one by one into heaps, one heap for each god who is likely to be at the bottom of the mischief, and the deity on whose heap the last grain falls is the one to be propitiated. The malignant spirit is appeased by building him a new shrine, or by making offerings at the old one. Very often the offering is first placed by the patient's head for a night or waved over his body, or he is made to eat a part of it; and it is sometimes exposed on a moonlight night while the moon is still on the wax, together with a lighted lamp, at a place where four cross-roads meet. Sometimes it is enough to tie a rag taken from the patient's body on to the sacred tree—generally a *jand* (*prosopis spicigera*)—beneath which the shrine stands, and such trees may often be seen covered with the remnants of those offerings, blue being the predominating colour if the shrine be Musalmán, and red if it be Hindu.

229. The evil eye is firmly believed in, and iron is the sovereign safeguard against it. While a house is being built, an iron pot (or an earthen vessel painted black is near enough to deceive the evil eye, and is less expensive) is always kept on the works; and when it is finished the young daughter of the owner ties to the lintel a charm, used on other occasions also, the principal virtue of which lies in a small iron ring. Mr. Channing thus describes the theory of the evil eye:—

> "When a child is born an invisible spirit is sometimes born with it; and unless the mother keeps one breast tied up for forty "days while she feeds the child from the other, in which case the spirit dies of hunger, the child grows up with the endowment "of the evil eye, and whenever a person so endowed looks at anything constantly, something evil will happen to it. Amulets worn "for protection against the evil eye seem to be of two classes; the first, objects which apparently resist the influence by a "superior innate strength, such as tigers' claws; the second, of a worthless character, such as cowries, which may catch the eye "of their beholder, and thus prevent the covetous look."

A father was once asked, "Why don't you wash that pretty child's face?" and replied "A little black is good to keep off the evil eye." If so, most native children should be safe enough. It is bad manners to admire a child, or comment upon its healthy appearance. The theory of the scapegoat obtains; and in times of great sickness goats will be marked after certain ceremonies, and let loose in the jungle or killed and buried in the centre of the village. Men commonly wear round their necks amulets, consisting of small silver lockets containing sentences, or something which looks like a sentence, written by a *faqir*. The leaves of the *siras* (*albizzia lebbek*) and of the mango (*mangifera Indica*) are also powerful for good; and a garland of them hung across the village gate with a mystic inscription on an earthen platter in the middle, and a plough beam buried in the gateway with the handle sticking out,

[1] In the hills, however, magic is said to be common; and in the plains certain men can charm the livers out of children, and so cause them to pine away and die. Englishmen are often credited with this power.

[2] The term Bhagat, I believe, properly applies only to the devotees of the goddess Devi. But it is locally used by the villagers for any wiseman or diviner.

show that cattle-plague has visited or was dreaded in the village, and that the cattle have been driven under the charm on some Sunday on which no fire was lighted on any hearth. An inscription made by a *faqír* on an earthen platter, and then washed off into water which is drunk by the patient, is a useful remedy in illness; and in protracted labour the washings of a brick from the *chakabu* (*chakra bhyu*) fort of Amín, where the "arrayed army" of the Pándus assembled before their final defeat, are potent; or if anybody knows how to draw a ground plan of the fort, the water into which the picture is washed off will be equally effective[1]. When a beast gets lame, an oval mark with a cross in it, or Solomon's seal, or Siva's trident, or the old mark of the Aryan need-fire[2], in general shape like the Manx arms, is branded on the limb affected; or a piece of the coloured thread used by the Bráhman in religious ceremonies is tied round it.

230. Minor superstitions.—Good and bad omens are innumerable. Black is unlucky, and if a man go to build a house and turn up charcoal at the first stroke of the spade, he will abandon the site. A mantis is the horse of Rám, is very auspicious, and always saluted when seen. Owls portend desolate homes; and the *koil* (*Eudynamys orientalis*) is also especially unlucky. Chief among good omens is the *dogar*, or two water-pots one on top of the other. This should be left to the right, as should the crow, the black buck, and the mantis; but the snake to the left. To sneeze is auspicious, as you cannot die for some little time after. So when a man sneezes his friends grow enthusiastic and congratulate him, saying "live a hundred years!" Odd numbers are lucky. "*Numero Deus impari gaudet.*" But three and thirteen are unlucky, because they are the bad days after death; and *terah tín* is equivalent to "all anyhow." So if a man, not content with two wives, wish to marry again, he will first marry a tree, so that the new wife may be the fourth and not the third. The number five and its aliquot parts run through most religious and ceremonial customs. The shrine to Bhúmia is made of five bricks; five culms of the sacred grass are offered to him after child-birth; five sticks of sugarcane are offered, with the first fruits of the juice, to the god of the sugar-press, and so on without end; while offerings to Bráhmans are always $1\frac{1}{4}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 5, $7\frac{1}{2}$, whether rupees or seers of grain. The dimensions of wells and well-gear on the other hand, are always fixed in so many *and three quarter* cubits; and no carpenter would make or labourer dig you any portion of a well in round numbers of cubits.

231. The south is a quarter to be especially avoided, as the spirits of the dead live there. Therefore your cooking hearth must not face the south, nor must you sleep or lie with your feet in that direction except in your last moments. The demon of the four quarters, Disásul, lives in the east on Monday and Saturday, in the north on Tuesday and Wednesday, in the west on Friday and Sunday, and in the south on Thursday; and a prudent man will not make a journey or even plough in those directions on those days. So when *Shukr* or Venus is in declension, brides do not go to their husbands' homes, nor return thence to visit their fathers' houses. On the Biloch frontier each man is held to have a star, and he must not journey in certain directions when his star is in given positions. But when his duty compels him to do so he will bury his star, *i.e.*, a piece of cloth cut out in that shape, so that it may not see what he is doing[3]. It is well not to have your name made too free use of, especially for children. They are often not named at all for some little time; and if named are generally addressed as "Baby." If a man is rich enough to have his son's horoscope drawn a few days after his birth, the name then fixed will be carefully concealed till the boy is eight or ten years old and out of danger; and even then it will not be commonly used, the everyday name of a Hindu, at least among the better classes, being quite distinct from his real name, which is only used at formal ceremonies such as marriage. Superiors are always addressed in the third person; and a clerk, when reading a paper in which your name occurs, will omit it and explain that it is your name that he omits. A Hindu peasant will not eat, and often will not grow onions or turnips, as they taste strong like meat which is forbidden to him. Nor will he grow indigo, for simple blue is the Musalmán colour and an abomination to him. He will also refuse to eat oil or black sesame if formally offered him by another, for if he do he will serve the other in the next life. A common retort when asked to do something unreasonable is *kyá, main ne tere kále til chábe hain?* "What, have I eaten your black sesame?" The shop-keeper must have cash for his first transaction in the morning; and will not book anything till he has taken money.

232. Some of the superstitious ceremonies attending birth[4] are very curious. If a boy be born a net is hung over the doorway, a charm stuck on to the wall, and a fire lighted on the threshold, which is kept up night and day to prevent evil spirits from passing. The swaddling clothes should be borrowed from another person's house. On the night of the sixth day the whole household sits up and watches over the child, for on that day (*chhata*) his destiny is determined, especially as to immunity from small-pox. If he go hungry on that day he will be stingy all his life; and so a miser is called *chhate ká bhúkha* or "hungry on his sixth" and a prosperous man *chhate ká rája* or "a king from his sixth." None of these precautions are taken on the birth of a girl.

233. Tree and animal worship.—Traces of tree worship are still common. Most members of the Fig tribe, and especially the Pípal and Bar (*Ficus religiosa* and *Bengalensis*) are sacred; and only in the direst extremities of famine will their leaves be cut for the cattle. Sacred groves are found in most villages from which no one may cut wood or pick fruit. The Jand (*Prosopis spicigera*) is reverenced very generally, more especially in the parts where it forms a chief feature in the larger flora of the great arid grazing

[1] The virtue of the fort is due to its standing on the edge of a pond in which the Sun was born, and where women who wish for sons go and bathe on Sunday.

[2] This sign is often drawn at the door of a house or shop to keep off the evil eye.

[3] But it would appear that there is a unanimity in the motions of these stars which reduces the rule to one of dates. Thus, on the 1st, 2nd, 11th, and 12th journeys must not be made towards one quarter; on the 3rd, 4th, 13th, and 14th towards another; on the 5th, 6th, 15th, and 16th towards a third, and on the 7th, 8th, 17th, and 18th towards the fourth. On the 9th, 10th, 19th, 20th, 29th, and 30th the traveller is free to face as he pleases.

[4] The marriage customs are even more curious. They are based throughout on the idea of marriage by capture, and will be noticed in the section on Castes and Tribes.

grounds; it is commonly selected to mark the abode or to shelter the shrine of a deity, it is to it as a rule that rags are affixed as offerings, and it is employed in the marriage ceremonies of many tribes. In some parts of Kángra, if a betrothed but as yet unmarried girl can succeed in performing the marriage ceremony with the object of her choice round a fire made in the jungles with certain wild plants, her betrothal is annulled and the marriage holds good. Marriage with trees is not uncommon, whether as the third wife already alluded to, or by prostitutes in order to enjoy the privileges of a married woman without the inconvenience of a human husband. The Deodár worship of Kúlu is described in section 238. Several of the Jat tribes revere certain plants. Some will not burn the wood of the cotton plant, the women of others veil their faces before the Ním (*Melia Indica*) as if in the presence of a husband's elder relative, while others pray to the tiger grass (*Saccharum spontaneum*) for offspring under the belief that the spirit of the ancestor inhabits it. These customs are probably in many cases totemic rather than strictly religious. *Tíraths* or holy pools are greatly believed in, the merit of bathing in each being expressed in terms of cows, as equal to that of feeding so many. Some of these pools are famous places of pilgrimage. The Hindu peasant venerates the cow, and proves it by leaving her to starve in a ditch when useless rather than kill her comfortably. Yet if he be so unfortunate as to kill a cow by mishap, he has to go to the Ganges, there to be purified at considerable expense; and on the road he bears aloft the cow's tail tied to a stick, that all may know that he is impure and must not enter a village, and may avoid his touch and send out food to him[1]. His regard for animal life in general forbids him to kill any animal; though he will sometimes make an exception in favour of owls and even of snakes, and he seldom has any objection to anybody else destroying the wild animals which injure his crops. In the east he will not eat meat; but I believe that in the Panjáb proper the prohibition extends to women only. The monkey and peacock are specially sacred.

234. Agricultural superstitions.—The superstitions connected with cattle and agriculture are endless. No horned cattle or anything appertaining to them, such as butter or leather, must be bought or sold on Saturday or Sunday; and if one die on either of those days it is buried instead of being given to the menials. So the first beast that dies of cattle-plague is buried. Cattle-plague can be cast out across the border of one village into the one which adjoins it in the east. All field-work, cutting of grass, grinding of corn and cooking of food, are stopped on Saturday morning; and on Sunday night a solemn procession conducts a buffalo skull, a lamb, *siras* sticks, butter-milk, fire, and sacred grass to the boundary, over which they are thrown, while a gun is fired three times to frighten away the disease. Last year a man was killed in an affray resulting from an attempt to transfer the plague in this manner. A villager in Gurgáon once captured the cattle-plague in its material shape, and wouldn't let it go till it promised never to remain where he or his descendants were present; and his progeny are still sent for when murrain has fastened on a village, to walk round it and call on the plague to fulfil its contract. The sugar-press must be started, and a well begun on a Sunday. On Saturday night little bowls of water are set out round the proposed site, and the one which dries up least marks the exact spot for the well. The circumference is then marked, and they begin to dig, leaving the central lump of earth intact. They cut out this clod, call it Khwája Jí (see section 217) and worship it and feed Bráhmans. If it breaks it is a bad omen, and a new site will be chosen a week later. The year's ploughing or sowing is best begun on a Wednesday: it must not be begun on a Monday or on a Saturday, or on the 1st or 11th of any month; and on the 15th of each month the cattle must rest from work. So weeding should be done once, twice, thrice or five times: it is unlucky to weed four times. Reaping must be begun on a Tuesday and finished on a Wednesday, the last bit of crop being left standing till then. When the grain is ready to be divided, the most extraordinary precautions are observed to prevent the evil eye from reducing the yield. Times and seasons are observed, perfect silence is enjoined, and above all, all audible counting of the measures of grain is avoided[2]. When sugarcane is planted a woman puts on a necklace and walks round the field, winding thread on to a spindle; and when it is cut the first fruits are offered on an altar called *makál* built close to the press, and sacred to the sugarcane god, whose name is unknown unless it too be *makál*, and then given to Bráhmans. When the women begin to pick the cotton they go round the field eating rice-milk, the first mouthful of which they spit on to the field toward the west; and the first cotton picked is exchanged at the village shop for its weight in salt, which is prayed over and kept in the house till the picking is over.

235. Fasts and Festivals.—Religious festivals play a great part in the life of the peasant; indeed they form his chief holidays, and on these occasions men, and still more women and children, don their best clothes and collect in great numbers, and after the offering has been made enjoy the excitement of looking at one another. The great Hindu festivals have been described in numberless books, and I need not notice them here. But besides these, every shrine, Hindu and Musalmán, small and great, has its fairs held at fixed dates which attract worshippers more or less numerous according to its renown. Some of these fairs, such as those at Thánesar on the occasion of an eclipse, those of Bába Faríd at Pák Pattan, and of Sakhi Sarwar at Nigáha are attended by very many thousands of people, and elaborate police arrangements are made for their regulation. There are two festivals peculiar to the villages, not observed in the towns, and therefore not described in the books, which I will briefly notice The ordinary Díwáli or feast of lamps of the Hindus is called by the villagers the little Díwáli. On this night the *pitr* or ancestors visit the house, which is fresh plastered throughout for the occasion, and the family light lamps and sit up all night to receive them. Next morning the housewife takes all the sweepings and old clothes in a dust-pan and turns them out on to the dunghill, saying, "May thriftlessness and poverty be far from us!" Meanwhile they prepare for the celebration of the great or Gobardhan Diwáli, in which Krishna is worshipped in his capacity of a cowherd, and which all owners of cattle should observe. The women make a Gobardhan of cow-dung,

[1] In the Kúlu hills, if a cow die while she is tied up he who tied her up is impure, and till he is purified no one will eat at his hands even though he be a Bráhman.

[2] A full description will be found in sections 435-6 of my Karnal Report, at page 101 of Mr. Purser's Montgomery Report, and at pages 194*ff* and 236*ff* of Vol. I. of Elliott's *Races of the North-Western Provinces.*

which consists of Krishna lying on his back surrounded by little cottage loaves of dung to represent mountains, in which are stuck stems of grass with tufts of cotton or rag on the top for trees, and by little dung-balls for cattle, watched by dung-men dressed in bits of rag. Another opinion is that the cottage loaves are cattle and the dung-balls calves. On this are put the churn-staff and five whole sugarcanes, and some parched rice and a lighted lamp in the middle. The cowherds are then called in, and they salute the whole and are fed with rice and sweets. The Bráhman then takes the sugarcane and eats a bit; and till then no one must cut, press, or eat cane. Rice-milk is then given to the Bráhmans, and the bullocks have their horns dyed and get extra well fed. Four days before the Díwáli is the *Devuthni* on which the gods awake from their four months' sleep, during which four months it is forbidden to marry, to cut sugarcane, or to put new string on a bedstead on pain of a snake biting the sleeper. Fasts are not much observed by the villagers, except the great annual fasts; and not even those by the young man who works in the fields and cannot afford to go hungry. But sugar, butter, milk, fruits and wild seeds, and anything that is not technically "grain" may be eaten, so that the abstinence is not very severe.

236. Hindu Priests and Levites.—The Hindu priests and Levites may be roughly divided into three classes. First come the regular orders of ascetics or devotees, the Bairágis, Gosáins, Jogis, and the like. Some of these orders are celibate, others marry; some live in monasteries, others have no organisation; none of them are of necessity Bráhmans, while Bráhmans will not enter some of the sects. The second class is the *pádha* or officiating Bráhman. He must be acquainted with the Hindu ritual in ordinary use at weddings, funerals, and the like, and be able to repeat the sacred texts used on those occasions. He generally combines a little astrology with this knowledge, can cast horoscopes, write charms, and so forth. The third and most numerous class is purely Levitical, being potential priests, but exercising no sacerdotal functions beyond the receipt of offerings. They are all, of course, Bráhmans; and a considerable number of them are *parohits* or hereditary family priests, who receive as of right the alms and offerings of their clients, and attend upon them when the presence of Bráhmans is necessary. But besides the *parohits* themselves there is a large body of Bráhmans who, so far as their priestly office is concerned, may be said to exist only to be fed. They consist of the younger members of the *parohit* families, and of Bráhmans who have settled as cultivators or otherwise in villages where they have no hereditary clients. These men are always ready to tender their services as recipients of a dinner, thus enabling the peasant to feed the desired number of Bráhmans on occasions of rejoicing, as a propitiatory offering, in token of thanksgiving, for the repose of his deceased father's spirit, and so forth. The veneration for Bráhmans runs through the whole social as well as religious life of a Hindu peasant, and takes the practical form of either offerings or food. No child is born, named, betrothed, or married; nobody dies or is burnt; no journey is undertaken or auspicious day selected; no house is built, no agricultural operation of importance begun, or harvest gathered in, without the Bráhmans being feed and fed: a portion of all the produce of the field is set apart for their use, they are consulted in sickness and in health, they are feasted in sorrow and in joy; and though I believe them to possess but little real influence with the people of the Panjáb[1], a considerable proportion of the wealth of the Province is diverted into their useless pockets. But with the spiritual life of the people, so far as such a thing exists, they have no concern. Their business as Bráhmans is to eat and not to teach—I am speaking of the class as a whole, and not of individuals—and such small measure of spiritual guidance as reaches the people is received almost exclusively at the hands of the regular orders which constitute the first of my priestly classes. In theory, every Hindu has a *guru* or spiritual preceptor; in fact, the great mass of the peasantry do not even pretend to possess one; while those even who, as they grow old and respectable, think it necessary to entertain one, are very commonly content to pay him his stipend without troubling themselves about his teaching; but the *guru* is almost always a Sádh or professed devotee.

237. Hinduism in the hills.—The Hinduism of the hills[2] differs considerably from that of the plains. It would seem that in all mountainous countries, the grandeur of their natural features and the magnitude of the physical forces displayed lead the inhabitants to deify the natural objects by which they are surrounded, or rather to assign to each its presiding genius, and to attribute to those demons a more or less malevolent character[3]. The greater gods, indeed, are not unrepresented in the Panjáb Himálayas. There are the usual Thákurdwáras sacred to Vishnu in some one of his forms, and Shiválas dedicated to Siva; but though Náths, with their ears bored in honour of the latter god, are to be found in unusual numbers, these deities are little regarded by the people, or at any rate by those of the villages. The malignant and terrible Káli Devi, on the other hand, is worshipped throughout the Kángra mountains; and to her, as well as to the *Lhás* presently to be mentioned, *human sacrifices* were offered up to the period of our rule. An old cedar tree was cut down only a few years ago to which a girl used formerly to be offered annually, the families of the village taking it in turn to supply the victim; and when the Viceroy opened the Sarhind Canal in November 1882, the people of the lower hills believed that two hundred of the prisoners who had been employed on the works were released on condition of their furnishing a similar number of girls to be sacrificed at the inaugural ceremony, and lit fires and beat drums and sat up for several nights in order to keep off any who might be prowling about in search of female children for this purpose. But the every-day worship of the villager is confined to the *Lhás* or genii of the trees, rocks, and caves of Láhul, and the local spirits or demons of Kúlu, variously known as Devatas or godlings, Devis who are apparently the corresponding female divinities, Rákhis and Munis or local saints, Siddhs or genii of the hill-tops and high places, Jognis or wood fairies, Nágs or snake-gods, and by many other

[1] The local proverbs supply many instances of the evil odour in which the rapacity of the Bráhmans has caused them to be held. "As famine from the desert, so comes evil from a Bráhman."

[2] The following description is taken almost bodily, though not verbally, from Mr. Lyall's Kángra Report.

[3] I shall not attempt to distinguish the various grades of belief which obtain in the different Himálayan ranges; but it may be said generally that the deeper you penetrate into the mountains, the more elementary is the worship and the more malevolent are the deities.

names, though for practical purposes little distinction is apparently drawn between the various classes[1]. A favourite situation for a shrine is a forest, a mountain peak, a lake, a cave, or a waterfall; but almost every village has its own temple, and the priests are generally drawn from among the people themselves, Bráhmans and other similar priestly classes seldom officiating. Idols are almost unknown, or where found, consist of a rude unhewn stone; but almost every deity has a metal mask which is at stated periods tied on to the top of a pole dressed up to represent the human form, placed in a sedan chair, and taken round to make visits to the neighbouring divinities or to be feasted at a private house in fulfilment of a vow. Each temple has its own feasts also, at which neighbouring deities will attend; and on all such occasions sheep or goats are sacrificed and eaten, much hill-beer is drunk, and the people amuse themselves with dances in which the man-borne deity is often pleased to join. There are also other domestic powers, such as Kála Bír, Nar Singh, the Paris or fairies, and the like, who have no shrines or visible signs, but are feared and propitiated in various ways. Thus for the ceremonial worship of Kála Bír and Nar Singh, a black and white goat respectively are kept in the house. Sacrifice of animals is a universal religious rite, and is made at weddings, funerals, festivals, harvest time, on beginning ploughing, and on all sorts of occasions for purposes of purification, propitiation, or thanksgiving. The water-courses, the sprouting seeds, the ripening ears are all in charge of separate genii who must be duly propitiated.

"Till the festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, no one is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made "of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry, and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If therefore a Lahauli "wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with a sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. "The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. Infractions "of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices."

238. All misfortune or sickness is attributed to the malice of some local deity or saint, and the priest is consulted as is the Bhagat in the plains. Indeed the hill priests serve as a sort of oracle, and are asked for advice on every conceivable subject; when "by whisking round, by flogging themselves with chains, and so on, they get into the properly exhausted and inspired state, and gasp out brief oracular answers." Magic and witchcraft and the existence of witches and sorcerers are firmly believed in. In the Hill States if epidemic attack or other misfortune befall a village, the soothsayer (section 228), there called *chela* or "disciple," is consulted, and he fixes under inspiration upon some woman as the witch in fault. If the woman confess she is purified by the *chela*, the sacrifice of a he-goat forming the principal feature in the ceremony. But if she deny the accusation she will be tried by one of several kinds of ordeal very similar to those once practised in Europe, those by water and by hot iron being among them. Tree worship still flourishes. Mr. Anderson writes:—

"In matters of every-day importance, such as cattle-disease, health, good crops, &c., in short in worldly affairs generally, the "people of Kúlu go to the old deodár trees in the middle of the forest where there is often no temple at all, and present a piece of "iron to propitiate the deity. Such trees are common in Kúlu, and the number of iron nails driven into them shows that this form of "worship is not dying out[2]."

Both men and women of all classes eat meat, with the exception of widows; spirits and fermented liquids are commonly drunk, and Bráhmans will eat when seated alongside of the lower castes, though not, of course, at their hands. The local saints and divinities are, unlike their rivals in the plains, all Hindu, with the doubtful exceptions of Gúga Pír already described in section 223, and of Jamlu, a demon of Malána in Kúlu, who possessed great virtue before our rule, his village being a city of refuge for criminals, and whose hereditary attendants form an exceedingly peculiar body of men who are looked upon collectively as the incarnation of the divinity, are apparently of a race distinct from that of the hill-men, intermarry only among themselves, speak a dialect which is unintelligible to the people of the country, and use their reputation for uncanniness and the dread of their god as the means of wholesale extortion from their superstitious neighbours[3]. Jamlu is said to be a Musalmán because animals offered to him have their throats cut. But neither he nor his worship bears any other trace of Islám, and his attendants are Hindu. His incarnation, too, is known as Rá Deo, while his sister is called Prini Devi. The other Devatas indeed refuse to visit him, and pretend to treat him as an outcast; but he revenges himself by assuming a superiority to them all which in old days sometimes took the practical form of a successful demand for a part of their property. In the lower hills the Mahomedan saints re-appear, as Bába Fattu, Bába Bhopat, and their friends, and the majority of their worshippers are again Hindus.

239. Hinduism on the frontier.—On the frontier and in the western districts the Hindus are exceedingly lax in their observance of all ceremonies and caste restrictions, drinking water from skin bags and even from the hands of a Musalmán, carrying about and eating food cooked at a public oven, eating flesh in company with Musalmáns, shaving the *choti* or scalp-lock, selling vegetables and shoes, loading and riding on donkeys, and—

"doing a multitude of things which an orthodox Hindu would shrink from. Except a few images kept in their temples, they "have no idols at all. No one in fact ever sees anything of their worship. They burn their dead and throw the ashes into the "Indus, keeping a few of the bones to be taken or sent to the Ganges when occasion offers. There are a good many temples in the "Cis-Indus tract, but very few across the river."—(*Tucker's Derah Ismail Khan Report*).

This laxity is the more peculiar, as the mass of the Hindus on the frontier belong to the mercantile castes, who are in the east and centre of the Province proverbially strict in their observance of religious and caste rules, ranking second in this respect only to the Bráhmans themselves. But the fact is that, till we

[1] There is one curious difference between the gods of the hills and those of the plains; and that is, that many of the former are purely territorial, each little state or group of villages having its own deity, and the boundaries between their jurisdictions being very clearly defined. The god Sípur, in whose honour the well-known Sípi fair is held near Simla, lost his nose in an attempt to steal a deodár tree from the territory of a neighbouring rival; for the latter woke up and started in pursuit, on which Sípur not only fell down in his alarm and broke his nose, but he dropped the tree, which is, I am told, still growing upside down to attest the truth of the story. The only territorial god of the plains that I can remember is Bhúmia, the god of the village. Perhaps the difference may be due to the striking manner in which Nature has marked off the Himálayan territory into small valleys separated by grand and difficult mountain ranges.

[2] The name Deodár (*Deva-daru*) means "the divine tree." It is applied to the Himálayan cypress (*Cupressus torulosa*) in Kúlu, and in Láhul to the *Juniperus excelsa*. The Himálayan cedar (*Cedrus deodara*) is called by the people *deár* or *kelo*, not *deodár*.—D. I.

[3] There is a tradition that they were deported to their present homes by one of the Emperors as a punishment for some offence.

annexed the Panjáb, the Hindus only existed by sufferance in the frontier districts, and, being compelled to keep their faith in the back-ground, naturally grew lax in its observance. Moreover a very considerable proportion of the Hindus on the frontier, and especially in the Deraját, are Nánaki Sikhs or followers of Bába Nának, as distinguished from Singhi Sikhs or followers of Guru Govind (see section 264, *infra*), while even such as do not openly profess those tenets are much influenced by them in their mode of life. The position of the Hindu in Bannu at the time of annexation is thus graphically described by Sir Herbert Edwardes:—

"In Bannu the position of the Hindus was peculiarly degraded, for they lacked the interested friendship of a regular and "needy Government, and became entirely dependent on the individual maliks who harboured them in their forts. They could not "indeed venture outside the walls, or visit their brethren in other forts, without a safeguard from their own chief, who conducted "and brought them back, and was paid for his protection. Once when I was encamped in the Surani tappahs, two half-buried "human bodies were discovered, whose wounds bore evidence to the violence of their death. I was afraid they were some of my own "men, and instant enquiry was made in camp; when some Bannuchis came forward to explain that they were only two Hindus who "had gone out without a guard to collect some debts!

"No Hindu in Bannu was permitted to wear a turban, that being too sacred a symbol of Mahomedanism, and the small cotton "skull-cap was all that they had to protect their brains from the keen Bannu sun. When they came into our camp they made a "holiday of it, brought a turban in their pockets, and put it on with childish delight when they got inside the lines. If any Hindu "wished to celebrate a marriage in his family, he went to his maliks for a license as regularly as an English gentleman to Doctors "Commons, and had to hire the maliks' soldiers also to guard the procession and fire a *feu de joie*. Notwithstanding all these outward "dangers and disabilities, the Hindu in his inmost soul might hold 'high carnival,' for assuredly he was the moral victor over his "Mahomedan masters. I do not remember a single chief in Bannu who could either read or write, and, what is much rarer among "natives, very few indeed could make a mental calculation. Every Chief, therefore, kept Hindus about his person as general agents "and secretaries. Bred up to love money from his cradle, the common Hindu cuts his first tooth on a rupee, wears a gold mohur round "his neck for an amulet, and has cowry shells (the lowest denomination of his god) given him to play with on the floor. The multi-"plication table, up to one hundred times one hundred; is his first lesson; and out of school he has two pice given to him to take "to the bazaar and turn into an anna before he gets his dinner. Thus educated, Hindus of all others are the best adapted for middle-"men, and the Bannuchi Malik found in them a useful but double-edged tool. They calculated the tithes due to him from the tappah, "and told him a false total much under the real one; they then offered to buy them from him, and cheated him dreadfully; and "lastly they collected the tithes from the people, who were equally ignorant, and took one hundred for fifty, backed by the soldiers "of the very malik to whom they had given fifty for one hundred. If the landowner was distressed, the Hindu competed with the "Mahomedam priest for the honour of relieving him with a loan upon his land; and if the debt was afterwards repudiated he easily "obtained justice by bribing his friend the Malik. Throughout the whole of Bannu all trade was in the hands of the Hindus, with "the exception (characteristic of the two races) of gunpowder, firearms, and swords, which were exclusively manufactured and sold "by Mahomedans. Hence they had shops in every petty fort, and every Mahomedan in the valley was their customer.

"Living then though they did in fear and trembling, unable to display the very wares they wished to sell, burying the "profit that they made in holes in the fields and under the hearthstones of their houses, marrying wives only by sufferance, keeping "them only if they were ugly, and worshipping their gods by stealth, the Hindus of Bannu can still not be said to have been objects "of pity, for their avarice made them insensible to the degradation of their position, and they derived from the gradual accumulation "of wealth a mean equivalent for native country, civil liberty, and religious freedom.

This description is exaggerated, at any rate as applied to matters as they now stand; but till quite lately "unmentionable indignities were inflicted upon the Hindus of the Deraját, while even now, in spite "of the efforts of the Sikhs to do away with these signs of social degradation, a Hindu, unless he be in "Government employ, seldom wears anything but a skull-cap, or rides anything but a donkey." Local sayings are not wanting to express contempt for the Hindu, and especially for the Kirár, the popular name for the Arora or Hindu trader of the west, and a word which has itself become almost a synonym for a coward. [1] Thus the Patháns say—"The Hindu's cooking hearth is purified with dung." "Fire and water "are common, but not so with a Hindu." "The Pathán eats his enemy, the Hindu his friend." "When a "Hindu becomes bankrupt he looks up his old account books (to support false claims.)" The Márwár traders, however, have their honesty attested in the saying—"What is in deposit with a Hindu is as in a "safe." On the Biloch frontier the Hindu is even more hardly treated by the local wits—"The thieves were four and we (the Kirárs) eighty-four; the thieves came on and we ran off: damn the thieves, well done us."! And again—"Don't trust a crow, a dog, or a Kirár, even when asleep."

240. The Aroras or Kirárs of the lower Indus worship the Krishna incarnation of Vishnu, this being probably the only part of the Panjáb west of Dehli where Krishna is generally venerated. They say that about 1550 A.D. two spiritual guides, Shámji and Lálji, were sent from Brindában, the great centre of the Krishna cult, to reclaim them from the Musalmán practices and errors into which they had fallen. The Hindus of the Indus also very generally worship the river itself under the name of Khwája Khizr (see section 217) or Zindah Pír, the "living saint;" the worship taking much the same form as that of Khwája Khizr already described. They also revere, under the name of Vadera Lál, Dúlan Lál, Darya Sáhib, or Ulail Parak, a hero who is said to have risen from the Indus and to have rescued them from Mahomedan oppression. This hero would appear to be a sort of incarnation of the Indus, being sometimes called Khwája Khizr; and his story is related in the Umrgít. The priests of the local sects, the Gosains of the Krishna worship, the Sánwal Sháhi Gurus of the Nánaki Sikhs, and the Thákar Gurus of the river worshippers, have, as in the east, quite thrown the Bráhmans into the background as spiritual guides of the people, though of course their Levitical character and hereditary right to alms remain unimpaired. But the western Bráhmans are utterly ignorant of their faith, and seldom have knowledge sufficient even to enable them to perform their personal observances aright.

241. Hindu sects.—The sects of the Hindus are so innumerable that I cannot pretend to do more than glance at one or two of the most important and interesting. The three great orthodox sects of Vaishnava, Saiva, Sákta are unknown even by name to the peasantry, who know nothing further than that they are Hindus. If the pre-eminent worship of the Sun means anything the people of the plains should be Sauras, at any rate in the eastern districts; for there is hardly a peasant who, if asked to name the deity whom he most reveres, will not at once name the *Súraj Devata* and explain that he made everything. But the Sauras or worshippers of the Sun seem to be almost extinct in India as a separate sect, and it is probable that the Hindu peasantry of the plains are Vaishnavas if anything. They are certainly not

[1] The Pathán proverbs which follow are taken from Thorburn's *Bannu*, and the proverbs of the lower frontier from O'Brien's *Multáni Glossary*.

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Sáktas, and they neglect Vishnu and Siva with great impartiality, though they have the name of the former constantly in their mouths. Nának-panthi Sikhs are said to be Vaishnavas, while Professor Wilson is of opinion that the Govindi or true Sikhs incline to Saivism as more consonant with the warlike nature of their faith. Govind Singh himself was a devotee of Durga. The Banyas of the plains, or at least the Hindu Agarwáls who include such a large portion of them, are said to be Vaishnavas, though the village temples of Siva are very commonly built by Banyas; and the Jains, who are very generally Banyas, worship an incarnation of Vishnu. The Bráhmans are certainly Vaishnavas as a rule, when they have any sect at all. The people of the hills are apparently Sáktas so far as they follow the orthodox Hinduism; but they adopt the right-handed worship. The left-handed sect is, so far as I can discover, almost unknown in the Panjáb; but this may be only due to the secrecy in which the sect always envelops its licentious and revolting orgies. Of the innumerable minor sects to which Hinduism has given birth, and which still spring up almost yearly, often to die down again at once, the older ones have long ceased to have any practical influence over the body of the people, and are now represented only among the ascetic or professed religious orders, under which head they will be noticed in the chapter on Caste. It is true that, as the spiritual guides of the people are drawn from these orders, the sects to which they belong should be represented among their disciples; but I have already explained how little real influence these men possess over the masses at whose expense they live, and the great body of the peasantry may be said to have no sect at all. The case is somewhat different with regard to the modern sects which have sprung up in more recent times. They have not yet had time to sink back into the general sea of Hinduism, no longer to be recognised as distinct save in the dress and habits of the priests who follow them; they still preserve the vitality of their teaching, and they have in some cases obtained followers in considerable numbers from among the peasantry. The most considerable among these are the Sultánis or followers of Sakhi Sarwar, already described in section 221.

242. After these come the *Bishnois*, found only in the Hissár and Sirsa districts. This sect was founded by a Rájpút of Bíkáner, who was born in 1451 A.D. and was therefore a contemporary of Bába Nának the originator of Sikhism, and is buried in Samrúthal in Bíkáner. His spiritual name was Jámbhaji. He left his followers a scripture in the Nágri character called Subdbani. The adherents of this sect are the descendants of immigrants from Bíkáner, and are almost exclusively Jats or carpenters by caste, though they often abandon the caste name and describe themselves simply as Bishnois. They marry only among themselves, are good cultivators, and keep camels in large numbers. They have a ceremony of initiation somewhat similar to and known by the same name as that of the Sikhs. Their priests are apparently drawn from among themselves, and are, as with the Hindus, divided into the regular or celibate class and the secular clergy; and the priesthood is not hereditary. They worship Jámbhaji, whom they regard as an incarnation of Vishnu; they abstain entirely from animal food, and have a peculiarly strong regard for animal life, refusing as a rule to accompany a sporting party; they look upon tobacco as unclean in all its forms; they bury their dead at full length, usually at the threshold of the house itself or in the adjoining cattle shed, or in a sitting posture like the Hindu Sanyásis; they shave off the *choti* or scalp-lock; and they usually clothe themselves in wool as being at all times pure. They are more particular about ceremonial purity than even the strictest Hindu; and there is a saying that if a Bishnoi's food is on the first of a string of 20 camels and a man of another caste touch the last camel, the former will throw away his meal. In their marriage ceremonies they mingle Mahomedan with Hindu forms, verses of the Qurân being read as well as passages of the Shástras, and the *phera* or circumambulation of the sacred fire being apparently omitted. This intermixture is said to be due to the injunctions of one of the kings of Dehli to the founder of the sect[1].

243. Somewhat similar to the Sultánis described in section 221 are the *Shamsis* of the Panjáb[2]. They are followers of the sainted Shams Tabríz, and also reverence Sakhi Sarwar; but though with a strong leaning towards the tenets of Mahomet, they conform with most of the observances of Hinduism and are accepted as Hindus by their Hindu neighbours. They are chiefly drawn from the artisan and menial castes, though a good many Khatris are said to belong to the sect. They bury their dead instead of burning them. Some time ago, when Agha Khán, the spiritual head of the Bombay Khojahs, visited the Panjáb, some of this persuasion openly owned themselves his disciples, and declared that they and their ancestors had secretly been Musalmáns by conviction for generations, though concealing their faith for fear of persecution. These men were of course promptly excommunicated by the Hindu community.

244. A sect called the *Kunda Panth*, which has arisen in Patiála within the last few years and which only numbers some 4,000 followers, is worthy of brief notice as showing what extraordinary combinations spring from the conflict of faiths in the Panjáb, and to what length men may go without ceasing to be Hindus. Its founder was one Hákim Singh, a wretched creature who lived in great poverty and filth, and possessed a few tracts and a New Testament which the missionaries had given him. I must explain that the Hindus are expecting an incarnation of Vishnu under the title of Nish Kalank[3] or the Purifier, which is to happen about this period of the world's history; while according to the Mahomedans, this present year should see the advent of Mahdi, their last Imám, who is to bring the whole earth in subjection to the crescent. Hákim Singh, then, preaches that while Christ was Nish Kalank, he, Hákim Singh, is a re-incarnation of Christ, and is also the Imam Mahdi. He accepts Christ as the true Guru, but claims to be himself Christ in person, and offered to baptise the missionaries who would argue with him. He prefers to live in retirement for a while, but proposes presently to destroy the British Government and to convert and conquer the universe. He has nearly 4,000 believers in the immediate neighbourhood of his home.

[1] The Bishnois of Bijnaur in the North-Western Provinces are almost exclusively traders, and are generally regarded as a subdivision of the Banya caste. They respect the Qurán and incline generally towards Islám, though now less so than formerly.

[2] More precise information is greatly needed respecting this sect, though it is probably very difficult to obtain, as they apparently conceal their real opinions.

[3] The actual name of the incarnation will be Kalki, and his story is told in the Kalki Purán. He is not to come till the end of the current æra or *jug*, which has, I believe, some few million years still to run; for the Hindus, like the Geologists when Sir William Thompson is not looking, think in round numbers.

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245. The Shamsis and Sultánis already described are sects of Hindus following Musalmán leaders; the *Lál Dási* would appear to be a sect of Musalmáns who approach to Hinduism. It was founded by Lál Dás, a Meo of Alwar, who though like all Meos a Musalmán by faith, followed, again like all Meos, Hindu observances. He was born about 1540 A.D., and a full account of his life and teachings will be found in *Powlett's Gazetteer of Alwar*, pages 53 *et seq.* The devotees of the sect are called Sádhs. The worship consists largely of repeating the name of Rám, and Sunday is their high-day. Yet Lál Das was a Musalmán, is considered to be a Pír, and the greater number of his followers in Mewát proper at least are Musalmán Meos, though on the Panjáb border, where the spread of education has made the Meos better Mahomedans, the Lál Dásis are usually Hindu Banyas and carpenters.

246. Concluding remarks.—Such is the religion of the Hindu peasant of the Panjáb. Of course not a thousandth part of his superstitions and beliefs have been enumerated in the above brief outline, for they are not only innumerable, but vary more or less from one place to another. But I have attempted to select some of those which are most typical and most generally current; and in doing so I have had two objects in view. In the first place I wished to show how far the real practical religious belief and life of ninety-nine hundredths of the Hindus of the Panjáb are removed from the ideal Hinduism as we read of it in books. But beyond that, I am anxious to show what a vast field of inquiry of the most interesting sort is open to us in the customs of the people amongst whom we dwell. It is a matter of amazement, and should I think be a cause of shame, to find such men as Tylor, Lubbock, MacLennan, and other writers of European renown, compelled to collect with great labour from forgotten descriptions of little known tribes, instances to show the currency in India of customs and ideas of which the every-day routine of every Panjáb village would afford them infinitely better examples. It would, I believe, be possible to take the two volumes of Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, and to furnish from the ordinary beliefs of the peasants of the Dehli Territory instances of almost every type of superstition there recorded as current among primitive races. Too many of us go about among the people with our eyes and ears shut, or if we do acquire any information, think it too trivial and too much a matter of course to be worth recording; and every year sees Indian officials with their heads stored with facts of the most invaluable nature die and take their knowledge with them. There is no lack of material; all that is wanted is people to collect and *record* the facts; and anybody who would consistently do so throughout his Indian service would, I believe, produce results which would be valued and appreciated beyond measure by European *savants*.

247. Distribution of Hindus by locality.—The proportion borne by Hindus to the population of all religions in the several parts of the Province has already been discussed in section 204. Abstract No. 50 below shows the local distribution of the Hindu population of the Panjáb, omitting those districts and states which do not include as much as 1 per cent. of their total number.

Abstract No. 50, *showing the* **Distribution of Hindus** *by* **Districts and States** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

Serial No. in Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Per 10,000 of the Hindu population.		Serial No. in Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Per 10,000 of the Hindu population.	
		Of the Province.	Of British Territory.			Of the Province.	Of British Territory.
—	**Total Province**	10,000	...	16	Lahore	209	271
—	**Total British Territory**	7,707	10,000	18	Firozpur	182	236
—	**Total Native States**	2,293	...	*12*	*Mandi*	*156*	...
IV	Jalandhar Division	1,703	2,211	*2*	*Nabha*	*144*	...
I	Dehli Division	1,487	1,930	IX	Derajat Division	142	185
—	*States of Eastern Plains*	*1,396*	...	6	Sirsa	141	183
III	Ambála Division	1,078	1,398	17	Gújránwála	138	179
II	Hissár Division	1,063	1,380	23	Multan	121	157
V	Amritsar Division	996	1,292	*13*	*Chamba*	*117*	...
—	*Total Hill States*	*798*	...	*14*	*Nahan*	*116*	...
1	*Patiala*	*794*	...	*11*	*Baháwalpur*	*99*	...
7	Ambala	746	967	19	Ráwalpindi	93	120
12	Kangra	743	964	*15*	*Bilaspur*	*92*	...
11	Hushyárpur	595	773	25	Montgomery	91	118
VI	Lahore Division	529	686	*3*	*Kapurthala*	*89*	...
1	Dehli	522	678	21	Gujrat	78	102
5	Rohtak	507	658	X	Peshawar Division	75	97
3	Karnal	490	636	*16*	*Bashahr*	*69*	...
2	Gurgáon	475	616	24	Jhang	70	91
4	Hissár	415	539	20	Jhelam	66	85
14	Gurdaspur	388	504	22	Shahpur	64	83
10	Jálandhar	365	474	27	Derah Ismáíl Khan	59	76
VIII	Multan Division	329	427	*18*	*Suket*	*56*	...
15	Sialkot	323	420	*23*	*Minor Hill States*	*53*	...
VII	Ráwalpindi Division	301	390	28	Derah Ghazi Khan	50	66
8	Ludhiana	297	386	*17*	*Nalagarh*	*49*	...
13	Amritsar	284	368	*7*	*Kalsia*	*48*	...
4	*Jind*	*228*	...	26	Muzaffargarh	47	61
				30	Pesháwar	42	55

The four eastern divisions comprise 69 per cent. of the Hindu population of British Territory, and

Part II.—The Hindus of the Panjab.

the Amritsar Division another 13 per cent.; while the two frontier divisions together only include 3 per cent., and the Pesháwar Division less than 1 per cent.

248. Distribution of the Hindus according to Caste.—Abstract No. 51 below shows the composition by caste of the Hindu community in each division of the Province.

Abstract No. 51, *showing the* **Distribution of Male Hindus by Caste for Divisions.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	1
	Numbers of each Caste per 1,000 of Hindu Religion.													
Caste.	Delhi Division.	Hissar Division.	Ambala Division.	Jalandhar Division.	Amritsar Division.	Lahore Division.	Rawalpindi Division.	Multan Division.	Derajat Division.	Peshawar Division.	Total British Territory.	Total Native States.	Total Province.	Caste.
Number of Hindus per 1,000 of all religions.	721	750	577	651	338	223	111	178	116	58	378	549	407	Number of Hindus per 1,000 of all religions
Jat	186	356	214	124	139	109	22	5	5	23	168	155	166	Jat
Rájpút	40	26	27	93	52	19	11	5	13	35	45	28	41	Rájpút
Gújar	46	9	26	16	1	...	1	...	...	5	18	16	17	Gújar
Ror	25	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	4	Ror
Kamboh	6	...	10	2	3	12	...	44	...	...	6	4	6	Kamboh
Saini	1	...	61	32	14	...	...	...	...	...	18	5	15	Saini
Máli	23	18	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	6	7	Máli
Ahír	59	26	2	...	1	6	5	2	...	10	16	28	19	Ahír
Thakar	...	...	...	13	6	...	...	...	...	1	4	4	4	Thakar
Ráthi	...	...	...	32	2	...	...	...	...	...	7	14	9	Ráthi
Kanet	...	...	11	37	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	124	36	Kanet
Ghirath	...	...	1	92	6	...	...	...	...	...	21	[illegible]	16	Ghirath
TOTAL AGRICULTURAL	386	435	357	441	224	146	39	56	18	74	326	385	340	TOTAL AGRICULTURAL
Bráhman	120	97	91	137	128	106	148	47	64	116	113	124	116	Bráhman
Faqír	24	22	20	10	13	16	14	11	9	6	17	20	17	Faqír
Bhátia	...	...	...	...	6	2	22	8	28	4	3	1	2	Bhátia
TOTAL RELIGIOUS	144	119	111	147	147	124	184	66	101	126	133	145	135	TOTAL RELIGIOUS
Arora	...	7	...	1	32	134	249	643	773	252	70	28	60	Arora
Banya	75	86	47	3	30	28	9	2	2	11	40	53	43	Banya
Khatri	4	1	25	33	69	118	315	94	57	280	50	18	42	Khatri
Súd	...	...	4	6	1	2	...	...	...	...	2	2	2	Súd
TOTAL MERCANTILE	79	94	76	43	132	282	573	739	832	543	162	101	147	TOTAL MERCANTILE
Juláha	6	...	4	15	...	1	1	...	...	2	5	5	5	Juláha
Kolí	7	...	5	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	22	10	Koli
Tarkhán	21	27	33	33	26	19	8	1	...	11	25	19	24	Tarkhán
Kumhár	29	38	15	12	26	11	4	...	1	3	20	13	18	Kumhár
Jhínwar	31	8	52	25	61	32	25	1	6	35	32	20	29	Jhínwar
Náí	19	20	18	14	14	13	2	...	1	4	15	13	14	Náí
Lohár	9	7	15	21	13	2	1	1	...	3	11	11	11	Lohár
Sunár	7	9	12	9	16	19	57	11	9	23	13	9	12	Sunár
Dhobi	4	1	4	...	1	8	6	1	...	10	2	1	2	Dhobi
Chhimba	3	10	10	9	8	...	...	...	...	1	6	7	6	Chhímba
Batwál	...	...	...	2	14	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	Batwál
TOTAL ARTISAN	136	120	168	147	179	105	104	15	17	92	135	120	133	TOTAL ARTISAN
Chúhra	52	41	57	31	185	220	25	37	5	52	73	47	67	Chúhra
Chamár	133	117	180	135	31	33	11	5	...	33	104	97	102	Chamár
Dúmna	...	...	1	9	28	...	...	...	...	...	6	12	7	Dúmna
Dhának	11	34	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	7	7	7	Dhának
Dági	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	15	5	Dági
Meg	...	...	1	...	36	1	5	...	...	...	5	...	4	Meg
Mahtam	...	2	...	2	3	15	...	41	6	...	4	3	4	Mahtam
Labána	...	...	1	4	10	13	14	1	1	6	4	2	4	Labána
Báwaria	...	4	...	...	...	16	...	...	...	...	2	3	2	Báwaria
Sánsi	1	...	2	...	7	10	2	1	...	...	2	1	2	Sánsi
Od	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	18	13	...	1	1	1	Od
Thori and Aheri	1	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	4	2	Thori and Aheri
TOTAL MENIAL & OUTCAST	119	209	242	193	300	308	57	103	26	92	213	192	207	TOTAL MENIAL & OUT-CAST
TOTAL HINDU	944	977	954	971	982	965	957	979	994	927	969	943	962	TOTAL HINDU

The predominance of the agricultural element in those divisions where Hinduism most prevails, and the manner in which it is superseded by the mercantile classes in the more Mahomedan parts of the Province, are very clearly shown by the figures. The priestly class seem to preserve throughout a fairly constant proportion to the numbers of their faith, while the artisan and menial classes decrease largely as their religion ceases to be predominant.

PART III.—THE BUDDHISTS OF THE PANJAB.

249. Rise of Buddhism.—It is not my intention to attempt any description of the tenets of the Buddhist faith. They can be studied in the books mentioned in the first paragraph of this chapter. Gautama Buddha was brought up in the strictest sect of the Hindus, he scrupulously followed their hardest precepts, he endured long-continued mortification and penance without finding peace of mind; and in the end his soul revolted against the sore burdens with which the Bráhmans would oppress him and the artificial paths by which they would lead him. He proclaimed that their gods were false; that the Almighty was everywhere and everything; that each man must endure the consequences of his own acts, of which prayer and sacrifice were unavailing to relieve him; that all evil sprang from the lusts and longings of the flesh and of the fleshly mind; that peace consisted in final release from the bonds of incarnation and in absorption into the absolute, and that it was to be obtained only by the extinction of desire. "Buddhism is no religion at all, and certainly no theology; but rather a system of duty, morality, benevolence, without real deity, prayer, or priest." But unlike Hinduism, it gave its followers a man to revere and imitate whose personal character was holy and beautiful; and for the first time in the religious experience of India it called upon its hearers to change their lives with their faith, and introduced them to the new ideas of proselytism and conversion. The new doctrine was the *ne plus ultra* of quietism; and though now infinitely corrupted and defiled, at any rate in the northern school, by the admixture of other and less pure cults, it still retains many of its original characteristics. Above all things it recognises no hereditary priesthood, and, teaching that all men are equal, admits no distinctions of caste, at least in the countries in which it is now professed; though how far this could now have been said of it had it remained the religion of India, is perhaps a doubtful question[1]. The story of how it gradually spread over Northern India, apparently obscuring for a time the Brahminism against which it was a protest, how it attained perhaps its highest pitch under Asoka, how it gradually spread into Tibet, China, Burmah, and Ceylon, how it was followed in its victorious advance beyond the confines of the Indian peninsula by the resurgent Brahminism, which finally succeeded in expelling it from the country of its birth, or perhaps more really in so absorbing it that it can no longer be traced save in its effect on some of the esoteric doctrines of the Hindu faith, and how it now flourishes as a separate religion only in the foreign realms which it has conquered, is matter of history in its broad outlines and of the uncertainty of ignorance as to its minor details. Buddha preached about 600—540 B. C.[2], Asoka lived about three centuries after him, and Buddhism first became the state religion of China in the fourth century of our æra, while it disappeared from India some four to five centuries later. The first Buddhist king of Tibet is said to have reigned in the beginning of the seventh century, but Ladák, the part of Tibet which borders on the Panjáb, would seem to have been converted by missionaries sent by Asoka.

250. Buddhism as it is in the Panjab.—The Buddhist doctrines were early divided into two great schools, the northern which prevails in Tibet, China, and Japan, and the southern to which belong Ceylon, Burmah, and Siam[3]. The latter retains the teachings of its founder almost unchanged; but the former soon substituted the final beatitude of the Hindus for the ultimate absorption of Buddha, and developed an elaborate and extravagant system of incarnate saints and demi-gods of different degrees which has obscured and almost superseded the original Gautamic legend. The Buddhism of Spiti and of the higher parts of Pángi in Chamba, the only portions of the Panjáb whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists, is the Lamaism of Tibet, perhaps the most utterly corrupt form of the religion of Gautama. We have already seen how largely, so soon as we enter the Himálayas, the Hinduism of the plains becomes impregnated with the demonology of the mountain tribes. A similar fate befell Buddhism in the mountain ranges of Central Asia. To the mysticism with which the northern school had already clothed the original simple creed have been added the magic and devil-worship of the Tantras and the impure cult of the female principle or Sakti, till the existing system is a superstition rather than a religion.

In the northern school Buddha is still reverenced, but only as one of many, and not so much as some; while the objects of worship recognised by the most esoteric doctrine include gods and demi-gods, though they stand lower in order of honour than the beatified saints. But Lamaic Buddhism has gone further than this:—

"As in India the Bráhmans have declared all the ancient village Thákurs and Devís to be only so many different forms of Maháđeo "and Parbati, so in Tibet the Lámas have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former "inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings "to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods, and the dales. The following are some of the classes of deities which "are worshipped under distinct Tibetan names; Mountain Gods, River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods, and House Gods.

[1] The attitude assumed towards caste by Gautama is elaborately discussed by Dr. Wilson at pages 278 *et seq.* of the first volume of his work on Indian Caste. His teaching would seem to be not very widely removed from that of Bába Nának, to be described presently. He recognised existing social distinctions, but held that they were the results of good or evil deeds in a previous life, and, unlike the Bráhmans, taught that *all* castes should be admitted equally to the privileges of religion and were equally capable of obtaining salvation. Dr. Wilson thus sums the early Buddhist practice on the subject: "Though it is evident, both from the testimony of the Buddhists them-"selves and of their enemies the Bráhmans, that they opposed caste as far as they were able according to the exigencies of the times "in which they lived, they actually, as a matter of policy, often winked at its existence in Indian society. While it was not carried by "them into foreign countries, it was tolerated, though disparaged by them wherever they found that they had been preceded by Aryan "rule." (See also Barth's Religions of India, page 125*f.*)

[2] Rhys Davids and Barth put this date nearly a century later.

[3] These two schools are commonly known as the great and the little Vehicle, perhaps because the exoteric and esoteric doctrines to which these names seem originally to have been applied have respectively become predominant in the one and the other.

Part III.—The Buddhists of the Panjab.

"The mystical system of the Tantrists has been engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet, and the pictures of the prevailing "sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying Iswara and of his blood-drinking spouse[1], while the esoteric "doctrines include the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyáni Buddhas, in which the *yoni* or "female symbol plays a prominent part."—(*General Cunningham.*)

The wrath of Káli is daily deprecated in the religious service of the temples[2], trumpets made of human thigh-bones are used, and offerings are made to the Buddhas in which even meat is included, though one of the precepts most rigidly insisted on by Gautama was a regard for animal life. The priests—

"foretell events, determine lucky and unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the dying, threatening the nig-"gard with hell, and promising heaven, or even eventually the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people "is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstitions, and their fears; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of "enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the Lámas as their only protection against "them. The Lámas are therefore constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing no doubt very often the credulity of the people, but "frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud."—(*Wilson's Religions of the Hindus.*)

251. Prayer has been reduced to a mechanical operation, and the praying-wheel is a triumph of the Tibetan genius[3]. It consists of a cylinder turning on an axis and containing sacred texts and prayers, or sometimes gibberish whose only merit is that it has a sort of rhythm. It is made of all sizes, from the pocket wheel to be turned in the hand as one walks along, to the common wheel of the village which is turned by water and prays for the community in general. Each revolution is equivalent to a recital of the prayer contained in the cylinder. Flags inscribed with prayers are fixed at the corners of the houses, and answer a similar purpose as they flap in the wind. Every village has its *mani* or stone dyke, sometimes nearly half a mile long, on which are flung small pieces of slate inscribed with mystic formulæ—

"These slabs are votive offerings from all classes of people for the attainment of some particular object. Does a childless man wish "for a son, or a merchant about to travel hope for a safe return; does a husbandman look for a good harvest, or a shepherd for the "safety of his flocks during the severity of the winter; each goes to a Láma and purchases a slate, which he deposits carefully on the "village *mani* and returns home in full confidence that his prayer will be heard."

These *manis* must always be left on the right hand, and people will make considerable detours in order to do so. Small shrines are erected in the fields to propitiate the deities and obtain an abundant harvest. The dead are sometimes burnt and the ashes preserved, in the case of great men, in a cenotaph; but corpses are often "exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers." In some of the monasteries the abbots are, like the Hindu Sanyásis, buried in a sitting posture and in full canonicals within the building. The people eat the flesh of dead animals, but will not kill for food.

Caste distinctions are said not to obtain in Spiti; but the people are divided into three classes who do not intermarry, the landowners, the artisan menials, and the minstrel beggars; and the remarks of Mr. Anderson quoted below seem to show a state of things which can scarcely be distinguished from caste in a very lax condition. Caste restrictions grow weaker and weaker as we go farther into the hills, as I shall show in my chapter on Caste; and I suspect that there is at least as much difference in this respect between Kángra and Láhul as there is between Láhul and Spiti. Mr. Anderson writes thus:—

"In Spiti there are three classes: Cháhzang, Lohár or Zoho, and Hensi or Betha, but caste is unknown. A Cháhzang will eat "from a Lohár's hand. It is considered no social crime to eat with the lower classes, but marriage is not permitted. A Cháhzang "will marry a Cháhzang, but having regard to relationship; that is, they will not intermarry within the same clan (*rus* or *haddi*). "This is the rule also with Lohárs and Hensis. Should a Cháhzang take a Lohár woman into his house he will be considered as "having done wrong, but other Cháhzangs will still eat from his hand. The offspring of such a marriage is called Argun, and an "Argun will marry with a Lohár. It is said that it is not common for a Cháhzang to eat with a Hensi, but should the latter touch "the food it is not thereby defiled[4].

"It is common among Bots (or Tibetans) generally to consider all the body below the waist as polluted, and if the skirt or foot "of a Bot should touch the food or water, it is defiled and thrown away. It is enough if the skirts pass over the food. I was told that "when the Spiti people saw the Lahaul enumerators stepping across the water which ran to the Spiti encamping ground, they refused "to take the water and went higher up the stream for it. This idea is found among Hindus also, but it is not so strictly acted on."

252. The Lamaic System.—One of the most peculiar features of the Lamaic system is the hierarchy from which it takes its name. The teaching of Buddha included an elaborate monastic system; but no priests, for there was no god to worship or ceremonies to perform, and no hierarchy, for all men were equal. And till about 1400 A.D., the Lámas or monks of Tibet recognised no supreme head of the faith. But about that time the abbot of the Gáhldán monastery proclaimed himself the patriarch of the whole Lamaic priesthood, and his successor, of the Tashi monastery, declared the Grand Lámas to be perpetual re-incarnations of one of the Bodhisatwas or semi-Buddhas, who, as each Láma died, was born again in the person of an infant that might be known by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession founded the hierarchy of Dalai Lámas at Lhasa in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. He assumed the title of Dalái Láma, while the Láma of Tashi still continued to enjoy his former privileges; and thus we now have two great chairs filled by a double series of incarnations. There is also a third great Láma in Bhután, known among the Bhutánis as the Dharma Rája, but among the Tibetans as Lord of the World. Below these three great Lámas come the ordinary monks, who live for the most part in monasteries ruled by abbots whose only claim to precedence one over another is derived from the importance of the institution over which they preside, or from the influence of personal sanctity. They are, with the

[1] The image of Iswara has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body. D. I.

[2] This service is described at length in Chapter XIII of Cunningham's Ladák; it bears no little resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.

[3] The praying wheel is peculiar to Tibet, where it was generally used at least as early as 400 A.D.

[4] So Mr. Lyall writes: "All other classes avoid eating food cooked by the Bethas, who are with reason treated as a very low and "disreputable set of people. So again, they would not admit them to the equality conferred by the common use of the same pipe, or "by dipping the hand in the same dish."

exception of the Drukhpa sect, bound to celibacy, at least while leading a monastic life, and are collectively called Gedun or clergy. They consist of Lámas or full monks (for the word means nothing more), and novices or neophytes [1]. There are also convents for nuns, which are very numerous. The Lámas are distinguished by rosaries of 108 beads which they wear as necklaces. Primogeniture obtains among the landholders of Spiti, the eldest son succeeding to the land as soon as he is of full age and the father being pensioned off (see section 111). The younger sons, as they grow up, retire to the ancestral cell in the monastery, where they support themselves by such industries as can be pursued within the walls of the building, and by alms and fees, often supplemented by an allowance from the eldest son. If the latter die without leaving a son, the eldest of his surviving brothers who cares to do so abandons the monastic life, resumes the property, and becomes the husband of the widow without further ceremony.

The Tibetan Lámas are divided into three chief sects, of which the most ancient are the Nyimapa whose followers wear red clothes, and to which most of the Lámas of Ladák belong. The Drukhpa sect also wear red garments, and are ruled over by the Dharma Rája or Great Láma of Bhután, in which country they are most numerous. It would appear that the Spiti Lámas belong partly and the Láhul Lámas almost entirely to this sect, which permits its monks to marry. The Gelukpa sect was founded about 1400 A.D. by the first Great Láma of Gáhldán, and its followers are distinguished by yellow garments; the sect prevails chiefly in Tibet, and both the Dalai and the Tashi Lámas belong to it.

253. The Hindu-Buddhists of Lahul.—I have said that Spiti is the only portion of British Territory whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists. But though the Census figures shown in the margin would draw a line of the sharpest and most definite kind between the religions of Hinduism and Buddhism where they meet in the mountains of the Kúlu sub-division, yet the actual line of demarcation is by no means so clearly marked. On this subject Mr. Alex. Anderson, the officer in charge of Kúlu, writes :—

Tract.	Hindu.	Buddhist.	Musálman.	Others.
Kúlu	99,686	...	522	51
Láhul	5,806	...	25	29
Spiti	1	2,860	...	1

"In Kulu, including Waziri Rupi and outer and inner Seoraj, the population is Hindu with scarcely an exception. In Spiti "the only religion is Buddhism. In Lahul there is a mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism. Since the last Census, Hinduism in "Lahul has advanced, and Buddhism retreated [2]. In the valley of the Chandra Bhága, Hinduism has always existed, and is now "the prevailing religion. No doubt some Buddhist observances still exist, modifying Hinduism more or less; and in secret the "people may observe some Buddhist customs more than they will publicly admit. But they are brought by trade into close "intercourse with the people of Kulu, and find it to their advantage, from the social point of view, to prefer Hinduism. In the "separate valleys of the Chandra and the Bhága, Buddhism has a much stronger hold than in the valley of the united rivers. "But here again Hinduism is advancing. The people declare that they are Hindu Kanets, though they are probably more Buddhist "than Hindu; and the Moravian missionaries at Kailang state that caste distinctions, which do not exist among pure Buddhists, "are becoming more marked. The Lamas of Lahul [3] will not eat with a European, while the Lamas of Tibet have no objection "to doing so. This advance of Hinduism is ascribed in part to the influence of the Thakurs or Barons of Lahul; but it is, apart "from such influence, which no doubt has its effect, inevitable and natural. These two valleys (the separate valleys of the Chandra "and Bhága) are best described as a margin or debateable land between the two religions, though at present they are more Buddhist "than Hindu. The people were once Buddhists and are so now to a great degree. But they have accepted caste and respect "Brahmans to some extent, and though it is known that many of their religious observances are of a Buddhist character, still "they are accepted in Hindu Kulu as Hindus."

Mr. Heyde, the Moravian missionary, puts the case rather more strongly for Buddhism. He writes :—

"Buddhism is the dominant religion throughout the separate valleys of the Bhaga and Chandra. The professors of it "in these parts seem to prefer to call themeselves Hindu, but this is a mere pretension. They are Buddhists, and the majority wish "at present to be nothing else. However, in speaking of the now prevailing religions of Lahul, one must not forget that both "Brahminism and Buddhism are still to a great extent pervaded by the demon worship which no doubt alone prevailed in Lahul in "early times."

254. Even the transition from Hindu to nominal Buddhist and back again seems to be possible. Mr. Anderson writes in another place :—

"A Kanet (a Hindu caste) cuts his scalp-lock and becomes the disciple of some Lama, and this may even be after marriage. "The Lamas of Lahul may marry, the sons belonging to their father's original caste. Lamas sometimes cease to belong to the "priesthood, allow their scalp-locks to grow, and are again received as Kanets. These facts show how intimately Hinduism and "Buddhism are connected in Lahul. It is still common for both Brahmans and Lamas to be present at weddings and funerals."

It would appear that there is little of Buddhism about the Láhul Lámas save their title. Even in small things the progress of Hinduism is visible. When Dr. Aitchison visited Láhul the people would not as a rule kill an animal, eating only those which died naturally. But when the craving for the flesh-pots grew too strong, several combined in the slaughter in order to diminish the crime of each by distributing it over many. Now-a-days sheep and goats are commonly slaughtered without any scruple. Even in 1868 the so-called pure Buddhists freely sacrificed sheep and goats to the *Lhás* or local genii, employed Bráhmans in many of their ceremonies, and shared in all the superstitions and belief in witches and magic of their Hindu brethren. The same change which has taken place in Láhul has apparently

[1] According to the works I have consulted the practice differs somewhat, Láma meaning in some parts anyone who has adopted a monastic life, in others the full monk, and in others again only the abbott or head of the monastery.

[2] In an account of the religion of Láhul written for Mr. Lyall in 1868 by Rev. Mr. Heyde, "whose long residence among the people, by whom he is invariably respected, and great knowledge of their language and customs, ensured its accuracy," that gentleman described the religion of Láhul as "essentially Buddhism," and stated that pure Hindus were found in only a few villages and were a low set of Bráhmans and that those of the remaining population who were not pure Buddhists "leaned more strongly towards Bud-"dhism than Brahmanism." They maintained Buddhist monasteries, abjured beef, and "in case of severe illness, &c., would call in "both Lamas and Bráhmans who performed their respective rites at one and the same time."—D. I.

[3] Mr. Anderson says elsewhere: "In Láhul I do not consider that all are Hindus. There are Lámas who ought certainly to have been shown as Buddhists, but there is a tendency to ignore Buddhism in Láhul." These Lámas must have returned themselves as Hindus, unless there was some error in the compilation of our figures. The papers were in an unknown character and tongue, and had to be translated orally; but there could hardly have been any confusion about such a plain entry as that of religion; and if there had been, it is difficult to see why it should have been confined to the figures of Láhul and to the Buddhists only, and should not have affected those of Spiti and of other religions in Láhul also. There appear to have been only seven of these Lámas in Láhul in 1872, though there were also 110 cultivating landholders who had taken Lamaic vows but "had very little of the monk about them." D. I.

Part III.—The Buddhists of the Panjab.

been going on in Upper Kanáwar, for in 1829, when Captain Gerard visited it, the religion of this tract was most certainly an impure Buddhism, while in the present Census the State of Bashahr returns only one Buddhist among its inhabitants. In the Census of 1868 all the inhabitants of both Láhul and Spiti were returned as Hindus, though Buddhists were separately shown for other districts; and in 1872 Mr. Lyall wrote thus on the subject:—

"The people of Lahul have now-a-days so much traffic with Hindus that they cannot afford to be out of the pale, "and are rapidly adopting all Hindu ideas and prejudices. The process has been going on in some degree ever since the Rajas of "Kulu annexed the country, but it has been greatly accelerated of late years by the notice taken by our Government of the "Lahulis and their headmen, and by their contact with Hindus more orthodox and exclusive than those of Kulu and Chamba. "The force of attraction which Hindu exclusiveness brings to bear upon outlying tribes is enormous, and seems to be in no way "weakened by the fact that the Government is in the hands of Christians. That fact of political subjection leaves the Hindus no "other vent for their pride of race but this exclusiveness, and therefore heightens its value. Moreover, the consolidation of many "Hindu races into one great empire increases the power which Hinduism has always had of drawing outsiders into its circle, for "in social matters the empire is Hindu, and as Hindus the Lahulis are free citizens, while as Buddhists and Botias (Tibetans) they "would be left out in the cold. The Lahuli now looks upon the name of Boti as a term of reproach. One of the headmen, "when in my camp on the borders of Ladakh, met his own brother-in-law, a Boti of Ladakh, and refused to eat with him for fear "that my Hindu servants might tell tales against him in Kulu and Kangra."

PART IV.—THE JAINS OF THE PANJAB.

255. The affinities of the Jain Religion.—The position which the Jain religion occupies with reference to Hinduism and Buddhism has much exercised the minds and pens of scholars, some looking upon it as a relic of Buddhism, while other and I believe far weighter authorities class it as a Hindu sect. In favour of this latter view we have, among others, the deliberate opinions of Horace Wilson and H. T. Colebrooke, who fully discuss the question and the arguments on either side. The latter concludes that the Jains "constitute a sect of Hindus, differing indeed from the rest in some very important tenets, but following in other respects a similar practice, and maintaining like opinions and observances [1]." The question of the origin of the religion and of its affinities with the esoteric doctrines of the two rival creeds may be left to scholars. We have seen how much of Hindu belief and practice has been intermingled with the teachings of Buddha as represented by the northern school of his followers; and it is probable that, had Buddhism survived as a distinct religion in India side by side with Brahminism, the admixture would have been infinitely greater. On the other hand, modern Hinduism has probably borrowed much of its esoteric doctrines from Buddhism. It is certain that Jainism, while Hindu in its main outlines, includes many doctrines which lean towards those of Buddha; and it may be that it represents a compromise which sprang into existence during the struggle between Hinduism and Buddhism and the decay of the latter, and that as Rhys Davids says "the few Buddhists who were left in India at the Mahomedan conquest of Kashmír "in the 12th century preserved an ignoble existence by joining the Jain sect, and by adopting the princi- "pal tenets as to caste and ceremonial observations of the ascendant Hindu creeds."

But as to its present position, as practised in the Panjáb at least, with reference to the two faiths in their existing shape, I conceive that there can be no manner of doubt. I believe that Jainism is now as near akin to Hinduism as is the creed of the Sikhs, and that both can scarcely be said to be more than varieties of the parent Hindu faith; probably wider departures from the original type than are Vaishnavism and Saivism, but not so wide as many other sects which, being small and unimportant, are not generally regarded as separate religions. As a fact the Panjáb Jains strenuously insist upon their being good Hindus. I have testimony to this effect from the Bhábras of two districts in which every single Bhábra is returned as a Jain; and an Agarwál Banya, an extra Assistant Commissioner and a leading member of the Jain community in Dehli, the Panjáb head-quarters of the religion, writes: "Jains "(Saráogis) are a branch of Hindus, and only differ in some religious observances. They are not Buddhists." Indeed the very word Buddhist is unknown to the great part even of the educated natives of the Province, who are seldom aware of the existence of such a religion.

I think the fact that, till the disputes regarding the Saráogi procession at Dehli stirred up ill-feeling between the two parties, the Hindu (Vaishnava) and Jain (Saráogi) Banyas used to intermarry freely in that great centre of the Jain faith, and still do intermarry in other districts, is practically decisive as to the light in which the people themselves regard the affinities of the two religions. I cannot believe that the members of a caste which, like the Banyas, is more than ordinarily strict in its observance of all caste rules and distinctions and of the social and ceremonial restrictions which Hinduism imposes upon them, standing indeed in this respect second only to the Bráhmans themselves, would allow their daughters to marry the followers of a religion which they looked upon as alien to their own. I have already explained how elastic the Hindu religion is, and what wide diversity it admits of under the cloak of sect; and I shall presently show that Sikhism is no bar to intermarriage. But Sikhism is only saved from being a Hindu sect by its political history and importance; while Buddhism is so utterly repugnant to Hinduism in all its leading characteristics, that any approach to it, at any rate in the direction of its social or sacerdotal institutions, would render communion impossible. Even in Láhul, where, as we have seen, Hinduism and Buddhism are so intermingled that it is difficult to say where the one begins and the other ends, intermarriage is unheard of. I shall briefly describe the leading tenets and practices of the Jains; and I think the description will of itself almost suffice to show that Jainism is, if not purely a Hindu sect, at any rate nearer to that religion than to the creed of Buddha [2].

256. The tenets of the Jains.—The chief objects of Jain reverence are twenty-four beatified saints called Arhats or Tirthankárs, who correspond with the Buddhas of the northern Buddhists and of Vedantic Hinduism, but are based upon the final beatitude of the Hindus rather than upon the final absorption preached by Buddha, and are wholly unconnected with the Gautamic legend, of even the broad outlines of which the Panjáb Jains are entirely ignorant. Of these saints, the first, Rishabnáth, the twenty-third, Párasnáth, and the twenty-fourth, Mahávír, are the only ones of whom we hear much; while of these three again Párasnáth is chiefly venerated. Rishabnáth is supposed to be an incarnation of Vishnu, and is wor-

[1] Dr. Buchanan, in his account of the Jains of Canara, one of their present head-quarters, taken from the mouth of their high priests, says: "The Jains are frequently confounded by the Bráhmans who follow the Vedas with the worshippers of Buddha, but this "arises from the pride of ignorance. So far are the Jains from acknowledging Buddha as their teacher, that they do not think that he "is now even a *devata*, but allege that he is undergoing various low metamorphoses as a punishment for his errors."

[2] It is true that in Rájpútána considerable animosity prevails between the Hindus and the Jains. There is a saying that "it is better "to jump into a well than to pass a Jain ascetic on the road;" and another: "A Hindu had better be overtaken by a wild elephant "than take refuge in a Jain temple; and he may not run through the shadow of it, even to escape a tiger." So too, many of the later Vaishnava scriptures are very bitter against the errors of the Jains. But hatred of the fiercest kind between the rival sects of the same faith is not unknown to history; and at one time Jainism was the dominant belief over a considerable part of India. In Gújarát (Bombay) on the other hand, "the partition between Hindu and Jain is of the very narrowest description, and cases are not uncom- "mon in which intermarriage between the two sections takes place. The bride, when with her Jain husband, performs the household "ceremonies according to the ritual of that form of religion, and on the frequent occasions when she has to make a temporary sojourn "at the paternal abode, she reverts to the rites of her ancestors, as performed before her marriage."—(*Bombay Census Report.*)

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shipped in that capacity at his temple in the south-west of Mewár by Hindus and Jains in common[1]. But besides these saints, the Jains, unlike the Buddhists, recognise the whole Hindu Pantheon, including the Puranic heroes, as divine and fit objects of worship, though in subordination to the great saints already mentioned, and place their images in their temples side by side with those of their Arhats. They have indeed added to the absurdities of the Hindu Olympus, and recognise 64 Indras and 22 Devis. They revere serpents and the Lingam or Priapus, and in many parts ordinarily worship in Hindu temples as well as in their own[2]. Like the Buddhists they deny the divine origin of the Hindu Vedas; but unlike them they recognise the authority of those writings, rejecting only such portions of them as prescribe sacrifice and the sacred fire, both of which institutions they condemn as being inimical to animal life. Like the Buddhists they deny the Hindu doctrine of purification from sin by alms and ceremonies, and reject the Hindu worship of the Sun and of fire except at weddings, initiations, and similar ceremonies, where they subordinate their objections to the necessity of employing Bráhmans as ministrants. The monastic system and celibate priesthood of the Buddhists are wholly unknown to them, and they have, like the Hindus, a regular order of ascetic devotees who perform no priestly functions; while their *parohits* or family priests, and the ministrants who officiate in their temples and conduct the ceremonial of their weddings, funerals, and the like, must necessarily be Bráhmans, and, since Jain Bráhmans are practically unknown, are always Hindus[3]. The idols of the Jain saints are not daily bathed, dressed, and fed, as are the Hindu idols; and if fruits are presented to them it is not as food, but as an offering and mark of respect. The Jains, unlike the Buddhists, observe in theory the twelve Sanskáras or ceremonies of purification prescribed by the Hindu creed from the birth to the death of a male, though in both religions many of them are commonly omitted; but they reject the Hindu Sráddhas or rites for the repose of the spirit. Their ceremonial at weddings and their disposal of the dead are identical with those of the Hindus and differ from those of the Buddhists; and, unlike the latter, they follow the Hindu law of inheritance, calling in learned Bráhmans as its exponents in case of disputes[4]. The Jains observe with the greatest strictness all the rules and distinctions of caste which are so repugnant to Buddhism, and many if not all wear the Brahminical thread; in the Panjáb the religion is practically confined to the mercantile or Vaisya castes, and considerable difficulty is made about admitting members of other castes as proselytes. Their rules about intermarriage and the remarriage of widows are no less strict than those of their Hindu brethren, with whom they marry freely. The extravagant reverence for relics which is so marked a feature of Buddhism is wholly unknown to the Jains, who agree with the Hindus in their veneration for the cow. They carry the reverence for animal life, which is taught by the Hindu and practised by the Buddhist, to an absurd extent; their devotees carry a brush with which they sweep their path, are forbidden to move about or eat when the sun is down or to drink water without straining, and many of them wear a cloth over their mouths, lest they should tread upon, swallow, or inhale an insect or other living thing[5]. Indeed some of them extend the objection to taking life to plants and flowers. "To abstain from slaughter is the highest perfection; to kill any living thing is sin." The Jains, unlike the Buddhists, observe all the Hindu fasts and attend the Hindu places of pilgrimage; though they also have holy places of their own, the most important being the mountain of Samet near Pachete in the hills between Bengal and Behar, which was the scene of Párasnáth's liberation from earthly life, the village of Pápapuri, also in Behar, where the Arhat Varddhamána departed from this world, and the great Jain temples on Mount Abu in Rájpútána and Mount Girinár in Káthiawár. In no case do they make pilgrimages to the holy places of Buddhism.

I have been able to collect but little information about the actual practice of the Jain religion by the mass of its modern followers, as distinguished from its doctrines and ceremonials set forth in the scriptures of the faith. The Jains, and particularly the orthodox or Digambara sect, are singularly reticent in the matter; while the religion being almost wholly confined to the trading classes, and very largely to cities, has not come under the observation of the Settlement Officers to whom we are indebted for so large a part of our knowledge of the people. But the Jains are the most generally educated class in the Panjáb, and it is probable that the religion has preserved its original form comparatively unaltered. Horace Wilson, however, says of the Jain Jatis or ascetics—

> "Some of them may be simple enthusiasts; many of them, however, are knaves, and the reputation which they enjoy all "over India as skilful magicians is not very favourable to their general character; they are in fact not unfrequently charlatans, pre-"tending to skill in palmistry and necromancy, dealing in empirical therapeutics and dabbling in chemical or rather alchemical mani-"pulations."

257. The sects of the Jains.—The Jains are divided into two classes, the Jatis or ascetic and celibate devotees who are exempt from all obligations of worship and are indeed themselves to be worshipped, and the Saráwak or laity. This latter word has now become corrupted into Saráogi, which is the name by which Jains are commonly known in the Panjáb[6]. They are also divided into two main sects which do not intermarry, the Swetámbara or white-clothed, and the Digambara (sky-clad) or naked, or

[1] Gautama Buddha is also said by the Hindus to be an incarnation of Vishnu who came to delude the wicked; but the Buddhists strenuously deny the assertion.

[2] "In Upper India the ritual in use is often intermixed with formulæ from the Tantras, and belonging more properly to the "Saiva and Sákta worship. Images of the Bhairavas and Bhairavis, the fierce attendants on Siva and Káli, take their place in Jain "temples; and at suitable seasons the Jains equally with the Hindus address their adoration to Sarasvati and Devi." At Mount Abu several of the ancient Jain inscriptions begin with invocations to Siva. (*Wilson's Hindu Sects.*)

[3] Horace Wilson observes that this fact "is the natural consequence of the doctrine and example of the Arhats, who per-"formed no rites, either vicariously or for themselves, and gave no instructions as to their observance. It shows also the true character "of this form of faith, that it was a departure from established practices, the observance of which was held by the Jain teachers to be "matter of indifference, and which none of any credit would consent to regulate; the laity were therefore left to their former priesthood "as far as outward ceremonies were concerned."

[4] See Bombay High Court rulings *Bhagwan Das Tejmal* v. *Rajmal*, X (1873), pages 241 *et seq.* and rulings there quoted. But see also Privy Council case *Sheo Singh Lal* v. *Dakho and Marari*, Indian Law Reports, I, Allahabad (1876-78), pages 688 *et seq.*

[5] Elphinstone says that the Buddhist priests also observe all these precautions; but I think the statement must be mistaken.

[6] See also section 259.

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perhaps tawny clothed. The latter is the orthodox sect, and has preserved the religion in more of its original purity than have the Swetámbara. The idols of the Digambara are naked, their ascetics are supposed to reject clothing, though now-a-days they wear coloured raiment, only throwing it aside when they receive or eat food, and they hold that no woman can attain salvation. The idols of the Swetámbara are clothed in white, as are their ascetics, except perhaps in the last stage which few if any attain, and women are capable of beatitude; indeed they believe the 19th Arhat to have been a woman, and so represent her in many of their temples. They are somewhat less strict in their observances than the Digambaras; their ascetics will feed after sunset, are said to use wine, and will eat out of a dish and from the hands of any Hindu; whereas a Digambara devotee must have his food placed in his hand by another of the faith. The latter, on the other hand, deny the importance of the brush with which an ascetic sweeps his path[1]. Various stories are current as to the origin of the two sects. One account relates how in the time of Chandra Gupta a famine fell upon the country of Ujjain, and how a part of the Jains there consented to accept clothes, without which they were not allowed to enter the city to beg for alms, while the other section emigrated southwards rather than abandon the nakedness which had been till then the common rule of the faith. But the older and better account is that of the 23rd and 24th Arhats, Párasnáth and Mahávír, who were probably real persons and the actual founders of the Jain religion, the former wore clothes while the latter did not, and that the disciples of each adopted the example of their leader.

They have also sects called Terahpanthi and Bíspanthi, or followers of 13 and 20, said sometimes to refer to the number of objects which are most essential to salvation. The former clothe their idols, worship seated, burn lamps before them, but present no flowers or fresh fruit to them, holding it to be a sin to take away even vegetable life, though they will eat vegetables if anybody will give them ready cut and prepared for cooking; while the latter worship standing before naked idols, and refuse to burn lamps before them. It is not quite clear what is the difference between this distinction and that into Digambaras and Swetámbaras. Horace Wilson notes that the Bíspanthis are said by some to be the orthodox Digambaras, of whom the Terahpanthis are a dissenting branch. A more modern sect is the Dhúndia, so called because its followers were persecuted by the orthodox and compelled to take refuge in ruins or *Dhúnd*. It was with these ascetics that the practice of hanging a cloth or *patti* before the mouth originated; and the Terahpanthis and Dhúndias carry their regard for animals to extremes, teaching that no living thing should be interfered with, that a cat should be permitted to catch a mouse, or a snake to enter the cradle of a child. It would appear that the Dhúndias are wholly celibate ascetics, and include no laity. They altogether renounce idols, and call those who venerate them Pújari or "worshippers." They are, I believe, confined to the Swetámbara section, the Digambaras laughing at the cloth, as breeding more insects in the mouth than it prevents from entering it.

258. Distribution of Jains by locality.—The proportion borne by Jains to population of all religions in the several parts of the Province has already been discussed in section 204. Abstract No. 52 below shows the local distribution of the Jain population of the Panjáb, omitting all those districts and states which do not contain as much as 1 per cent. of their total number.

Abstract No. 52, *showing the* **Distribution of Jains** *by* **Districts and States** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

Serial No. in Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Per 10,000 of the Jain population.		Serial No. in Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Per 10,000 of the Jain population.	
		Of the Province.	Of British Territory.			Of the Province.	Of British Territory.
—	**Total Province**	10,000	...	7	Ambála	306	365
—	**Total British Territory**	8,354	10,000	11	Hushyárpur	262	312
I	Dehli Division	3,695	4,401	VII	Ráwalpindi Division	258	307
II	Hissár Division	2,153	2,565	6	Sirsa	254	303
1	Dehli	1,719	2,048	19	Ráwalpindi	242	288
—	**Total Native States**	1,606	...	16	Lahore	227	271
—	**States of E. Plains**	1,457	...	18	Firozpur	190	226
5	Rohtak	1,172	1,396	10	Jálandhar	162	193
3	Karnál	1,091	1,299	*4*	*Jind*	*152*	...
2	Gurgáon	885	1,054	17	Gujranwála	35	161
III	Ambála Division	818	975	*2*	*Nabha*	*88*	...
4	Hissár	727	866	—	**Total Hill States**	**88**	...
1	*Patiala*	*702*	...	*5*	*Faridkot*	*82*	...
VI	Lahore Division	552	658	*17*	*Nalagarh*	*78*	...
8	Ludhiána	507	604	13	Amritsar	73	87
IV	Jalandhar Division	455	542	*11*	*Bahawalpur*	*60*	...
V	Amritsar Division	423	505	*7*	*Kalsia*	*51*	...
15	Siálkot	325	388	*3*	*Kapurthala*	*50*	...
6	*Maler Kotla*	*310*	...				

It will be noticed how the great mass of the Jains are to be found in the eastern districts, the Dehli division, Rohtak, and Hissár, comprising 67 per cent. of all the Jains of British Territory. Next come the sub-montane districts, while in the hills and in the Western Plains Jains may be said to be unknown.

[1] Mr. Lawrence (see section 259) says that the Digambaras of Ajmer do not employ Bráhmans, but only celibate priests of their own sect. This is opposed to all that I have been able to discover elsewhere, but it would appear that the Swetámbaras approach more nearly to the Hindus in their practice and ceremonial than do the Digambaras.

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259. Distribution of the Jains according to caste.—Abstract No. 53 below shows the distribution by caste of the Jains in the various divisions of the Province.

Abstract No. 53, *showing the* **Distribution of Male Jains by Caste** *for* **Divisions.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	Numbers of each Caste per 1,000 of Jain Religion.												
Caste.	Dehli Division.	Hissár Division.	Ambála Division.	Jálandhar Division.	Amritsar Division.	Lahore Division.	Ráwalpindi Division.	Multán Division.	Derajat Division.	Peshâwar Division.	British Territory.	Native States.	Total Province.
No. of Jains per 1,000 of all religions.	8	7	2	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	2	2	2
Banya	998	999	540	...	2	75	5	848	727	...	747	599	723
Khatri	...	...	1	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	1	...
Bhábra	...	...	458	997	936	908	920	30	242	864	244	372	265
Total Mercantile	998	999	999	997	938	983	933	878	969	864	991	972	988
Jat	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bráhman	...	...	...	...	...	2	6	61	...	...	...	...	...
Kumhár	...	...	...	...	61	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	3
Bhátra	...	...	...	...	...	...	45	...	...	...	1	...	1
Total others	...	...	...	...	61	2	61	61	...	...	4	...	4
Total Jains	998	999	999	997	999	985	994	939	969	864	995	972	992

It will be seen that nearly 99 per cent. of the Jains in the Panjáb belong to the trading classes, and almost exclusively to the Banya and Bhábra castes, the latter being chiefly confined to the northern divisions. I believe that Oswál Banyas are almost without an exception Swetámbara Jains, and that such of the Kandelwal Banyas and Bhábras as are Jains also belong to this sect. The Agarwál Banyas, on the other hand, are, I understand, invariably Digambaras. The Mahesri Banyas are seldom if ever Jains. Mr. Lawrence, Assistant Agent to the Governor General at Mount Abu, to whose kindness I am indebted for much information collected on the spot at Ajmer, the great centre of Jainism in those parts, tells me that there the Jains are divided into two sects, the Digambaras or Saráogis, and the Swetámbaras or Oswáls, and he confirms the assertion after repeating his inquiries at my request. There is no doubt whatever that "Oswál" is a tribal and not a sectarian name, and is quite independent of religion; and that the term Saráogi properly applies to the whole of the Jain laity of whatever sect. But the fact that Oswál and Swetámbara are in Ajmer used as synonymous shows how strictly the tribe adheres to its sect. This erroneous use of the words apparently extends to some parts of the Panjáb. The Bhábras of Hushyárpur, who are of course Swetámbaras, state distinctly that *all* Jains are Saráogis, themselves included; but a Bhábra of Gurdáspur emphasized his assertion that no Agarwál could become a Bhábra by pointing out that the former were all Saráogis. On the other hand Mr. Wilson writes that in Sirsa, on the Rájpútána border, the words Oswál and Saráogi, which according to Mr. Lawrence express in Ajmer the two poles of Jainism, are "used as almost convertible terms." The matter seems to need clearing up. The real fact seems to be that Agarwáls belong so invariably to the Digambara and Oswáls to the Swetámbara sect, that the term Oswál is used for the latter while Saráogi is applied to the former and more orthodox sect only[1]. There is a local tradition that Párasnáth, the probable founder of the Swetámbara sect, was an Oswál of Osia or Osnagar in Jodhpur, the place from which the Oswáls take their name; but the Jain scriptures say that he was born at Benares and died in Behar.

[1] So in Sindh and Gújarát the tribal name Mahesri is used to distinguish Hindu from Jain Banyas.

PART V.—THE SIKHS OF THE PANJAB.

260. Rise of Sikhism—Baba Nanak.—In the case of Sikhism I shall depart somewhat from the rule which I have followed in regard to the other religions of the Panjáb, and shall give a brief sketch of its history and tenets; partly because it is peculiarly a Panjáb religion, and one of which less is known outside the Province than of other and more widely spread creeds; partly because its political development has so vitally affected its form as a religion that without some sketch of its history it would be impossible to describe it as it now exists; and partly because there is, so far as I know, no one book to which I can refer the reader for a description of the religion such as he will find for the other Indian creeds in any one of half a dozen well-known works.

Sikhism was founded by Bába Nának, a Khatri who was born at Talwandi near Lahore in 1469 A.D., and after travelling and preaching throughout a great part of North-Western India, died at Kartárpur in Jálandhar in 1539 A.D. He was succeeded by nine Gurus, and the dates between which each of them was the recognised head of the faith are given in the margin. In its origin Sikhism had much in common with Buddhism. Nának and Buddha alike revolted against a religion overladen with ceremonial and social restrictions, both rebelled against the sore burdens which the priests would have them bear, the tendency of both was to quietism. But the form which the doctrines of each assumed was largely influenced by his surroundings. Buddha lived in the centre of Hindu India, and among the many gods of the Bráhmans; these he rejected; he knew of nought else; and he preached that there was *no* God. Nának was born in the Province which then formed the border land between Hinduism and Islám; he was brought up under the shadow of the monotheism of Mahomet, and he taught that there was *one* God[1]. But that God was neither *Alláh* nor *Parmeshar*, but simply *God;* neither the God of the Musalmán nor of the Hindu, but the God of the universe, of all mankind, and of all religions.

Sikh Gurus.		
1. Bába Nának		1539
2. Angad	1539	1552
3. Amr Dás	1552	1574
4. Rám Dás	1574	1581
5. Arjan	1581	1606
6. Har Govind	1606	1645
7. Har Rai	1645	1661
8. Har Kishn	1661	1664
9. Teg Bahádur	1664	1675
10. Guru Govind Singh	1675	1708

The burthen of his teaching was, "there is no Hindu and no Musalmán." He rejected the wisdom of the Scribes and the mint and anise and cummin of the Pharisees, and taught that salvation lay in repentance and in pure and righteous conduct. He believed in transmigration, but held that the successive stages were but purifications, and that at the last the soul cleansed from its sin went to dwell with its Maker. He did not despise or attack the Hindu and Mahomedan teachers[2]; he held, indeed, that they too had been sent from God; but he preached a higher and purer religion, embracing all that was best in both, but purged from much of evil that had been allowed in either because of the hardness of men's hearts. He declared himself a prophet, but he claimed neither direct inspiration nor miraculous powers. He prescribed no caste rules or ceremonial observances, and indeed condemned them as unnecessary and even harmful; but he made no violent attack on them, he insisted on no alteration in existing civil and social institutions, and was content to leave the doctrine of the equality of all men in the sight of God to work in the minds of his followers. He respected the Hindu veneration of the cow and the Mahomedan abhorrence of the hog, but recommended as a higher rule than either total abstinence from flesh. In short he attacked nothing, he condemned nobody; but he sought to draw men's minds from the shadow to the substance, to glorify what was highest and best in the religion of each, and was content to leave to all men, at least for a while, the outward and visible signs to which each was accustomed, if only he might bring home to their hearts the inward and spiritual grace which the empty form might perhaps conceal and obstruct but not wholly destroy. Nothing could have been more gentle or less aggressive than his doctrine, nothing more unlike the teaching of his great successor Govind.

261. Development of Sikhism.—Under the second Guru, Angad, an intolerant and ascetic spirit began to spring up among the followers of the new tenets; and had it not been for the good sense and firmness displayed by his successor Amr Dás, who excommunicated the Udásis[3] and recalled his followers to the mildness and tolerance of Nának, Sikhism would probably have merely added one more to the countless orders of ascetics or devotees which are wholly unrepresented in the life of the people. The fourth Guru, Rám Dás, founded Amritsar; but it was his successor, Arjan, that first organised his following. He gave them a written rule of faith in the *Granth* or Sikh scripture which he compiled, he provided a common rallying-point in the city of Amritsar which he made their religious centre, and he reduced their voluntary contributions to a systematic levy which accustomed them to discipline and paved the way for further organisation. He was a great trader, he utilised the services and money of his disciples in mercantile transactions which extended far beyond the confines of India, and he thus accumulated wealth for his church.

Unfortunately, he was unable wholly to abstain from politics; and having become a political partisan of the rebel prince Khusru, he was summoned to Dehli and there imprisoned, and the treatment he received while in confinement hastened if it did not cause his death. And thus began that Mahomedan persecution which was so mightily to change the spirit of the new faith. This was the first turning point in Sikh history; and the effects of the persecution were immediately apparent. Arjan was a priest and a merchant; his successor Har Govind was a warrior. He abandoned the gentle and spiritual teaching of

[1] I have, in the following account of Nának's doctrine, followed Cunningham in his history of the Sikhs. Dr. Trumpp, in his introduction to the Adi Granth, makes Nának a tolerant Hindu pantheist with a strong leaning towards Buddhist doctrine.

[2] The tolerant nature of Nának's doctrine is expressed in the tradition of his visit to Mecca.

[3] A Sikh sect of recluses who renounced the world and domestic life under the leadership of Nának's son, Sri Chand.

Part V.—The Sikhs of the Panjab.

Nának for the use of arms and the love of adventure. He encouraged his followers to eat flesh, as giving them strength and daring; he substituted zeal in the cause for saintliness of life as the price of salvation; and he developed the organised discipline which Arjan had initiated. He was, however, a military adventurer rather than an enthusiastic zealot, and fought either for or against the Mahomedan empire as the hope of immediate gain dictated. His policy was followed by his two successors; and under Teg Bahádur the Sikhs degenerated into little better than a band of plundering marauders, whose internal factions aided to make them disturbers of the public peace. Moreover Teg Bahádur was a bigot, while the fanatical Aurangzeb had mounted the throne of Dehli. Him therefore Aurangzeb captured and executed as an infidel, a robber, and a rebel, while he cruelly persecuted his followers in common with all who did not accept Islám.

262. Political Sikhism—Guru Govind.—Teg Bahádur was succeeded by the last and greatest Guru, his son Govind Singh; and it was under him that what had sprung into existence as a quietist sect of a purely religious nature, and had become a military society of by no means high character, developed into the political organisation which was to rule the whole of North-Western India, and to furnish to the British arms their stoutest and most worthy opponents. For some years after his father's execution Govind Singh lived in retirement, and brooded over his personal wrongs and over the persecutions of the Musalmán fanatic which bathed the country in blood. His soul was filled with the longing for revenge; but he felt the necessity for a larger following and a stronger organisation, and, following the example of his Mahomedan enemies, he used his religion as the basis of political power. Emerging from his retirement he preached the *Khálsa*, the "pure," the "elect," the "liberated." He openly attacked all distinctions of caste, and taught the equality of all men who would join him; and instituting a ceremony of initiation, he proclaimed it as the *páhul* or "gate" by which all might enter the society, while he gave to its members the *parshád* or communion, as a sacrament of union in which the four castes should eat of one dish. The higher castes murmured and many of them left him, for he taught that the Bráhman's thread must be broken; but the lower orders rejoiced and flocked in numbers to his standard. These he inspired with military ardour, with the hope of social freedom and of national independence, and with abhorrence of the hated Mahomedan. He gave them outward signs of their faith in the unshorn hair, the short drawers, and the blue dress; he marked the military nature of their calling by the title of Singh or "lion," by the wearing of steel, and by the initiation by sprinkling of water with a two-edged dagger; and he gave them a feeling of personal superiority in their abstinence from the unclean tobacco.

> "They should have one form of initiation, the sprinkling of water by five of the faithful; they should worship the One "Invisible God, they should honour the memory of Nának and his successors, their watchword should be 'Hail Guru!' but they "should revere and bow to nought visible save the Granth, the book of their belief. They should bathe from time to time in the "pool of Amritsar, their locks should remain unshorn, they should all name themselves Singhs or soldiers, and of material things "they should devote their energies to steel alone. Arms should dignify their person, they should be for ever encouraging war, "and great would be his merit who fought in the van, who slew an enemy, and who despaired not although overcome."

His religious creed was in many respects much the same as that of Nának; the God, the Guru, and the Granth remained unchanged. But while Nának had substituted holiness of life for vain ceremonies, Govind demanded brave deeds and zealous devotion to the cause as the proof of faith; and though he retained the tolerance which his predecessor had extended to the Hindu gods and worship, and indeed showed a marked inclination in their favour, being himself a votary of Durga, he preached undying hatred against the Musalmán persecutors[1]. The religious was entirely eclipsed by the military spirit, and thus for the second time in history a religion became a political power, and for the first time in India a nation arose, embracing all races and all classes and grades of society, and banded together in the face of a foreign foe[2].

263. The Mahomedans promptly responded to the challenge, for the danger was too serious to be neglected; the Sikh army was dispersed, and Govind's mother, wife, and children were murdered at Sarhind by Aurangzeb's orders. The death of the Emperor brought a temporary lull, and a year later Govind himself was assassinated while fighting the Mahrattas as an ally of his successor. He did not live to see his ends accomplished, but he had roused the dormant spirit of the people, and the fire which he lit was only damped for a while. His chosen disciple Banda succeeded him in the leadership, though never recognised as Guru. The internal commotions which followed upon the death of Bahádur Sháh and the attacks of the Mahrattas weakened the power of Dehli, and for a time Banda carried all before him; but he was eventually conquered and captured in 1716 A.D., and a period of persecution followed so sanguinary and so terrible that for a generation nothing more was heard of the Sikhs. How the troubles of the Dehli empire thickened, how the Sikhs again rose to prominence, how they disputed the possession of the Panjáb with the Mughals, the Mahrattas and the Durráni, and were at length completely successful, how they divided into societies under their several chiefs and portioned out the Province among them, and how the genius of Ranjít Singh raised him to supremacy and extended his rule beyond the limits of the Panjáb, are matters of political and not of religious history. No formal alteration has been made in the Sikh religion since Govind Singh gave it its military shape; and though changes have taken place they have been merely the natural result of time and external influences.

264. Sikhs and Singhs.—It will be seen from the above sketch that Sikhism has assumed two very different forms at different periods of its history, in the tolerant quietist doctrines of Nának and the military propaganda of Govind Singh. The admission of all castes to equality by Guru Govind disgusted many of the higher classes, who refused to accept his teaching though they remained faithful to the tenets of Bába Nának, and thus a schism arose in the faith. These two forms are still represented in the Panjáb. In strictness the followers of both are Sikhs, a word said to be derived from the same root as the common Hindu

[1] Govind taught that he was damned who so much as placed on his head anything belonging to a Mahomedan; and said to his followers: "It is right to slay a Mahomedan wherever you meet him. Use your constant efforts to destroy the countries ruled by "Mahomedans; if they oppose you, defeat and slay them." The Hindu, on the other hand, they were only to "beat, plunder, and divide "his goods among you."

[2] The Mahrattas and the Sikhs would appear to afford the only two instances of really national movements in India.

term Sewak, and meaning nothing more than a disciple; but while the followers of the first Guru, or Nánaki Sikhs, are *Sikhs*, they are not *Singhs*, which is the title by which the followers of Govind, or Govindi Sikhs, are distinguished. In common practice, however, it is the latter only who are called Sikhs; it is they only who are ordinarily regarded as such by the unlearned, and are commonly referred to when the word is used; and the vast majority of those who profess only the tenets of Nának call themselves Hindus and will have returned themselves as such [1], though the more educated of them would explain that they are at the same time Sikhs, though not Singhs. The Nánakpanthi [2], or, as they are called, *Sajhdári* Sikhs, are distinguished by no outward sign, have no peculiar customs or observances, and though they reverence the Granth, and above all the memory of their Guru, have but little to distinguish them from any other Hindu sect except a slight laxity in the matter of caste observances. They have a form of baptism known as the *charan ghάwal*, but I understand that it is very seldom used. They do not wear the hair long or use any of the outward signs of the Singh, nor do they abstain from the use of tobacco; and they are sometimes called *munna* or shaven Sikhs. I am told that a very large proportion of the Hindus of the frontier belong to this sect; and it appears probable that a great portion, if not the large majority of the people of Sindh who have returned themselves as Sikhs, are really nothing more than Nánaki Sikhs. Mr. Baines, the officer in charge of the Bombay Census, tells me that many of them are called Hindus as often as Sikhs, and do not keep their hair uncut or abstain from tobacco [3]. The tolerant tenets of Nának would probably meet with ready acceptance from Hindus living among a bigoted Musalmán population; and it is said that the Hindu traders who are to be found throughout Afghánistan and Bukhára are really Nánakpanthi Sikhs. The story goes that about the middle of the 16th Sambat century (*circa* 1,500 A.D.) Bába Nának travelled on the lower Indus and converted great numbers of the resident Hindus, who had fallen away from their original faith and inclined towards Islám. He left them a Guru called Sánwal Sháh, and the Sikhs of the lower frontier are still called Sánwal Sháhis. In Tiráh beyond our upper border, and in the centre of the Afrídi country, there is a colony of Nánaki Sikhs living in the midst of fanatical and semi-savage Musalmáns.

The Singhs or Sikhs *par excellence*, on the other hand, are easily distinguishable, there being five marks commonly known as the five *kakke* or *ks* which they are bound to carry about their persons; (1) the *kes* or uncut hair and unshaven beard; (2) the *kachh*, or short drawers ending above the knee; (3) the *kara* or iron bangle; (4) the *khanda* or steel knife; and (5) the *kanga* or comb. But it must be understood that a man cannot be born a Sikh—I use the word here, and in the remainder of this section, to refer to the Singhs only unless otherwise specified. He is born a Hindu, or perhaps a Nánaki Sikh, and does not become a Govindi Sikh till he has received the *páhul* or baptism of initiation instituted by Guru Govind. This baptism may not be conferred till the candidate has reached an age of discrimination and remembrance, seven years being fixed as the earliest age. It is often deferred till manhood. There is no fixed ceremonial, but five of the initiated must be present, of whom one should be learned in the faith. Sugar and water are stirred up with a two-edged dagger, the novice repeats after the officiant the articles of his faith, some of the water is sprinkled on him five times with the dagger, and he drinks of it five times from the palm of his hand. He then pronounces the Sikh watchword "Hail Guru!" and promises adherence to his new religion [4]. He must from that date wear the five *ks* already enumerated, and change the second term of his name to Singh. Women are seldom initiated; when they are, a one-edged dagger is used. Thus of the women and children returned as Sikh, hardly any of the women, none of the children under seven years of age, and only such of the older ones as have been initiated, are true Singhs [5]; and it by no means follows that these children will become Sikhs as they grow up. It is quite common to find one brother Hindu and another Sikh. As for the women, Hindus and Sikhs intermarry freely, and all that the bride does on changing her religion with her home is to alter the arrangement of her hair.

265. Sikhism as it now is.—The Sikh rules of conduct, as laid down by Guru Govind for the guidance of his followers, bade them wear always the five *ks* already enumerated, dress in blue clothes and especially eschew red or saffron-coloured garments and caps of all sorts, observe personal cleanliness, especially in the hair, and practise ablution, eat the flesh of such animals only as had been killed by *jatka* or decapitation, abstain from tobacco in all its forms, never blow out flame or extinguish it with drinking-water, eat with the head covered, pray and recite passages of the Granth morning and evening and before all meals, reverence the cow, abstain from the worship of saints and idols and avoid mosques and temples, and worship the one God only, neglecting Bráhmans and Mullas, and their scriptures, teaching, rites, and religious symbols. Caste distinctions he positively condemned, and instituted the *parshád* or communion, in which cakes of butter, flour, and sugar are made and consecrated with certain ceremonies while the communicants sit round in prayer, and then distributed equally to all the faithful present, to whatever caste they may belong.

[1] Mr. Wilson seems to expect that in Sirsa most of these men will have been returned as Sikhs. He says: "Some of them have "perhaps been returned as Hindus in the present Census, as the true Sikhs sometimes deny them the right of being called Sikhs." On the other hand Sárdár Gurdiál Singh found in Hushyárpur that true Singhs had been entered in several cases as Hindus, they calling themselves Hindu as opposed to Musalmán, but Sikh as opposed to Hindu.

[2] They are of course quite distinct from the Nánkípanthis, a Hindu sect lately founded by a Bráhman of the name of Dedh Rai and his paramour Nánkí, which has made some progress in Gurgáon, Hissár, and Rohtak.

[3] "In Sindh it seems a matter of considerable trouble to find out whether the local class of Sikhs are considered Hindus or not. "The view generally taken is that the class is Hindu by religion, and Sikh or Nánakshάhi by sect." (*Bombay Census Report.*)

[4] This ceremony is called *khande ki páhul* or initiation by the dagger. In its original form both the ministrant and the neophyte first dipped or washed their feet in the water; but this practice is now discontinued.

[5] Sikhs, however, seem to have returned as a rule their whole families as belonging to their own faith. I give in the margin the proportion of males per 10,000 of both sexes, and of children under five years old per 10,000 of all ages for the main religions.

Religion.	Males.	Children.
Sikh	5,666	1,225
Hindu	5,452	1,185
Musalmán	5,363	1,396
All religions	5,425	1,295

The excess of males and defect of children is not greater than may be accounted for by adult converts from families of which the other members remain Hindu.

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The above rules, so far as they enjoin ceremonial observances, are still very generally obeyed. But the daily reading and recital of the Granth is discontinued, for the Sikhs are the most uneducated class in the Panjáb, and an occasional visit to the Sikh temple where the Granth is read aloud is all that the villager thinks necessary. Blue clothes have been discontinued save by the fanatical Akáli sect, as have been very generally the short drawers or Kachh. The precepts which forbid the Sikh to venerate Bráhmans or to associate himself with Hindu worship are entirely neglected; and in the matter of the worship of local saints and deities and of the employment of and reverence for Bráhmans there is little, while in current superstitions and superstitious practices there is no difference between the Sikh villager and his Hindu brother[1]. In respect of caste restrictions Sikhs are somewhat more lax than their neighbours, but this does not mean as much as might at first sight appear. In the first place the figures given in section 270 show that, excluding the impure castes, the great mass of the Sikh population belong to castes which may eat and drink together, even as Hindus. And in the second place, the unclean classes are as scrupulously avoided and kept at a distance by the Sikh as by the Hindu, and are even excluded from communion and from the rites and holy places of their religion. It is doubtful whether even the social equality preached by Govind was ever meant to extend to them, for the Mazbi or scavenger Sikhs have always been excluded from participation in the common worship. In one respect, indeed, the Sikh is more tolerant than the Hindu, in that he will eat from the hands of a Musalmán. It is curious that the point at which Govind substituted intolerance and deadly hatred for his socialist doctrines, is the very point in which his followers now most signally follow his teaching of equality[2]. When I say, however, that caste restrictions are somewhat less rigid among the Sikhs than among the Hindus, it must be understood that I refer only to social intercourse, such as eating and drinking. In all questions of intermarriage, tribal restrictions are observed by the one as strictly as by the other[3]. In weddings and on other domestic occasions the Hindu ritual is followed; and in fact the Sikh is to be distinguished from the Hindu by little but the five external signs, his abstinence from tobacco, and his reverence for the Granth.

But if the Sikh approaches very near to the Hindu in the centre of the Panjáb, which is the seat of his faith, in parts of the Province further removed from the holy city of Amritsar the two can hardly be separated. In Sirsa, for instance, where the Hindu immigrants from the east and south meet the Sikh immigrants from the north, it is enough for a man to "let his hair grow and talk Panjábi[4]," and he becomes a Sikh; and there are numbers in that district who are accounted Sikhs by themselves and their Hindu neighbours, and Hindus by the more orthodox Sikhs from the north. The *páhul* is very generally neglected, and the hair is cut and tobacco smoked even by professed Singhs. In the sub-montane tract many of the Sikhs are professedly worshippers of a mild form of Devi which they say is a Vishnu Devi (!), and whose chief temple is at Mani Májra in Ambála. She is the patron goddess of the thieves of the Eastern Panjáb. These people call themselves Devi's Sikhs; they take the *páhul* and observe the outward signs of Sikhism, and are recognised as Sikhs by the more orthodox of the faith, though their religion is considered to be of an inferior type. The priests of the Mani Májra temple are Sikhs. So again on the frontier the saying runs, "the origin of a Sikh is in his hair," implying that there is no other distinction.

266. Sikh sects.—The Sikhs, like the Hindus, number among their ranks the representatives of numerous orders of ascetics or devotees, which I shall briefly describe in the chapters on Castes. Like their Hindu congeners, they have but small influence on the lives and beliefs of the people. Among the more recent sects I shall only mention three, the Kúka, the Nirankári, and the Gulábdási. The only sect which at present numbers among its followers any considerable number of the peasantry is the *Kúka* sect which rose to some political importance in the Kúka outbreak of 1872. This sect was founded about 35 years ago by an Udási faqir, an Arora by caste, called Bálak Singh, who lived at Hazru in the Ráwalpindi district. His followers were called Sagiásis or Habiásis, and after his death in 1863 the movement died away in the western Panjáb, but was energetically stimulated in the central eastern districts by his successor Rám Singh, a carpenter of Bhaini in Lúdhiánah. The tenets of the sect proclaimed Govind Singh as the only true Guru, prohibited all worship save the reading of his Granth and all employment of Bráhmans, and in many ways revived the original doctrines of the Sikh faith. They included the abolition of caste and of restrictions upon intermarriage, abstinence from meat, liquor and drugs, and comparatively free intercourse between the sexes. The sectaries carried staves about in their hands, tied their turbans in a peculiar fashion (*sídha pág*), wore a necklace of woollen cord tied in knots, and had a watchword known only to themselves. Rám Singh presently declared himself to be an *incarnation* of Guru Govind Singh, and preached the revival of the Khálsa and the overthrow of the English Government. His followers used to meet by night for the purpose of drill, while, as usual in such cases, a good deal of religious hysteria was excited, and ended in much sexual license. The attention of Government was attracted to these proceedings as early as 1863, and shortly after this date the sect began to be known as Kúkas or "shouters," a name which has now superseded their original designation. For several years these people did nothing worse than defile or destroy shrines and idols, and murder butchers and others whom they suspected of slaughtering kine; but as early as 1869 there was a small Kúka outbreak in Fírozpur which seems to have had a political object; and in January 1872 the Kúka rising in Maler Kotla took place, which ended in fifty of the ringleaders being blown away from guns, some thirty more

[1] Here again it is often the women who are the original offenders. "I have often asked Sikhs how it is that, believing as they "do in only one God, they can put any faith in and render any obedience to Bráhmans who acknowledge a large number of deities; and "their answer in every case has been that they do not themselves believe in them; but their women do, and to please them they are "obliged to pay attention to what the Bráhmans say." There is, however, a tradition that Guru Arjan himself had to promise perpetual worship to a demon who guarded the woods of Kartárpur, before the latter would allow him to cut timber for his house; and the demon is still worshipped at that great place of Sikh pilgrimage.

[2] Local tradition tells us that as early as 1763, when the Sikhs overran Ambála and Karnál, they would show their contempt for distinctions by taking the eating vessels of a Mahomedan, beating them with a shoe with the remark, "Now the Musalmán has gone out "of them," and using them for their own food.

[3] Mr. Saunders, however, in his Lahore report, states that marriages between a Sikh husband and a Musalmán bride were not wholly unknown, though they were condemned by public opinion.

[4] It is curious how, when a man adopts the Sikh religion, he also adopts almost as a matter of course the Panjábi language.

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being executed, and Rám Singh being deported. The sect cannot be said ever to have attained any general popularity; its followers have throughout been drawn almost exclusively from the lowest classes, their attacks upon sacred places have outraged the feelings of their neighbours, while the pure morality which they at first preached has been superseded by the most unbridled license under the name of religious enthusiasm, men and women dancing naked together and indulging in orgies which have alienated the sympathies of the more decent portion of the community.

267. The *Nirankáris* are the purists of the Sikh religion, and their founder was Bhai Dyál Singh, who died only twelve years ago. His preaching was directed rather against religious ceremonies than against social and caste institutions, which latter he would leave untouched. But he taught that the Gurus are to be reverenced only as high priests of one single and invisible God, that the Hindu deities are not divine, that pilgrimages and offerings are useless and Bráhmans and cows not to be reverenced, and that animal life is to be scrupulously respected and the use of flesh as food abandoned. The first day of each month is to be kept holy by attendance at the temple, reading the Granth, lamentation for sin, and giving contributions for religious purposes. His ethical teaching was, like that of most of these sects when they first arise, singularly pure; and he avoided that rock of offence upon which so many of them find shipwreck—a tendency to license in the intercourse between the sexes. The Nirankáris are said to have many curious ceremonies peculiar to themselves, concerning which I have no detailed information.

268. The *Guldbdásis* or Sáíns are chiefly interesting in the near approach of their doctrines to those of the Epicureans. Their founder Guláb Dás was an Udási faqír of Chattiánwála near Kasúr, who some forty years ago renounced asceticism. His followers disbelieve in the existence of a God, and venerate only living priests of their own persuasion; they say that pilgrimages and religious observances are waste of time, and temples possessed of no sanctity. They are profligate both in profession and in practice, esteeming wine, women, and personal adornment as all that life offers which is worth the having, and seeing no wrong in adultery and incest. They have abandoned the outward signs of Singhs, and indulge freely in tobacco. Their sacred book is called the Updes Bilás.

269. Distribution of Sikhs by locality.—The proportion borne by Sikhs to population of all religions in the several parts of the Province has already been discussed in section 204. Abstract No. 54 below shows the local distribution of the Sikhs of the Panjáb, omitting those districts and states which do not include as much as 1 per cent. of their total number.

Abstract No. 54, *showing the* **Distribution of Sikhs** *by* **Districts and States,** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

Serial No. in Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Per 10,000 of the Sikh Population: Of the Province.	Per 10,000 of the Sikh Population: Of British Territory.	Serial No. in Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Per 10,000 of the Sikh Population: Of the Province.	Per 10,000 of the Sikh Population: Of British Territory.
—	**Total Province**	10,000	...	11	Hoshyárpur	349	533
—	**Total British Territory**	6,532	10,000	VII	Ráwalpindi Division	248	380
—	**Total Native States**	3,468	...	15	Sialkot	234	358
—	Total Eastern Plains	3,448	...				
1	*Patiala*	2,378	...	5	*Faridkot*	234	...
VI	Lahore Division	1,926	2,949	17	Gujranwála	211	323
V	Amritsar Division	1,917	2,934	II	Hissar Division	184	281
13	Amritsar	1,261	1,930	6	*Maler Kotla*	169	...
III	Ambála Division	1,141	1,747	6	Sirsa	165	252
18	Firozpur	984	1,506	3	*Kapurthala*	154	...
IV	Jálandhar Division	879	1,346	VIII	Multán Division	118	181
8	Ludhiána	741	1,134	19	Ráwalpindi	104	159
16	Lahore	732	1,120	25	Montgomery	70	107
10	Jálandhar	526	806	20	Jhelam	65	100
2	*Nabha*	453	...	I	Dehli Division	53	81
14	Gurdaspur	422	646	21	Gujrat	52	79
7	Ambála	399	611	3	Karnál	47	72
				X	Peshawar Division	39	60

It will be seen that the States of the Eastern Plains include more than a third of the whole Sikh population of the Province, while the Lahore and Amritsar divisions contribute 38 per cent. more, and comprise no less than 58 per cent. of the Sikhs of British Territory. Another 31 per cent. is to be found in the Ambála and Jálandhar divisions, and this exhausts the Sikh portions of the Province.

270. Distribution of the Sikhs according to caste.—Abstract No. 55 on the opposite page shows the composition by caste of the Sikh community in each division of the Province. The very large proportion which agricultural castes bear to the whole in those parts of the Province where Sikhism chiefly obtains is very noticeable. In the Musalmán divisions the Sikhs are more largely traders, a class which is very poorly represented in the strongholds of the faith; while the Sikh Jats shown as agricultural in the frontier divisions are probably soldiers. Among the artisans the Tarkhán or carpenter is conspicuous; while on the Indus a very considerable proportion of the Sikh population is composed of Labánas, a riverside people who make ropes and work in grass, and are in those parts almost exclusively Sikh.

Part V.—The Sikhs of the Panjab.

Abstract No. 55, *showing* Distribution of Male Sikhs by Caste *for* Divisions.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	Numbers of each caste per 1,000 of the Sikh Religion.												
Caste.	Dehli Division.	Hissár Division.	Ambála Division.	Jálandhar Division.	Amritsar Division.	Lahore Division.	Ráwalpindi Division.	Multán Division.	Derajat Division.	Peshawar Division.	Total Brit. Terr.	Total Nat. States.	Total Province.
Number of Sikhs per 1,000 of all religions.	5	24	113	62	121	151	17	12	3	6	60	154	76
Ját	786	766	773	585	690	706	81	91	392	480	659	672	663
Rájpút	8	4	1	34	4	24	7	48	35	12	14	3	11
Saini	3	...	5	63	5	...	...	...	...	...	11	3	8
Kamboh	12	...	9	26	19	5	...	15	2	...	13	25	17
Total Agricultural	809	770	788	708	718	735	88	154	429	492	697	703	699
Bráhman	15	...	4	2	5	3	40	8	14	92	6	2	4
Faqír	4	...	3	4	4	3	3	3	6	6	3	4	3
Total Religious	19	...	7	6	9	6	43	11	20	98	9	6	7
Arora	1	14	...	2	25	25	205	411	285	143	33	3	23
Banya	...	1	1	...	...	...	27	...	2	...	1	3	2
Khatri	11	1	4	9	17	19	423	60	50	84	31	5	22
Total Mercantile	12	16	5	11	42	44	655	471	337	227	65	11	47
Juláha	10	...	1	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1
Tarkhán	30	46	33	67	97	81	31	24	18	61	71	53	65
Bahrúpia	...	...	...	1	3	...	35	...	...	...	2	...	2
Kumhár	15	28	1	2	9	9	...	1	9	...	7	7	7
Jhínwar	13	4	9	8	25	5	2	3	10	13	12	12	12
Nái	7	9	6	2	13	14	1	2	3	6	10	17	12
Lohár	8	1	13	24	21	10	2	10	...	7	15	12	14
Sunár	7	5	2	5	12	16	32	7	8	11	11	3	8
Dhobi	1	...	...	...	...	16	5	...	...	...	5	...	3
Chhímba	1	9	9	20	13	...	...	...	4	5	8	14	10
Total Artisan	92	102	74	142	193	151	108	47	52	103	143	118	134
Chúhra	13	63	16	8	10	28	35	17	13	26	19	39	26
Chamár	22	22	87	89	1	7	1	3	...	2	30	104	56
Mahtam	...	10	...	5	...	7	...	166	...	...	6	2	5
Labána	...	...	2	5	8	11	28	113	112	31	11	2	8
Total Menial and Out-cast.	35	95	105	107	19	53	64	299	125	59	66	147	95
Total	967	983	979	974	981	989	958	982	963	979	980	985	982

271. Progress of Sikhism since last Census.—No man being born a Sikh, and entrance into the religion being so easily effected at any age, it might be expected that the number of Sikhs would fluctuate largely as the circumstances of the time tended to encourage conversion or the reverse. When the power of the Sikhs was at its height the society was essentially a military one; and Sir Robert Egerton records that when we took the Panjáb "the Sikh population were soldiers almost to a man." Cunningham in his history of the Sikhs written in 1848 thus describes the military and religious ardour which inspired them :—

"The observers of the ancient creeds quietly pursue the even tenor of their way self-satisfied and almost indifferent about "others, but the Sikhs are converts to a new religion, the seal of the double dispensation of Brumha and Mahomed; *their* enthusiasm "is still fresh, and *their* faith is still an active and a living principle. *They* are persuaded that God himself is present with them, "that he supports them in all their endeavors, and that sooner or later he will confound *their* enemies for his own glory. This feeling "of the Sikh people deserves the attention of the English, both as a civilized nation and as a paramount Government. Those who "have heard a follower of Guru Govind declaim on the destinies of his race, his eye wild with enthusiasm and every muscle "quivering with excitement, can understand *that* spirit which impelled the naked Arab against the mail-clad troops of Rome and "Persia, and which led our own chivalrous and believing forefathers through Europe to battle for the cross on the shores of Asia. "The Sikhs do not form a numerous sect, yet their strength is not to be estimated by tens of thousands, but by the unity and energy "of religious fervor and warlike temperament. They will dare much and they will endure much for the mystic 'Khalsa' or Common-

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"wealth; they are not discouraged by defeat, and they ardently look forward to the day when Indians and Arabs, and Persians and "Turks, shall all acknowledge the double mission of Nának and Govind Singh."

This dream has apparently passed away, and the power of the Khálsa is no more; and as far as we can judge the present generation is reconciled to the change. But the military spirit still burns strong in the Sikh heart, it is from them that we draw many of our finest troops, and there seems much reason to believe that in times of war converts to Sikhism are much more numerous than in times of peace. In 1853 Sir Richard Temple wrote, as Secretary to the Government:—

"The Sikh faith and ecclesiastical polity is rapidly going where the Sikh political ascendancy has already gone. Of the two "elements in the old Khalsa, namely, the followers of Nának the first prophet, and the followers of Guru Govind, the second great "religious leader, the former will hold their ground, and the latter will lose it. The Sikhs of Nának, a comparatively small body of "peaceful habits and old family, will perhaps cling to the faith of their fathers; but the Sikhs of Govind, who are of more recent "origin, who are more specially styled the Singhs or Lions, and who embraced the faith as being the religion of warfare and con-"quest, no longer regard the Khalsa now that the prestige has departed from it. These men joined in thousands, and they now "depart in equal number. They rejoin the ranks of Hinduism whence they originally came, and they bring up their children as "Hindus. The sacred tank at Amritsar is less thronged than formerly, and the attendance at the annual festival is diminishing "yearly. The initiatory ceremony for adult persons is now rarely performed."

In the Administration Report of 1856-57 the writer says, after speaking of the small number of Sikh recruits that offered themselves till the fall of Dehli proclaimed our triumph:

"Sikhism itself, too, which had previously fallen off so much, seems again to be slightly on the increase. During the past year "the baptismal initiations at the Amritsar temple have been more numerous than during the preceding year. Sikhism is not "dormant."

And Colonel MacMahon, Commissioner of Amritsar, writes as follows in his Census Report:—

"The large decrease in the number of Sikhs since 1868 is not surprising. Sikhs decline in numbers in years of peace. There "was a serious decline, I believe, after the conquest of the Panjab down to 1857, when the demand for Sikhs for our army during the "mutiny for a time gave a great stimulus to the growth of Sikhism. The idea prevails, not only with the officers of native regi-"ments, but also among the classes from which Sikh converts are obtained, that Sikhs make better soldiers than Panjabi Hindus; "and hence whenever the warlike spirit revives, Sikhism in this part of the Panjab also revives. All the members of the same family "do not always become Sikhs; and those who have acquired a taste for the soothing influence of tobacco abstain from taking the pahul. "Hence in times of peace there is a tendency for Sikhism to decline."

And Mr. Benton of Karnál writes to the same effect.

272. Unfortunately Sikhs were not distinguished from Hindus in the Census of 1855; but a separate enumeration seems to have been made in five districts, the results of which were said to be "probably accurate." Unfortunately too the boundaries of those districts have altered greatly since then; but the limits of the Amritsar division, of the Lahore and Gújránwála districts taken together, and of the group as a whole, have not been materially changed, while in any case the proportions of Sikhs to total population are probably but slightly affected by changes of area. I give the figures below in Abstract No. 56:—

Abstract No. 56, *showing the* **Sikh Population** *at* **successive Enumerations** *for* **certain Districts.**

District.	Total Population.			Sikh Population.			Sikhs per 1,000 of all Religions.			District.
	1855.	1868.	1881.	1855.	1868.	1881.	1855.	1868.	1881.	
Amritsar	884,429	1,083,514	893,266	71,364	262,639	216,337	81	242	242	Amritsar
Gurdaspur	787,417	655,362	823,695	24,746	39,967	72,395	31	61	88	Gurdaspur
Sialkot	641,782	1,005,004	1,012,148	19,775	50,279	40,195	31	50	40	Sialkot
Total	2,313,628	2,743,880	2,729,109	115,885	352,885	328,927	50	129	121	Total
Lahore	591,683	789,666	924,106	55,709	119,268	125,591	94	151	136	Lahore
Gújranwála	553,383	550,576	616,892	9,578	38,911	36,159	17	71	59	Gújranwála
Total	1,145,066	1,340,242	1,540,998	65,287	158,179	161,750	57	118	105	Total
Grand Total	3,458,694	4,084,122	4,270,107	181,172	511,064	490,677	52	125	115	Grand Total

Commenting on these figures for 1855, Sir Richard Temple wrote:—

"That there should be less than 200,000 Sikhs to a total population of three and a half millions in a division which contains "the religious capital of Sikhism, Amritsar, and the original and peculiar territory of the Sikhs, the Mánjha, is very remarkable. The "disproportion so clearly shown by these figures bears out the remarks (quoted above) regarding the decay not only of the Sikh "religion and polity, but also of its numerical strength and the absorption of Sikhism into Hinduism. Even including the Sikh "population of the remainder of the Province, the total number must be small, as compared with the strength exhibited by the Sikh "nation a very few years ago. The old Sikhs are dying out; the new Sikhs initiated are but few; the children of Sikhs are and "remain Hindus. A vast number of Sikhs, though organised and linked together by a political bond, were as regards faith and religious "practice, little different from Hindus. Now that Sikhism is politically defunct they return to Hinduism, and thus the numerical "paucity of Sikhs at the present day may be explained."

The revival which the figures show—and those for 1855 can hardly be so grossly inaccurate as materially to affect the comparison—is indeed extraordinary. One possible explanation would be that the figures for 1855 refer to Singhs only, while those for 1868 and 1881 include a very large proportion of Nánaki Sikhs. Another is, that the early figures include only those males who had received initiation. But neither supposition seems probable. The people commonly call those only Sikhs who follow Guru Govind, while they include in the term the families of such followers. I think the probable explanation is that after the downfall of the Khálsa Sikhism was in temporary disgrace, while the common people feared to rank themselves, in a return made to an English Government, among those who had so lately been opposed to us in battle. This fear soon passed away. It was found not only that no stigma was attached by us to our late enemies and that no persecution was to be dreaded, but that we recognised the bravery of our opponents and were glad to enrol them in our armies. The *raison d'être* of Sikhism ceased to be exclusively military, and the people saw no reason to abandon the faith of their fathers because they had exchanged

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the ancestral sword for a sickle; and so the number of Sikhs returned in 1868 approached, at any rate more nearly, their numbers as they stood in the palmy days of the Khálsa.

273. As for the figures for 1868 and 1881, which will be found side by side in paragraph 209 on pages 110—12, I doubt much, for reasons there explained, whether any profitable comparison is possible. The proportion of outcasts among Sikhs is comparatively small; but on the other hand, the proportion of persons classed as "Others" is largest precisely in those districts in which Sikhism is most prevalent. So far as the figures of the Abstract go, the Sikh faith has considerably decreased in the Panjáb, its proportion per 10,000 of all religions being 650 in 1868 and only 595 in 1881. And in all those districts where Sikhs form an appreciable element in the population, except Sirsa where immigration has affected the figures, and Lúdhiána, the decrease is very large indeed [1]. On the whole there seems reason to believe that, notwithstanding the stimulus of the Kábul campaign, Sikhism is on the decline; though the figures of the next Census must be awaited before any very definite conclusion can be reached.

[1] The apparent increase in Gurdáspur is due to the transfer of the Batála *tahsíl* from Amritsar to that district since 1868.

PART VI.—THE MUSALMANS OF THE PUNJAB.

274. **Early advance of Islam in the Panjab.**—It is difficult to fix with any approach to certainty the time at which Mahomedanism first made material progress among the population of the several portions of the Province. Much might be done by a careful examination of the old historians and of the records of the various Mahomedan invasions of the Panjáb; for the writers seldom fail to state the religion of the enemy, or to return thanks to the Almighty for the despatch of so many thousands of infidels to the bottomless pit; but as yet nothing of this sort appears to have been attempted. The people of the eastern districts very generally refer their change of faith to the reign of Aurangzeb; and it is probable that the tradition very nearly expresses the truth. Under the Afghán dynasties, while the great Provincial Governors were always Mahomedan, the local administration would appear to have been in a great measure left in the hands of Hindu chiefs who paid tribute and owed allegiance to the Sultán of Dehli. It is tolerably certain that little attempt was made at proselytising under the free-thinking Akbar. It would appear however that during his reign and those of his immediate successors the character of the administration changed considerably, a more direct and centralised control being substituted for an almost purely feudal system [1]. The change gave the people Musalmán Governors in the place of Hindus, and must have greatly facilitated the systematic persecution of the infidel which was instituted by Aurangzeb, by far the most fanatical and bigoted, and probably the first who was a bigot among the Emperors of Dehli. The local traditions tell us that in many cases the ancestor of the present Musalmán branch of a village community adopted Islám "in order to save the land of the village;" and it appears probable that some sort of legal disability was attached or attachable to a Hindu. There is still a Hindu family of Banyas in Gurgáon who are known by the title of Shekh, because in former days one of the brothers, whose line is now extinct, became a convert in order to save the family property from confiscation. In other cases the ancestor is said to have been taken as a prisoner or hostage to Dehli, and there circumcised and converted against his will [2]. Since the rise of the Mahratta power there has, of course, been no forcible proselytism; and conversion has been almost unknown within the last few generations, the first Musalmán generally dating, in the Karnál district at least, from between eight and ten generations back.

275. On the frontier the spread of Islám was almost certainly of earlier date. Farishtah puts the conversion of the Afghán mountaineers of our frontier and of the Gakkhars of the Ráwalpindi Division at the beginning of the 13th century, and it is certain that the latter were still Hindus when they assassinated Muhammad Ghori in 1206 A.D. On the lower frontier it is probable that the Mahomedan faith was already dominant when, early in the 15th century, the people of Multán voluntarily elected a Qureshi and director of a Mahomedan shrine as their chief, only to be superseded at once by the Langáh dynasty of Afgháns; and when a century later the Biloches spread into the Panjáb, they probably found the Indian population already converted to their faith. The people of the Western Plains very generally attribute their conversion to Bahá-ul-Haqq of Multán and Bába Faríd of Pákpattan, who flourished about the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th centuries; and whether the tradition be true or no, the renown which to this day attaches to these holy men is of itself a proof that they must have attracted to themselves very numerous followings. Indeed the same may be said of Sakhi Sarwar, who probably lived at least a century earlier.

276. **Mahomedanism in the Eastern Districts.**—In the eastern portion of the Panjáb the faith of Islám, in anything like its original purity, was till quite lately to be found only among the Saiyads, Patháns, Arabs, and other Musalmáns of foreign origin, who are for the most part settled in towns. The so-called Musalmáns of the villages were Musalmáns in little but name. They practised circumcision, repeated the *kalimah* or Mahomedan profession of faith, and worshipped the village deities. But after the mutiny a great revival took place. Mahomedan priests travelled far and wide through the country preaching the true faith, and calling upon believers to abandon their idolatrous practices. And now almost every village in which Musalmáns own any considerable portion has its mosque, often of adobe only, while all the grosser and more open idolatries have been discontinued. But the villager of the East is still a very bad Musalmán. A peasant saying his prayers in the field is a sight almost unknown, the fasts are almost universally disregarded, and there is still a very large admixture of Hindu practice. As Mr. Channing puts it, the Musalmán of the villages "observes the feasts of both religions and the fasts of neither." And indeed it is hardly possible that it should be otherwise. As I have already remarked, the conversion was seldom due to conviction, but was either forcible or made under pressure of the fear of confiscation. Thus the change of faith was usually confined to one or two members of the brotherhood; and while it is common to find one branch of a joint village-community Musalmáns and the other Hindus, it is perhaps seldom the case except among the Meos of Gurgáon that any considerable group of villages has embraced Islám as a whole. Living then side by side with their Hindu brethren in the same or the next village, sharing property in the same land, and forming a part of the same family with them, it is impossible that the Musalmán converts should not have largely retained their old customs and ideas. The local saints and deities still have their shrines even in villages held wholly by Musalmáns, and are still regularly worshipped by the majority, though the practice is gradually declining. The women especially are offenders in this way; and a Musalmán

[1] I cannot pretend to speak with any authority on this subject, as I am in no way learned in Indian history; but I state the impression which the study of *Elliott's Mahomedan Historians* has left upon my mind.

[2] In the Eastern Panjáb the descendants of these men, or at least of such of them as are Jats, are still distinguished as *múla* or unfortunate, though they have in many instances been re-admitted to Hinduism.

mother who had not sacrificed to the small-pox goddess would feel that she had wantonly endangered the life of her child. The Hindu family priests are still kept up and consulted as of old, and Bráhmans are still fed on the usual occasions, and in many cases still officiate at weddings and the like side by side with the Mahomedan priests. As for superstitions, as distinct from actual worship, they are wholly untouched by the change of faith, and are common to Hindu and Musalmán. A brother officer tells me that he once entered the rest-house of a Mahomedan village in Hissár, and found the headmen refreshing an idol with a new coat of oil while a Bráhman read holy texts alongside. They seemed somewhat ashamed of being caught in the act; but, on being pressed, explained that their Mulla had lately visited them, had been extremely angry on seeing the idol, and had made them bury it in the sand. But now that the Mulla had gone they were afraid of the possible consequences, and were endeavouring to console the god for his rough treatment. The story is at any rate typical of the state of the Mahomedan religion in the villages of the Dehli Territory. The Meos of Gurgáon and Alwar, who are Musalmán to a man, and who probably hold the only considerable tract in the eastern Panjáb which is in the hands of Musalmáns only, call themselves by Hindu names and often use Singh as an affix, worship Hindu godlings, and very commonly belong to the Hindu-Musalmán sect of Lál Dási, which I have described in section 245 under Hinduism, chiefly because I could not find a convenient place for it among Musalmán sects. But within the Panjáb the spread of education has had its effect on these people—"Recently religious teachers have become more numerous among them; and some Meos now keep the Ramzán fast, build village mosques, say their prayers, and their wives wear trowsers instead of the Hindu petticoat—all signs of a religious revival." (*Channing's Gurgáon Report.*)

277. Mahomedanism on the Frontier.—On the frontier Islám is of course pre-eminently the religion of the people, the few Hindus being generally despised as shop-keepers and cowards. But even here the religion is of the most impure description. The Patháns of the northern frontier are fanatics of the most bigoted description; the Biloches of the Deraját and the mixed agricultural population of the Indus Valley and the Cis-Indus wastes are singularly lax and unobservant of the ordinances of their religion; while the Mahomedans on the left bank of the lower Indus still retain a very large admixture of Hindu practice, reverencing and employing Bráhmans and largely following the Hindu ritual at weddings and other similar ceremonies, while even the Saiyads and Patháns of those parts are not by any means free from the Hinduising influence. All alike are sunk in the most degrading superstition, and in the most abject submission to their spiritual pastors. Indeed there is little to choose in this respect between the Musalmán of the West and the Hindu of the East; the only practical difference being that the former worships saints only and the latter godlings as well, and that while the latter holds in but small reverence the Bráhman on whom he squanders his substance, the former trembles before the priest whom he sustains in idleness. Mr. O'Brien writes of Muzaffargarh—

"The names of Allah and Mahomed are always on their lips, and some know their prayers and fast strictly. But their feelings of "worship are entirely diverted from the Divine Being to their Pirs or spiritual guides, for whom they have an excessive "reverence. Every person has a Pir. It is not necessary that a Pir should be of known piety—many, indeed, are notorious for "their immorality. To obtain disciples all that is necessary is that a Pir should have the reputation of being able to procure "the objects of his disciple's vows. A common way of choosing a Pir is to write the names of the neighbouring Pirs upon "scraps of paper and throw the scraps into water. The saint whose scrap sinks first is selected."

And things are little better on the upper frontier. The whole western border is infested by a pestilential horde of so-called Saiyads, "seekers after knowledge," Pírs, Mullas, and other men who call themselves holy, and who not only prey upon the substance of the people but hold them in the most degrading bondage [1], though the great majority of them cannot write their own names or repeat correctly half a dozen verses of the Qurán. When claiming to be exempt from assessment, and reproached with their ignorance by the Bannu Settlement Officer, they offered to prove their sanctity by handling deadly snakes in his presence. I quote the graphic description by Sir Herbert Edwardes of the relation between these creatures and the people of Bannu as he found it existing at annexation:—

"A well-educated man will, in all probability, be religious, but an ignorant one is certain to be superstitious. A more utterly "ignorant and superstitious people than the Bannuchis I never saw. The vilest jargon was to them pure Arabic from the blessed "Koran, the clumsiest imposture a miracle, and the fattest fakir a saint. Far and near from the barren and ungrateful hills around, "the Mullah and Kazi, the Pir and the Sayad, descended to the smiling vale, armed in a panoply of spectacles, and owl-like looks, "miraculous rosaries, infallible amulets and tables of descent from Mahomed. Each new-comer, like St. Peter, held the keys of "heaven; and the whole like Irish beggars were equally prepared to bless and curse to all eternity him who gave or him who with-"held. These were 'air-drawn daggers,' against which the Bannuchi peasant had no defence. For him the whistle of the far-thrown "bullet, or the nearer sheen of his enemy's sword, had no terrors; blood was simply a red fluid; and to remove a neighbour's head at the "shoulder as easy as cutting cucumbers. But to be cursed in Arabic, or anything that sounded like it, to be told that the blessed "Prophet had put a black mark against his soul for not giving his best field to one of the Prophet's own posterity; to have the saliva "of a disappointed saint left in anger on his door-post, or behold a Haji, who had gone three times to Mecca, deliberately sit down "and enchant his camels with the itch, and his sheep with the rot; these were things which made the dagger drop out of the hand "of the awe-stricken savage, his knees to knock together, his liver to turn to water, and his parched tongue to be scarce able to "articulate a full and complete concession of the blasphemous demand. In learning scarcely any, if at all, elevated above their "flocks; in garb and manners as savage; in no virtue superior; humanizing them by no gentle influence; shedding on their wild "homes no one generous or heart-kindling ray of religion; these impudent impostors throve alike on the abundance and the want of "the superstitious Bannuchis, and contributed nothing to the common stock but inflammatory counsel and a fanatical yell in the rear "of the battle."

278. The local proverbs are full of bitter sarcasm on the greed of the Mahomedan priests. Here are some from the lower frontier:—[2]

"In the morn the Mulla prays—'Oh Lord God, kill a rich man to-day!'"

"Mulla! will you eat something?" "In the name of God I will." "Mulla! will you give something?" "God preserve me I will not."

"May God not set Saiyads and Mullas over us."

"These four were not born on giving-day, the Mulla, Bhát, Bráhman, and Mírási."

[1] This is probably less true of the Biloch of the Sulemán border than of the other classes on the frontier. He is superstitious to a degree; but he is not sufficient of a Musalmán to abandon the independence which is natural to him, even in favour of a spiritual master.

[2] Here again, as in section 239, I am indebted to Messrs. O'Brien and Thorburn.

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"On Thursday there is joy in the Mulla's house; his heart is niggardly, but his arms are open (to receive offerings)."

"The Mulla was drowned rather than give his hand."

"To divide the corn-heaps is as bad as the Resurrection (because of the swarms of greedy priests who claim their share.)"

"A Mulla who has dined will eat more than a hungry buffalo."

The Pathán is no less bitter.

"The full stomach speaks Persian."

"Akhúnd! Akhúnd! here is a snake!" "It is the business of young men to kill it." "Akhúnd! Akhúnd! here is a dish of "meat!" "There are myself, my son, and Mulla Akbar ready to eat it."

"Akhúnd Sáhib! Here is *ghi!*" "Don't make a noise; there are people listening. But what else is that in your hand?" "It is a loaf of bread." "How nice it smells!"

These sainted men are rotten with iniquity, and the corrupters of the village youth. When offered what they think insufficient, they either take more by force, or pour out volleys of curses and of the most filthy abuse. Hence the saying "Give the dole, or I will burn your house down." Yet even the Pír is sometimes useful. The Afrídi Patháns of Tíráh had shame in the sight of their brethren, in that their territory was blessed with no holy shrine at which they might worship, and that they had to be beholden to the saints of their neighbours when they wished for divine aid. Smarting under a sense of incompleteness, they induced by generous offers a saint of the most notorious piety to take up his abode amongst them. They then made quite sure of his staying with them by cutting his throat, they buried him honourably, they built over his bones a splendid shrine at which they might worship him and implore his aid and intercession in their behalf, and thus they purged themselves of their reproach. Besides these professional holy men, there are among many of the Pathán and Biloch tribes certain clans, apparently not differing from the other clans of the tribe, who have a hereditary right to perform all sacerdotal functions in cases of tribal ceremonial. The subject is a most interesting one and needs further examination.

279. Superstitions are even more numerous and deep-rooted among the Mahomedans of the west than among the Hindus of the east. "He who is bitten by a snake may escape; but not he on whom the evil eye has fallen." Charms are in even greater request, and omens even more regarded. But the superstitions differ little in their general character from those current in the eastern districts: they naturally vary somewhat with the locality, but are in no way affected by the difference of religion. Sacrifices to the river in order to induce it to spare the village lands and site as it shifts from side to side in its bed seem to be common on all the Panjáb rivers except the Jamna. The flight of birds is much observed as an omen by the Biloches, whose superstition regarding their star has already been described in section 231.

"The Patháns especially have the strongest possible belief in saints and shrines, and in the efficacy of pilgrimages to groves "and high places. There is hardly an old mound in the country on which the flag of some *faqír* is not flying. All classes of "the people put great trust in spells and charms, and if any confidence may be placed in common report, the age of miracles has "by no means yet gone by."—(*Tucker's Derah Ismáil Report.*)

There is a curious custom common among the Musalmán peasantry of the lower Indus, of circumcising their women by excision of the tip of the clitoris; not apparently with any idea of preserving their chastity, but as a religious rite.

280. Mahomedan rules of inheritance.—In one respect nearly all the Musalmáns of the Panjab alike depart from the strict letter of their law, and that is in matters of succession. I have already noticed (section 104) how the Hindu law of succession, as embodied in the Shástras, is observed only among the higher castes and in the large towns. But the scriptures of the Hindu faith do not pretend to set forth any sort of code by which the people shall be bound in such matters; while the law-books by which our Courts have been so often misguided possess authority, solely as being the only written exposition of custom which we have, and from the virtue which the more educated classes attach to anything that is written in Sanskrit. On the other hand, being expositions of custom as it once actually existed in India, their rules differ only in minor points from the practice which is still current. But the teachings of Mahomet go much further than this. They pretend to regulate the life of the believer down to the minutest particular, the Qurán and the appendant traditions contain the law as well as the prophets, and, succession to property is or should be to the Musalmán a matter of faith. Now, as pointed out by Sir George Campbell, the Mahomedan law of inheritance was apparently framed in a state of society where flocks and herds constituted the only wealth. The fractional shares were calculated, the division was made on the spot, and all possibility of contention ceased. But it is eminently ill-adapted to regulate the inheritance of land; and where it is followed the most extraordinary complications result. I have known the least common denominator of the fractional shares in a village in which succession followed the Mahomedan law amount to *lakhs*. Thus we find that the Indian tribes who have been converted to Islám have refused to accept the rules of succession as formulated in the Mahomedan scriptures, and have retained their old tribal custom by which rights of inheritance are denied to females and the property is confined to the body of agnates. The only people who follow the Mahomedan *shara* are the Saiyads and Arabs,—and even these, when settled in villages, often exchange them for the tribal customs of the neighbourhood—and such families as, living in large cities, are much under the influence of the law-doctors. Some of the leading Patháns and Biloches have attempted to introduce the strict law, but hitherto without any considerable success.

281. Mahomedan sects.—In accordance with the instructions of the Government of India, the enumerators were directed to enter no Mahomedan sects except Sunni, Shíah, Wahhábi, and Farázi, and though other sects were doubtless recorded, the figures for these four only have been tabulated. The omission to record and exhibit all the sects to which the people might declare themselves to belong, though to be regretted as depriving us of interesting and valuable information, is yet not of such importance as the similar omission in the case of Hindu sects; for new sects do not seem to arise among the Mahomedans in nearly such great numbers as among the Hindus, while the framework of the former religion is so much less elastic than that of the latter that such as do appear are generally without those features of interest which characterise the tenets of the Hindu sectary, the new doctrines being generally confined to minor points of technical dogma, or taking the form of a protest against modern innovations and a reversion towards the faith in its original purity[1].

[1] One very curious sect may be noticed, rather on account of its name than for any importance which it possesses. The well-known Saiyad Ahmad of Aligarh is a Mahomedan rationalist, rejecting miracles, and much of the supernatural in the received traditions of the Prophet's life. He may be said to follow in a measure what is called natural religion, and those who agree with him are now commonly known as constituting the Nechari sect, from the English word "Nature."

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The figures for the four sects will be found in Table III B., of Appendices A and B, and are summarised below :—

Musalman Sects.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Proportions.
All Sects [1]	**6,178,199**	**5,341,281**	**11,519,460**	**10,000**
Sunnis	6,064,815	5,242,040	11,306,855	9,816
Shíahs	53,563	48,693	102,256	89
Wahhábis	1,385	1,146	2,531	2
Faráizis	95	70	165	...
Others and unspecified	58,321	49,332	107,653	93
Kapúrthala population [1]	76,938	66,036	142,974	...

Thus it will appear that of the Musalmán population of the Panjáb not 1 per cent. has recorded itself as Shíah, while more than 98 per cent. are returned as Sunnis. As a fact the great mass of the peasantry have, except on the frontier and perhaps in the western districts, never even heard of the distinction between the two great divisions of the Moslem faith, and though they are undoubtedly Sunni, are only so because they know of nothing else, and not by deliberate choice or conviction.

282. Abstract No. 57 below gives the proportions which the adherents of the various sects bear to the total Musalmán population in each district, the village population being treated separately, and those districts standing first in which the proportion of Shíahs is largest.

Abstract No. 57, *showing the* Proportions of Sects *among* Rural and total Musalman Population *for* Districts *arranged in* order of magnitude.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	2	1
			NUMBER PER 1,000 OF ALL MUSALMAN SECTS.											
			Villages.					Total.						
Serial No. of Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Proportion of Musalmán to 1,000 of all religions.	Sunnis.	Shíahs.	Wahhábis.	Faráizis.	Others & Unspecified.	Sunnis.	Shíahs.	Wahhábis.	Faráizis.	Others & Unspecified.	Territorial Unit.	Serial No. of Tables.
32	Kohat	932	933	67·4	...	...	...	937	62·7	...	...	...	Kohat	32
9	Simla	162	994	5·8	...	...	...	932	57·0	...	1·2	9·7	Simla	9
24	Jhang	827	962	37·2	...	...	·2	963	36·2	...	...	·2	Jhang	24
27	Dera Ismáíl Khan	872	970	28·9	...	...	1·0	967	29·3	...	...	4·4	Derah Ismáíl Khan	27
1	Dehli	233	956	15·3	...	...	28·5	961	20·9	...	...	17·2	Dehli	1
22	Shahpur	849	984	16·8	·7	...	·1	981	17·6	·7	...	·1	Shahpur	22
IX	Derajat Division	880	983	16·8	...	...	·6	981	16·6	...	...	1·9	Derajat Division	IX
7	Ambála	285	988	10·3	...	...	1·6	984	15·3	...	...	1·3	Ambála	7
VIII	Multán Division	809	984	13·3	·1	...	·4	985	14·4	·1	...	·4	Multán Division	VIII
3	Karnal	251	984	12·1	...	...	3·9	983	13·6	...	...	3·4	Karnal	3
I	Dehli Division	265	973	10·6	...	...	14·8	973	13·4	...	...	12·8	Delhi Division	I
III	Ambála Division	304	990	9·3	·1	...	1·1	986	13·2	·1	...	·9	Ambála Division	III
X	Peshawar Division	932	989	10·9	...	...	...	988	12·3	·1	...	...	Peshawar Division	X
—	*Hill States*	32	991	7·1	...	...	2·2	987	11·9	...	...	2·0	*Hill States*	—
—	*States of E. Plains*	251	989	9·3	·3	...	1·5	987	11·7	·5	...	1·1	*States of E. Plains*	—
20	Jhelam	877	989	10·3	...	...	...	989	10·5	...	...	...	Jhelam	20
29	Bannu	905	990	9·9	·1	...	·1	990	9·5	·1	...	·1	Bannu	29
—	**Total British Territory.**	**558**	**982**	**8·2**	**·2**	...	**10·5**	**981**	**9·1**	**·2**	...	**10·2**	**Total British Territory.**	—
—	**Total of Province**	**514**	**984**	**8·0**	**·2**	...	**9·7**	**982**	**8·9**	**·2**	...	**9·3**	**Total of Province**	—
23	Multán	790	993	6·2	·1	...	·8	990	8·8	·2	...	·8	Multán	23
8	Ludhiana	346	991	7·9	·1	...	...	991	8·7	·1	...	·1	Ludhiana	8
26	Muzaffargarh	864	992	6·9	·1	...	...	993	8·1	·1	...	...	Muzaffargarh	26
28	Dera Ghazi Khan	868	990	8·5	...	...	·5	992	8·0	...	...	·5	Dera Ghazi Khan	28
12	Kangra	54	943	4·2	·1	...	51·5	948	7·9	·1	...	43·5	Kangra	12
VII	Ráwalpindi Division	870	993	7·6	·1	...	...	992	7·8	·1	...	...	Ráwalpindi Division	VII
2	Gurgáon	309	974	7·8	...	...	17·2	974	7·5	...	...	16·9	Gurgáon	2
19	Ráwalpindi	867	993	7·0	...	...	...	992	7·0	...	...	...	Ráwalpindi	19
—	**Total Native States**	**295**	**994**	**4·9**	**·1**	**·1**	**·7**	**993**	**6·6**	**·2**	...	**·6**	**Total Native States**	—
25	Montgomery	775	994	4·7	...	...	·6	995	5·9	...	...	·5	Montgomery	25
10	Jálandhar	454	994	4·8	·2	...	1·7	992	5·4	·2	...	1·5	Jálandhar	10
30	Peshávar	922	1,000	0·3	·1	...	...	995	5·4	·1	...	...	Peshávar	30
16	Lahore	649	965	3·0	·3	...	32·1	965	5·0	·4	...	30·1	Lahore	16
IV	Jálandhar Division	284	988	4·1	·1	...	8·4	988	4·6	·1	...	7·5	Jálandhar Division	IV
15	Sialkot	662	952	2·7	·1	...	44·3	952	4·0	·2	...	43·1	Sialkot	15
VI	Lahore Division	622	952	3·0	·3	...	45·2	955	4·0	·4	...	42·0	Lahore Division	VI
V	Amritsar Division	540	971	2·6	·5	...	25·2	972	3·8	·8	...	23·2	Amritsar Division	V
13	Amritsar	463	990	2·9	1·1	·1	6·1	990	3·7	1·3	·1	4·9	Amritsar	13
14	Gurdaspur	475	988	2·0	·5	...	9·0	987	3·5	1·3	...	8·3	Gurdaspur	14
18	Firozpur	477	962	3·5	·7	...	35·4	961	3·5	·6	...	35·3	Firozpur	18
11	Hushyárpur	322	986	3·2	...	...	12·0	987	3·1	...	...	9·8	Hushyarpur	11
17	Gújranwála	734	929	2·7	·1	·1	67·1	933	2·6	·2	·1	63·3	Gújranwála	17
6	Sirsa	368	998	1·4	...	...	·3	998	1·4	...	...	·3	Sirsa	6
11	*Baháwalpur*	*837*	*999*	*1·3*	...	·1	...	*999*	*1·3*	...	·1	...	*Baháwalpur*	*11*
5	Rohtak	144	995	1·6	...	...	3·3	997	1·2	...	...	2·0	Rohtak	5
21	Gujrat	882	998	1·0	...	...	...	998	1·0	...	...	...	Gujrat	21
II	Hissár Division	218	996	1·0	...	...	1·7	998	·9	...	...	1·4	Hissár Division	II
4	Hissár	225	998	·3	...	...	2·2	998	·3	...	...	1·8	Hissár	4
31	Hazara	948	999	...	...	...	...	999	...	...	...	·1	Hazara	31

[1] It is much to be regretted that the Superintendent of the Kapúrthala State should have directed that no sects were to be recorded within his jurisdiction, and thus have rendered our record imperfect. The action he took was only discovered when the figures were sent to my office for final compilation, and it was then too late to supply the omission.

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The figures show at once how much more rife are sectarian differences in the towns than in the villages. Excluding the Derajât and Kohát, to be mentioned presently, only 6 per mille of the rural population belong to specified sects other than Sunní, against 17 per mille of the urban population; while in 27 out of the 32 districts the proportion of Sunnis is larger in the villages than in the towns. In the Dehli district more than half the whole number of Shíahs live in the city of Dehli itself, while in Peshâwar the sect is unknown outside the walls of the city. The difference is partly due to the more varied character of the city population, which includes travellers and immigrants from Shíah countries; but still more to the fact that the educated classes are chiefly found in the towns, and that as a rule they alone are possessed of the knowledge necessary to develop sectarian differences. It is probable that the number of Shíahs returned is below the real strength of the sect. Their tenets allow them to conceal and even deny their belief, and many of them, more especially Kashmíris, resent the appellation of Shíah as being associated with the still more contemptuous title of Ráfizi (see next section); and the sect is generally held in disfavour, and on the frontier was till quite lately exposed to bitter persecution. Thus the Khojahs of the Derajât very generally profess to be Sunnis, though it is almost certain that they secretly hold Shíah doctrines. The sect is most numerous in the Kohát district, the Shíahs of which are described in section 284, and extend along the Salt-range into Derah Ismáíl, Bannu, Sháhpur, and Jahlam, all of which stand high in the list. The Simla district stands second, owing to the number of Ladáki and Bálti coolies to be found there employed on Public Works. In Jhang the large number of Shíahs is said to date from the invasion of the Shíah conqueror Nádir Sháh. They consist largely of Siál Rájpúts, and are found chiefly in the southern portion of the district. In Derah Gházi, Multán, Derah Ismáíl, and Muzaffargarh the Shíahs are either members of the old Kalhora family, now known as Sarai, or remnants of their rule; while in the Dehli division the influence of the Imperial Court and of the Mahomedan learning of which it formed a centre is still apparent. Shíahs are least numerous in the central, sub-montane, and south-eastern districts, or those furthest removed from Dehli on the one hand, and the frontier on the other. Kohát, Dera Ismáíl, and Jhang are the only districts with as many as 10,000 Shíahs; after them come Sháhpur and Jahlam with over 5,000 each; and these five districts contain more than half the whole number in the Province.

283. Sunnis and Shiahs.—It is probably not strictly correct to apply the term sect to the Sunni belief, as it represents the orthodox church of Islám, and apparently bears a somewhat similar relation to the Shíahs and other schismatics as exists, among English Protestant Christians, between the Church of England and the Dissenting bodies. The Sunnis are those who follow the *Sunnat*, or customs and traditions of the faith; but the other sects also are bound by the traditions, differing only on the question of *what* tradition should be accepted[1]. The Sunnis are divided into four schools, the Hanifi, the Sháfaí, the Máliki, and the Hambali. Those of Northern India belong almost without exception to the first, those of Southern India to the second, the third is not represented, while the Wahhábis sprang from the fourth. The differences are chiefly technical. The Shíah or Imámia school declares that the Musalmán religion consists in the knowledge of the true Imám, a point which the Sunnis consider as unimportant, and consists of the followers of Ali, the husband of Fátimah the daughter of Mahomet, and the fourth Caliph. They maintain that on the death of the prophet the office of Imám vested by divine right in Ali, and after him in his two sons Hasan and Husen, and add to the Mahomedan formula of belief the words "Ali is the Caliph of God," while some of them even regard him as an incarnation of the Deity. They necessarily reject as usurpers the first three Imáms, Abu Bakr, Umar, and Usmán, whom the Sunnis accept, and detest the memory of the Ummeyid Caliphs who wrested the Caliphate from its rightful holder, and in particular that of Yazíd who slew the martyr Husen. They observe the first ten days of the month of Muharram as a fast in commemoration of the martyrdom of Ali and his two sons, and carry about *táziahs* meant to represent the tombs of the two latter, with loud lamentation and mourning. The Sunnis observe only the tenth day of the Muharram, and abhor the *táziahs*. The Shíah is allowed by his creed to conceal his belief whenever it may seem advisable to do so, either in order to obtain converts or to escape persecution, and to this end he may pass himself off as a Sunni, or even curse the twelve Imáms. In the Panjáb, or at least in its western parts, Shíahs are commonly known as Ráfizis, a name either derived from *rifz* or "abuse," because they curse the first three Imáms and their supporters, or meaning "deserters," because a section of the Shíahs is said once to have deserted the standard of Zaid, the grandson of Husen, because he refused to curse the first two Imáms.

284. Distribution of sects on the frontier.—The Patháns of our frontier, with the exception of those of Tíráh and its neighbourhood, are strict Sunnis, abominating the Shíahs and all their works, insomuch that in old days a man hardly dare admit that he belonged to that sect, and even the recognised Shíahs of the towns were not allowed to make or carry about *táziahs* during the Muharram, while even now the Shíah observances on the occasion of that fast have more than once very nearly led to serious affrays. The Bannúchi have a saying "He is a Shíah's tomb; white outside, but black within;" and another, applied to a shameless man, "A Shíah's ablutions are not nullified by his breaking wind," as a Sunni's would be. The Saiyads and Orakzai Patháns of Tíráh however, and their neighbours the Bangash of the Sámílzai country in Kohát, are for the most part known as Shíahs, though they are really followers of a sect called Roshania which arose among the Patháns about the middle of the 16th century. It was founded by one Bazíd, who proclaimed himself a prophet and obtained a numerous following, chiefly among the upper Sulemán and Khaibar mountains. He styled himself Pír Roshan or the Saint of Light, but was called by his opponents and by the historians of the time Pír Tarík or the Saint of Darkness. He laid aside the Qurán and taught that nothing existed but God, who required no set forms of worship, but an implicit obedience to his prophet. His doctrine, as may be imagined, met with many supporters amongst the wild mountaineers, who found a further incentive for joining him in the license he afforded them; for he preached a sort of social communism, and authorised his followers to seize the

[1] The traditions, which pretend to consist of the sayings of the Prophet not embodied in the Qurán, are collectively called the Hadís. The Sunnis recognise six books which are also accepted by the Wahhábis. The four books of the Shíahs are later and "incomparably less trustworthy" compilations.

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land and property of all who would not accept his creed. At one time this sect embraced nearly half the Pathán nation, including all the Afrídi of Tiráh and many of the Yúsufzai; and in 1600 A.D. one of their leaders even obtained temporary possession of Ghazni. But meddling with politics led to their fall: they were crushed by Akbar and finally dispersed by Jahángír, and their tenets are now professed only by the people of Tíráh, by many but not all of the Bangash of Kohát, and by a few adherents scattered along the trans-Indus Salt-range from the Kohát to the Derah Ismáíl district[1]. They are called Shíahs more because they are rejected by the Sunnis than because they follow the Shíah doctrines. The Shíahs of the Pathán frontier will not kill or eat hares, some say because Ali kept hares, and others because they menstruate monthly, a human characteristic.

The cis-Indus Patháns are professedly Sunnis, but are very lax in their observances and the line of distinction is very vaguely drawn, professed Sunnis making and following *táziahs* in company with Shíahs. The latter, on the other hand, belong very largely to the moderate sub-sect of Tafzilis, who, while professing the greatest reverence for Hazrat Ali, do not speak evil of his three predecessors in the Caliphate. In the valley of the Upper Indus the people care little for distinctions of sect, being in fact very poor Mahomedans, openly breaking the fasts, and very few of them even pretending to observe Ramzán.

285. The Biloches were originally Shíahs, and are indeed said to have been driven from Aleppo in consequence of their having taken the side of the Aliites against Yazíd the Ummeyid; and an old historian tells us that "they call themselves, and are called by the faithful, Ali's friends." On this side the Indus they still retain to a great extent their old doctrines in the upper *thal*, though lower down the river they are generally Sunnis, the few Shíahs who are still found there being remnants of the Kalhora rule. In fact a large proportion of the Shíahs of the lower Indus belong to the Sarai family, the existing representatives of the old Kalhora dynasty of Sindh, who, on being expelled by the Patháns, settled in Derah Ghází Khán. The Biloches of the actual border are almost without exception Sunnis, though not nearly so bigoted as the Patháns; and the influence of Sunni Pathán Governors has induced the bulk of the mixed Jat population to follow that persuasion. In Jhang, where the Shíah sect is numerous, they are said to be—"of the most bigoted type. They keep the Muharram most strictly, fasting for "ten days, accompanying the *táziahs* bare-headed and barefooted, and allowing neither Hindu nor Musal-"mán to approach without baring his head and removing his shoes." Saiyads, being descendants of Ali, should be Shíahs by heredity. But in the western districts where they are most numerous, they profess for the most part the Sunni doctrines lest they should alienate the disciples upon whose offerings they depend for subsistence, though, except on the border itself, they habitually make and follow *táziahs*.

286. The Wahhabi sect.—Muhammad, son of Abdul Wahháb, and the founder of the Wahhábi sect[2], was born in Nejd in 1691 A.D., and was an Arab of the Tumín tribe. His doctrines rapidly spread among the Bedouin tribes, and his successors reduced the whole of Nejd, defeated the forces of the Baghdad Pasha, plundered Kerbela, took the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and subdued the entire Hijáz. In 1809 the Bombay Government, enraged at their piracies, sent an expedition to the Persian Gulf and captured their stronghold on the Kirman coast. In 1811-18 the Sultán of Turkey attacked them because, denying the existence of a visible Imám, they refused to recognise his spiritual authority, captured and beheaded their chief, and reduced them to political insignificance. Their doctrines were introduced into India by one Saiyad Ahmad Sháh of Rai Bareilly, who began life as a freebooter, but turning his attention to religion visited Arabia not long after the events just described, and returning to India spread the new tenets. Having collected a numerous following he proceeded to the Pathán frontier, and there proclaimed, in 1826, a Jihád or religious war against the Sikhs[3]. The extraordinary ascendancy that he obtained over the wild tribes of the Peshawar border, the four years' struggle which he waged, not unsuccessfully, with the Durráni on the one hand and the Sikhs on the other, and his ultimate defeat and death, are fully described by Major James at pages 43 to 47 of his Peshawar Report, and still more fully by Dr. Bellew in his History of Yúsufzai, pages 83 to 102. The Wahhábi doctrines seem to have found much favour with the lower classes in Bengal, and Patna is now the head-quarters of the sect in India. There are also Wahhábi colonies at Polosi on the Indus, and at Sittána and Mulkah in independent Yúsufzai beyond Buner.

But these men call themselves Mujáhidín, or promoters of the Jihád or sacred war; and indeed the whole sect as found in the Panjáb reject the name of Wahhábi as a term of reproach, and as now having a political stigma attached to it, and prefer to call themselves *Ahl-i-Hadís*, "People of the traditions," or *Muwahidín*, "Unitarians;" while in the eastern districts (though not apparently on the frontier) they commonly style themselves *Muhammadi*, substituting the personal name of their founder Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahháb for his patronymic. In fact it is almost certain that a very large proportion of those who hold the Wahhábi doctrines in the Panjáb have returned themselves by some one of these names, and are therefore not shown as Wahhábis in our tables. The district officers note that the Census figures very inadequately represent the numbers of the sect in Hushyárpur, Amritsar[4], Lahore, Derah Ismáíl Khán, and Peshawar.

287. The Wahhábis are Musalmán purists. They accept the six books of traditions as collected by the Sunnis, but reject the subsequent glosses of the fathers and the voice of the Church, and claim liberty of conscience and the right of private interpretation. They insist strongly upon the unity of God, which doctrine they say has been endangered by the reverence paid by the ordinary Musalmán to Mahomet, to the Imáms, and to saints, and forbid the offering of prayer to any prophet, priest, or saint, even as a

[1] The above account is taken from Major James' Report on Peshawar, pages 30 to 33, where further particulars will be found.

[2] Much of the following account is taken from the Rev. Mr. Hughes' *Notes on Muhammadanism* and from letters in which that gentleman has most kindly answered questions put by me.

[3] Mr. Stobart states that Saiyad Ahmad was born in 1706. That would make him 120 years old when he first went to war, and I suspect it must be a misprint for 1786.

[4] See below, section 287.

mediator with the Almighty. They condemn the sepulchral honours paid to holy men, and illumination of, visits to, and prostration before their shrines, and even go so far as to destroy the domes erected over their remains. They call the rest of the Mahomedans *mashrik*, or "those who associate another with God," and strenuously proclaim that Mahomet was a mere mortal man. They disallow the smoking of tobacco as unlawful, and discountenance the use of rosaries or beads. Apparently they insist much upon the approaching appearance of the last Imám Mahdi preparatory to the dissolution of the world. Politically their most important and obnoxious opinion is that they are bound to wage war against all infidels; but it is doubtful whether the Wahhábis within British Territory are as fanatical in this respect as their brethren elsewhere. The orthodox deny them the title of Musalmán.

There are a considerable number of Wahhábis in the cities of Dehli, Ambála, Jahlam, and Hushyárpur, while the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar writes—"Wahhábis are notoriously numerous, and increasingly so in Amritsar city, and I should estimate their numbers at present at between six or seven thousand. They themselves claim to be even still more numerous." There are also still a few at Paniála in the Derah Ismáil Salt-range, where a colony of them settled a few years ago. But the sect appears to be dying out on the frontier. It is, as Mr. Tucker says,—"unsuited to the Musalmáns of these parts, who have the greatest belief in saints and shrines, and in the efficacy of pilgrimage to groves and high places."

288. The Farazi Sect.—It will be seen that there are 165 Farázis returned for the Panjáb. Mr. Bourdillon, the Census officer for Bengal, has most kindly sent me the following note in response to my appeal for information about the sect:—

"You can hardly have many Farázis in the Panjab, for the name, which, as you say, comes from Bengal, is not used by "the people of themselves, but is rather an outside term corresponding to the appellation of 'Roundheads,' which the Puritans "received from outsiders. But the term is generally used to denote the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal, who are in point of fact "in great part composed of converts from among the lower classes of Hindus and from aboriginal tribes. The tenets of the "sect are not easily formulated, because the sect hardly exists as such. I believe it was originally, like Wahabeeism, a puritan revival "among the Mahomedans, followed by conversions from outside on a large scale; but now the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal have "mostly lost what theology they ever possessed, and are notorious for their bigotry and their ignorance."

I examined a good many of the schedules in which Farázis were returned, and found them to include Saiyad policemen, Biloch *faqirs*, Rájpút cultivators, and a generally miscellaneous assortment of people, many of them born in Multán and the Deraját. The Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar made special inquiries on the point, and found that the twenty-eight Farázis returned from his district were really not Farázis at all, but Wahhábis. It is by no means impossible that, Farázi being specified in the instructions as one of the sects to be enumerated, some of the enumerators may have thought it their duty to meet what appeared to be the wishes of Government by enumerating a few from their own imaginations.

289. Distribution of Musalmans by locality.—The proportion borne by Musalmáns to population of all religions in the several parts of the Province has already been discussed in section 204. Abstract No. 58 below shows the local distribution of the Musalmáns of the Panjáb, omitting such districts and states as do not include as much as 1 per cent. of their total number.

Abstract No. 58, *showing* **Distribution of Musalmans** *by* **Districts and States** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

Serial No. in Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Per 10,000 of the Musalman Population		Serial No. in Tables.	Territorial Unit.	Per 10,000 of the Musalman Population	
		Of the Province.	Of British Territory.			Of the Province.	Of British Territory.
—	**Total Province**	10,000	...	31	Hazara	331	367
—	**Total British Territory**	9,025	10,000	27	Dera Ismáíl Khan	330	366
VII	Ráwalpindi Division	1,881	2,084	10	Jalandhar	307	341
V	Amritsar Division	1,263	1,401	22	Shahpur	307	340
VIII	Multán Division	1,188	1,317	25	Montgomery	283	314
VI	Lahore Division	1,168	1,295	24	Jhang	280	311
	Total Native States	975	...	*1*	*Patiala*	*275*	...
X	Peshávar Division	945	1,046	28	Dera Ghazi Khan	270	300
IX	Deraját Division	859	952	18	Firozpur	266	295
16	Ráwalpindi	610	676	7	Ambála	261	289
IV	Jálandhar Division	590	654	29	Bannu	258	286
15	Sialkot	574	636	26	Muzaffargarh	252	278
—	States of Eastern Plains	542	...	11	Hoshyarpur	249	273
21	Gujrát	521	577	II	Hissár Division	246	272
16	Lahore	514	570	8	Ludhiana	183	203
30	Pesháwar	468	518	2	Gurgáon	170	189
III	Ambála Division	450	499	32	Kohat	145	161
20	Jhelam	443	491	3	Karnal	134	148
I	Dehli Division	433	478	1	Dehli	128	142
11	*Baháwalpur*	*412*	...	*3*	*Kapurthala*	*123*	...
17	Gujránwála	388	430	4	Hissár	97	107
23	Multán	374	414	6	Sirsa	80	89
13	Amritsar	354	393	5	Rohtak	68	76
14	Gurdaspur	336	372	*2*	*Nabha*	*43*	...

It is curious that, owing to the small density of population in the west of the Province, the Amritsar and Lahore divisions should each contain a greater number of Musalmáns than either of the frontier divisions,

Part VI.—The Musalmans of the Panjab.

and that the districts of our western border should stand so low as they do on the list. The Ráwalpindi, Peshávar, and Deraját divisions together only contain 41 per cent. of the Musalmán population of British Territory, while the three eastern divisions contain but 12 and the three central divisions as much as 40 per cent.

290. Distribution of the Musalmans according to Caste.—Abstract No. 59 below shows the composition by caste of the Musalmán community in each division of the Province.

Abstract No. 59, *showing* Distribution of male Musalmans *by* Caste *for* Divisions.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	1
	Numbers of each Caste per 1,000 of Musalman Religion.													
Caste.	Dehli Division.	Hissár Division.	Ambála Division.	Jalandhar Division.	Amritsar Division.	Lahore Division.	Ráwalpindi Division.	Multán Division.	Deraját Division.	Peshávar Division.	Total British Territory.	Total Native States.	Total Province.	Caste.
Number of Musalmáns per 1,000 of all religions.	265	218	304	284	540	622	870	809	880	932	558	295	514	Number of Musalmáns per 1,000 of all religions
Jat	12	33	71	75	176	173	159	221	419	4	160	133	157	Jat
Rajpút	121	398	187	127	75	84	136	155	7	9	106	164	111	Rájpút
Pathán	53	30	30	19	13	9	23	13	221	419	81	19	75	Pathán
Biloch	8	13	3	1	1	7	6	75	160	1	29	49	30	Biloch
Awán	...	...	5	27	14	2	125	4	21	158	49	...	44	Awán
Aráin	18	24	111	235	112	120	20	39	5	...	63	107	68	Aráin
Gújar	17	12	108	101	41	16	62	1	...	67	41	36	40	Gújar
Meo	227	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	1	10	Meo
Khánzádah	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Khánzádah
Dogar	4	18	7	12	6	16	...	...	...	...	5	12	6	Dogar
Khokhar	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	17	...	1	3	...	3	Khokhar
Dhúnd	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17	2	...	2	Dhúnd
Kharral	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	...	2	...	2	Kharral
Karrál	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	1	...	1	Karrál
Tanaoli	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	37	4	...	4	Tanáoli
Gakkhar	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	4	2	...	2	Gakkhar
Mughal	15	5	3	5	6	4	20	7	2	9	9	6	9	Mughal
Bághbán	...	...	...	...	...	...	24	...	...	25	8	...	8	Bághbán
Ráwat	2	...	11	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	6	1	Ráwat
Taga	13	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	Taga
Total Agricultural	497	536	538	606	444	431	590	546	835	761	578	533	574	Total Agricultural
Saiyad	31	11	23	16	16	13	27	18	26	25	21	20	21	Saiyad
Shekh	145	53	76	27	20	25	23	20	22	18	31	39	32	Shekh
Faqír and Ulama	64	27	50	33	21	16	5	11	5	4	17	26	18	Faqír and Ulama
Total Religious	240	91	149	76	57	54	55	49	53	47	69	85	71	Total Religious
Khojah	...	1	...	3	10	14	3	10	2	2	6	4	6	Khojah
Maniár	3	4	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	Maniár
Parácha	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	5	1	...	1	Parácha
Total Mercantile	3	5	2	3	10	14	4	10	2	7	7	5	7	Total Mercantile
Juláha	19	17	69	55	74	60	51	59	10	26	49	53	49	Juláha
Tarkhán	9	9	11	10	32	31	32	26	10	21	23	13	22	Tarkhán
Kumhár	4	33	15	17	34	48	24	38	7	11	26	28	26	Kumhár
Jhínwar	26	27	15	23	30	14	5	...	1	4	12	15	12	Jhínwar
Mochi	...	13	17	46	36	43	41	40	10	8	30	23	30	Mochi
Nái	14	12	13	16	22	20	20	16	7	11	16	14	16	Nái
Lohár	17	27	16	9	24	21	18	8	6	13	16	14	16	Lohár
Teli	37	60	54	40	35	32	14	2	...	5	21	33	23	Teli
Kashmíri	...	...	5	5	41	14	31	...	...	25	17	1	15	Kashmíri
Mirási	15	32	18	19	21	23	13	20	7	6	16	24	17	Mirási
Máchhi	...	11	...	2	...	41	15	32	7	...	14	21	14	Máchhi
Malláh	3	1	2	4	5	3	2	12	6	1	4	14	5	Malláh
Dhobi	11	15	6	3	14	20	11	1	...	8	9	12	9	Dhobi
Charhoa	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	21	5	...	3	...	3	Charhoa
Chhímba	9	11	2	4	6	...	...	1	...	...	2	4	2	Chhímba
Qassáb	42	33	9	5	3	4	4	14	5	4	8	10	8	Qassáb
Lilári	...	15	3	3	3	3	2	...	...	1	2	3	2	Lilári
Barwála	...	...	...	5	24	7	...	...	...	...	5	...	4	Barwála
Penja	2	...	13	..	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	6	1	Penja
Total Artisan	268	316	268	266	404	384	283	290	81	145	274	288	274	Total Artisan
Chúhra	2	16	...	...	45	77	49	56	19	7	37	13	34	Chúhra
Changar	...	...	1	7	9	5	...	...	...	...	3	1	2	Changar
Total Menial and Outcast	2	16	1	7	54	82	49	56	19	7	40	14	36	Total Menial and Outcast
Total Musalman	950	964	958	958	969	965	981	951	990	967	968	925	962	Total Musalman

Part VI.—The Musalmans of the Panjab.

The preponderance of the agricultural element, even in those tracts where Mahomedanism least predominates, is very marked; as is the large proportion of the religious classes in the eastern districts of the Province. The latter fact, however, is probably partly due to the fact that Shekhs, whom I have classed as religious, are in the east often only converts of Indian origin. The comparative absence of Musalmán traders is striking. The artizans form a curiously large proportion of the whole, even in the eastern divisions, Juláhas and Telis being most conspicuously Mahomedan. The lowest castes, on the other hand, seem to be hardly represented among the Mahomedans of the East Panjáb, nor do they form a considerable portion of the community in any one part of the Province.

PART VII.—THE CHRISTIANS OF THE PANJAB.

291. Misleading nature of the figures.—I have already stated that the figures of Table IIIA are in great measure meaningless, and in every way misleading. The information which the table is intended to convey is not very important from an administrative point of view. But it is not without interest in some respects, and in any case it will be well to avoid as far as possible at a future Census the errors we have fallen into. I will therefore attempt to explain in the first place how we failed to obtain a trustworthy record of sects, and then to give such further statistics as I possess on the subject. Table III A professes to show for each district the number of adherents of each of the Christian sects, classed as European British subjects, other Europeans and Americans, Eurasians, and Natives. And first as to race. In the first place the term European British subject is of the widest and vaguest description. The only authoritative definition of its meaning that I am acquainted with is that contained in Section 4 of the Criminal Procedure Code, where it is laid down that "any subject of Her Majesty born, naturalised, or domiciled in Great Britain or any of its dependencies, *or any child or grandchild of any such person by legitimate descent*" is a European British subject. This definition would of course bring under the term by far the greater number of those who are commonly regarded as Eurasians; while, as the term Eurasian is nowhere defined, and the entry was left to the conscience of the individual under enumeration, occasionally tempered perhaps by the discretion of the enumerator, we may fairly conclude that the number of Eurasians returned is absurdly below the mark. Moreover, the form of schedule prescribed was wholly unsuitable for the Christian population. The "caste" was very generally filled in as "Christian" by the native converts, who are ordinarily supposed to renounce caste among other things at baptism; while as the corresponding column of the English schedules was headed "Caste or Tribe," the Europeans and Eurasians apparently did not understand that their race or nationality was what we wanted, and though the instructions on the back of the schedule told them what to record, only too often entered "Protestant," "Christian," or some equally irrelevant information, or left it altogether blank. No separate column was provided for the entry of "Eurasian" or "European British subject;" and though a footnote directed these words to be entered where necessary as a sort of afterthought in the column for birth-place, which was certainly not the column in which the information would naturally be looked for, the direction was studiously disregarded. The presumption no doubt is that a man who has returned England as his birth-place and English as his mother-tongue is a European British subject. But our compiling offices were dealing with entries, not with presumptions. The schedules provided for a certain entry, and it was our business to tabulate the number of such entries which had been actually made in the schedules. Nor indeed, had we acted on the above presumption, should we have obtained anything like the full number of European British subjects. As for the distinction between Native and Foreign Christians, the schedules provided no means of discrimination, and all that we had to go by was the name. As a rule this was a fair test; but some of the Native Christians assume English names, and some few of the "Mary Ann Smiths" who were classed by us as Europeans may possibly have really been natives.

Secondly as to sect. There was no separate column for this entry, the religion column being headed "Religion and Sect." Consequently the sect was not unfrequently omitted altogether. The directions to enumerators, and also those printed on the back of the private schedules given to educated Europeans to fill up, directed that Christians were to be distinguished as Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Baptist, Wesleyan, Armenian Church, Greek Church, Syrian church, and others; that is to say, that none but the sects specified above were to be distinguished. But after the enumeration was completed, and before we had compiled the figures, some of the sects who had not been specified objected to the selection made; and though it was then too late to add to the record, the Census Commissioner directed us to tabulate *all* the sects we found entered in the Schedules. It follows that of two Lutherans, for instance, one of whom followed the instructions and, not belonging to any one of the specified sects, simply entered himself as Christian, while the other disregarded them and gave his sect, the latter will appear under Lutheran in our tables, but the former will not. The figures are therefore eminently misleading as regards all sects other than those specified above, as they represent the number, not of each sect, but of those persons who, being told not to enter their sect, did so in defiance of the injunction. The European Census was, moreover, bad in every respect save that of mere enumeration. I have discussed the subject at length in the Chapter on Special Measures in Book II of this Report, and have made some suggestions for its improvement. But it is difficult to get enumerators who are capable of effectively checking the entries; it is still more difficult to induce Europeans out here to take the trouble to fill up the schedules properly in the first instance, or to give the enumerator the information necessary to enable him to correct their errors; and a large proportion of the European population consists of troops, whose Census is often taken in the most perfunctory manner by the military authorities.

292. Further Statistics.—The figures for language and birth-place enable us to correct the statistics of Table IIIA to some extent. In Tables X and XI a good many birth-places were entered as "Doubtful and unspecified" because they could not be identified, which were evidently by their form the name of British villages. The reason why this was done will be explained when the figures for foreign races come under discussion. But in preparing a special set of tables for British-born subjects for the information of the Registrar-General of Great Britain, we included these places as British birth-places, and the figures thus arrived at give us 16,468 males and 2,220 females as born in the British Isles and speaking English as their mother-tongue. Comparing these figures with those of Tables IX and IIIA, we get the following results :—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
British-born subjects	16,468	2,220	18,688
Other English-speaking Europeans, Eurasians, &c.	6,491	4,503	10,994
Europeans, &c., not speaking English	59	46	105
Native Christians	2,181	1,731	3,912
	25,199	8,500	33,699

We know (see section 195) that unless some of the Europeans and Eurasians in the Panjáb are Hindus, Sikhs, Musalmáns, Buddhists, or Jains, which is improbable, not more than 35 of them profess any other religion than Christianity; and this small number may be neglected, and the above figures taken as representing our Christian population.

I have no further information regarding the sect of the European Christians than that given in Table III A; but, feeling that the figures of that table were unsatisfactory, I asked the clergymen in charge of the various mission stations in the Panjáb to favour me with a detail of their converts, and Abstract No. 60 on the next page gives the results of their kind compliance with my request. It is the sects of the Native Christians which I believe it was particularly desired to obtain; and the figures now given may be accepted as far more trustworthy than the results of any enumeration could possibly be, in which the native convert was often left to describe his own sect to an unconverted native enumerator. The Baptist Mission at Dehli did not comply with my request for information, and I have therefore taken the Census figures for that Branch and added them to those furnished by the other Missions.

Part VII.—The Christians of the Panjab.

Abstract No. 60, *showing the* Distribution of Protestant Native Christians *by* Sects and Districts.

Sects.	Males.	Females.	Persons. Total.	Persons. Adults.	Persons. Children.
Church of England	1,157	873	2,030	1,152	878
American Presbyterians	680	395	1,075	673	402
Scotch Presbyterians	92	81	173	95	78
Baptists	218	153	371	253	118
Moravians	13	19	32	16	16
TOTAL	2,160	1,521	3,681	2,189	1,492
DISTRICTS AND STATES.					
1. Dehli	640	357	997	638	359
2. Gurgáon	26	19	45	30	15
3. Karnal	32	19	51	19	32
4. Hissár	7	4	11	7	4
5. Rohtak	22	10	32	22	10
6. Ambála	34	29	63	41	22
7. Ludhiana	84	66	150	65	85
8. Simla	100	55	155	130	25
9. Jalandhar	41	27	68	39	29
10. Hoshiarpur	52	26	78	50	28
11. Kangra	30	26	56	26	30
12. Amritsar	108	224	332	144	188
13. Gurdaspur	150	92	242	154	88
14. Sialkot	271	141	412	280	132
15. Lahore	298	231	529	267	262
16. Gujránwála	10	6	16	12	4
17. Firozpur	12	5	17	10	7
18. Rawalpindi	52	42	94	54	40
19. Jhelam	17	15	32	20	12
20. Gujrat	23	13	36	17	19
21. Multán	18	17	35	22	13
22. Muzaffargarh	3	1	4	2	2
23. Derah Ghazi Khan	6	4	10	8	2
24. Bannu	5	2	7	3	4
25. Peshámar	69	43	112	70	42
26. Hazára	9	6	15	9	6
27. Chamba	35	37	72	44	28
28. Baháwalpur	3	1	4	3	1
29. Bashahr	3	3	6	3	3
TOTAL	2,160	1,521	3,681	2,189	1,492

These figures refer to Protestant sects only. Adding the Census figures for the others, the results compare with Table IIIA as shown in the margin. My letter asking for figures was written more than a year after the Census, and the very close correspondence of the two sets of figures show that, except as regards distinctions of sect, our enumeration of Native Christians must have been exceedingly accurate. During the interval some 90 converts appear to have been added to the Church of Christ.

Protestant sects from Mission figures		3,681
Roman Catholics	From Census figures	300
Syrian Church		2
Armenian Church		19
		4,002
Figures of Table III A		3,912

PART VIII.—THE IMPURE AND OUTCAST TRIBES.

293. The religion of the outcasts.—I have said in the beginning of this chapter that the impure and outcast races are not generally recognised by the higher castes as belonging to their religion, even though they may profess its tenets and observe its injunctions. These tribes may be roughly divided into two classes; first, those who are impure by virtue of their occupation, such as the scavengers, the workers in hides and leather, the keepers of pigs and poultry, those who live by prostituting their women, and so forth; and secondly, those who are impure because of the promiscuous nature of their food, such as the vagrant, gypsy and hunting classes, and the river tribes, who eat foxes, jackals, lizards, tortoises, crocodiles, and other animals that are looked upon as vermin and held to be unclean by the orthodox. But it is impossible entirely to separate these two classes, as many of those who follow impure occupations eat carrion and the leavings of others, while not a few of those who live on vermin are also polluted by the nature of their occupations. A curious gradation of occupations in order of impurity may often be observed. The order appears to be scavengering, leather-working, and weaving. When the scavenger adopts a new religion and rises in the social scale he takes to leather-working; under similar circumstances the leather-worker takes to weaving[1]. The principal castes included in Table VIII A which are considered more or less impure are the Chúhras or scavengers, with the Dhánaks and Khatíks; the Chamárs or workers in hides, with the Megs, the Dágis, Kolis, and Dúmnas, and the Lohárs of the hills where they perform menial offices[2]; the Kanchans, or professional prostitutes; the Mahtams, Báwarias, Aheris, Thoris, Labánas, and Kehals, or jungle and river tribes; the Sánsis, Pernas, Nats, Bázígars, Pakhíwáras, Hárnis, Gandhílas, Ods and Hesis, or gypsy and vagrant tribes. These people include some 2,012,000 Hindus, 173,000 Sikhs, 492,000 Musalmáns, and some hundreds of Buddhists; but I do not give detailed figures for them or attempt, by separating them, to arrive at statistics for the more orthodox members of our Panjáb religions, because, though some few of them are rejected and considered impure everywhere and by all classes, yet with respect to the majority of them the degree in which they are so rejected varies for the different castes, within each caste for different religions, and within each caste and religion from one part of the Province to another, or even with the idiosyncrasy of the person concerned. Thus it is quite impossible to draw any hard-and-fast line, and as everybody is likely to have his own opinion on the matter, and as the figures of Table VIIIA contain full information as to the numbers of each caste which have been included in the several religions, I leave him who is curious in the matter to fix his own standard and make his own calculations.

I regret to say that we are singularly ignorant of the practices and beliefs of these outcast classes. Many of them are almost certainly aboriginal, and most of them have customs, beliefs, and worships peculiar to themselves; and a more accurate knowledge of their practices could hardly fail to be of the greatest assistance in the attempt to separate the aboriginal from the Aryan element in the current form of Hinduism, and to supply us with a most valuable standard by which to detect aboriginal survivals in the customs of tribes which now claim Aryan descent. To their own peculiar customs many of them have now added others, not only taken from different religions, but often varying from place to place and even from village to village in the same district, according to the religion of the villagers whom they serve; and the result is the most extraordinary medley of religious and semi-religious observances. I have already stated that, in the plains at least, the practice of magic and sorcery, as distinguished from mere divination, is almost entirely confined to these classes. Generally it may be said that such of them as have not become Musalmáns usually burn their dead and marry by *phera*, while most of them have Bráhmans to attend them in their ceremonies, though these Bráhmans have become impure by association with their unclean clients, and have been excluded from communion by their unpolluted brethren. Those who have become Sikhs or Musalmáns usually observe the precepts of their new faith with considerable strictness; and though this does not always avail them against the extension to religious matters of the social exclusiveness which is so abnormally strong in India, yet the Mahomedans generally, and the Sikhs in some respects, are less particular in the matter than are the Hindus themselves. As I have said, we know far too little of these people for me to attempt any sort of description of the religious customs of each; but I will give such facts as I have been able to collect on the subject in connection with the Chamárs, the Chúhras, and the Sánsis, as typical of three very well-defined classes of outcasts[3].

294. The religion of the Leather-workers.—The *Chamárs* or workers in leather, are impure in the sight of Hindus because they eat the flesh of cows and of dead animals, and work in leather which is unclean. The Sikhs, who are even stricter in their reverence for the cow than the Hindus, exclude them on the same grounds; but I believe that the Mahomedans admit Musalmán Chamárs, or, as they are more often called, Mochis, to a participation in their rites. The Chamárs who are not thus converted are practically Hindus. They have no special god, but worship the ordinary deities, especially the minor ones, and offer at the ordinary Hindu shrines. Their priests are a class of Bráhmans called

[1] See further section 567 on the connection between religion and occupation among the lower castes. Another curious point is the distinction between the animals which are eaten by the Chamár and Chúhra respectively. Speaking generally, the former or less impure class take cloven-footed animals; the latter, whole-footed animals, and all abortions.

[2] The menials of the hills are said to have no religion at all. "Still," says Mr. Lyall, "they have certain rites which are performed "in cases of sickness, burial, &c. I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohar and saw a Dagi profess to charm away the "disease by tearing to pieces with his teeth a black goat which had been previously shot with a gun. The Dagis eat beef openly, while "the Lohars say they do not at all." In the plains the Lohár or blacksmith is not an outcast, though his occupation is considered degrading.

[3] I have been much aided in the compilation of the following paragraphs by Mr. Wilson's Code of Tribal Custom for Sirsa, which he most kindly allowed me to consult while yet unpublished.

Gurra or Chamarwa, who wear the sacred thread and will not eat with their clients, though the higher Bráhmans look on them as polluted[1]. These men preside at their weddings, in which the Hindu ritual is followed, and are supported by their offerings. There is some diversity of custom about the disposal of the dead. In Rájpútána they generally bury, while in the Panjáb I believe the usual custom is to burn. In Sirsa and Hissár they follow either custom indifferently, even in the same family. But whether buried or burned, the *phúl* (if cremated, the ashes and usual small bones; if buried, the nails of the fingers and toes) are taken to the Ganges for final disposal. The Chamár does not believe in transmigration, the good going direct to heaven, and the bad to hell; and at funerals the men accompanying the biers mourn aloud, saying *Tu hi hai! tainne paida kía, aur tainne mária.* "There is but Thou! Thou hast given and Thou hast taken away." Some of the Sikh Chamárs have abandoned leather-working and taken to weaving, and they are then, I believe, admitted to communion by the regular Sikhs, whose habits and observances they follow with exactitude.

295. The religion of the scavengers.—The *Chúhra* or scavenger caste are regarded by all religions as utterly polluted because they remove night-soil and eat carrion and vermin and the leavings of other people. Those who have not been converted from the faith of their fathers have a curious religion which in its doctrine resembles Christianity more nearly than anything else we have in India. They worship one supreme deity without form or habitation, and believe that the good go to heaven as soon as they die, while the bad pass into punishment, but for a while only[2]. They worship and make offerings of fowls and the like at a small earthen shrine with a flag above it, which is dedicated to Lál Beg or Bála Sháh, the high priests of the caste. How these two acquired Mahomedan names, and who they were, is a matter which needs inquiry[3]. The Chúhras also have a class of Bráhmans of their own, who will not eat with them, though they are of course themselves utterly polluted by intercourse with their clients. They invariably bury their dead, and that mouth downwards; though whether they would do this of their own free will (see section 227) I cannot say. Their customs as to marriage apparently often vary with the religion of the villagers whom they serve rather than with their own, Hindu Chúhras following the Mahomedan rites in a Musalmán village, and *vice versá*, and a Mahomedan Chúhra in the one case and a Chúhra Bráhman on the other being called in to officiate. The Sikh Chúhras are known as *Mazbi*[4], and are said to be followers of the Chúhra who brought away the pieces of the corpse of Guru Teg Bahádur after he had been executed at Dehli. They take the *páhul*, abstain from tobacco, wear long hair, and are, I believe, fairly strict Sikhs so far as observances go[5]. But they are kept at a distance by the regular Sikhs, and there was some anxiety felt when a regiment of them was once temporarily stationed at Amritsar. Some of them have abandoned scavengering and taken to leather-work, and are then known as Rangretas, and considered as of a higher order than the ordinary Mazbi. The Musalmán Chúhras may be broadly divided into two classes, firstly those who refuse to remove night-soil and have abandoned their hereditary occupation, at any rate in its most unsavoury branches, who restrict themselves to pure food, and observe the ordinances of their faith; and secondly, those who have made no such change. The former are generally admitted to the rites of their religion by the other Musalmáns, the latter are generally excluded. But Mr. Wilson notes that in Sirsa even the latter class "are admitted in a wonderful degree to terms of equality, even by Mahomedan Rájpúts, &c.," while in some places even the former class are looked upon as irrevocably unclean. Moreover, the line as to practice is a difficult one to draw, and much diversity obtains in the matter. In some places the Kutána, the highest class of Musalmán scavenger, will not remove night-soil; in other parts he will. In some places the Musalli, who seems to stand midway between the Kutána and the ordinary Mahomedan Chúhra, will not eat carrion, but this is not always so.

296. The religion of the Sansi Gypsies.—The religious ideas of the Sánsis are of the most primitive description. They are said to worship Bhagwán in general and Devi in particular, the latter being the patron goddess of thieves, and therefore of all Sánsis. They also worship the local saints, such as Sakhi Sarwar and Malang Sháh, and venerate a mythical Guru of the name of Sáns Mal whom they hold to be the founder of their caste. I do not say ancestor, because Colonel Sleeman says that they will admit men of other castes to their fraternity, who, on adopting their habits of life, become Sánsis like themselves. They are said not to employ Bráhmans in their marriage ceremonies, in which the Hindu ritual is generally followed: but the bride and bridegroom are said to circumambulate the hut of the latter as well as the nuptial fire[6]. The dower consists of sheep, a female ass, a ram, a dog, and cash instead of the clothes and jewels which a Hindu bride ordinarily brings with her. In old days the Sánsi, wherever he might die, was taken to the burying (?burning) ground of the tribe in the neighbourhood of Ajmer; but they now burn adults and bury children on the spot, the corpse in both cases being placed face downwards. They are universally considered impure by Hindus on account of the miscellaneous nature of their food; but they are the hereditary genealogists of many of the great Jat tribes, and are accordingly admitted by them to terms of something like familiarity. They wear the Hindu scalp-lock, shaving the remainder of the head.

[1] Similarly they have a separate class of Mírásis or Bháts, *i.e*, genealogists. The Jatia or higher class of Chamár is said to be served by Gaur or high-caste Bráhmans in some parts of the Province.

[2] This statement is made on Mr. Wilson's authority, who writes from Sirsa. I doubt whether it applies to Chúhras generally throughout the Panjáb. It is very doubtful whether the majority of them do not directly worship Lál Beg or Bála Sháh as divine.

[3] It seems at any rate probable that Bála Sháh is Bálmík, the traditional author of the Ramáyana. In Hushyárpur the sweepers worship him under that name.

[4] Cunningham, in his history of the Sikhs, states that *mazhabi* is the term applied to Sikh converts from Islam. At present I believe such converts are unknown; and certainly the word Mazbi, which I understand to be the form now in use, is applied to scavenger converts only. Cunningham says: "Converts of the sweeper race are commonly known as Rangretha Sikhs. They are also sometimes styled "Mazhabi or of the (Mahomedan) faith, from the circumstance that the converts from Islam are so called; and that many sweepers "throughout India have become Mahomedans." I think he must be mistaken. For the present meaning of Rangreta, see below in the text.

[5] But as the Sikh will eat and marry with the Hindu, so the Mazbi will eat and marry with the Lál Begi or *quasi* Hindu sweeper.

[6] This seems also to be a custom of some of the undoubtedly aboriginal tribes of the Central Provinces.

CHAPTER V.

THE LANGUAGES OF THE PEOPLE.

PART I.—INTRODUCTORY AND COMPARATIVE.

297. Introductory.—There is a saying current among the people of the Panjáb that "the language changes every ten miles;" and if we read dialect for language, it is only an exaggeration of the truth. This being the case, and the speech of all the Cis-Indus plains and of most of the Panjáb hills belonging to the same linguistic family, it may be conceived that it is not easy to draw hard and fast lines and to say, here one language ends and another begins. The central types are of course sufficiently distinct. The Hindi of Dehli, the Panjábi of Amritsar, the Tibetan of Spiti, the Pashto of Pesháwar, and the Bilochi of the Sulemáns are well-marked languages; and indeed the two last, belonging to a separate class of the great Aryan family, are very sharply and clearly demarcated from their neighbours. But all the others, not even excepting Tibetan which is a Mongolic and not an Aryan tongue, shade off almost imperceptibly on the confines of their respective territories, not only into one another but also into the neighbouring languages of Sindh and Rájpútána. Unfortunately little is known of the dialects of the Panjáb languages; and this is specially to be deplored because, as Mr. Beames points out, the abundance of dialects, the unbroken gradation which they present between each language and its neighbours, and the entire absence of any central type or standard of purity by reference to which one dialect might be held to be more excellent than another, give dialectic variations a special importance in the languages of the Gaudian[1] group. Collections of local terms require only care and accuracy, and not philological skill; and our district officers might render valuable aid to science by making such collections.

But almost every dialect used in the Panjáb has a local name; and what ought to have been done in the Census, and what would have given us invaluable material if it had been done thoroughly, was to have described each dialect in the schedules under the name by which it was known to the people using it, leaving the classification of these terms under the head of the great language types to be done in the compiling office on a uniform system. This would have given us detailed figures for all the local types and, still more important, it would have told us what dialects exist and have set us inquiring about them. Unfortunately, in too many places "uniformity," that bugbear of the Census officer, was aimed at. In some cases the highest officers in charge actually issued instructions to their staff to enter certain languages in certain parts of their districts; and even where this was not the case it is often only too evident from the results that the educated enumerator or supervisor interfered in a similar manner. As a rule their interference has not affected the accuracy of the figures so far as they set forth the general distribution of the languages. Where the supervisor has cut out Potwári and substituted Panjábi, all we can say is that we would rather have had separate figures for Potwári, but that Panjábi is not wrong. But in some cases actual errors were authoritatively laid down for guidance. Thus the gazetted officer in charge of the Sirsa tahsíl of the Sirsa district writes: "Bágri has not been entered in the column of mother-tongues, because it is at the most a mere "variety of Hindústáni, as it only differs from it in having," &c. &c.

Another error was probably due to a misunderstanding of what was wanted when the "mother-"tongue" was asked for. In the instructions to enumerators the mother-tongue was defined as "the "language ordinarily spoken in the household of each person's *parents*, whether or no it be that of the place "where he or she is living at the time of the Census." Where a man and his parents spoke only one language no mistake was possible. But where an immigrant's dead parents had been *accustomed* to use the language of origin, and the immigrant himself to use the language of domicile, the latter was probably recorded in each instance. So again many immigrant settlers of old standing retain, even to the third and fourth generation, the use of their language of origin as a domestic language, while they speak the current speech of their new homes with equal fluency. In such cases it is probable that the latter language was not unfrequently given instead of the former; while on the other hand the language of race may occasionally have been recorded, even where no longer used. Again, some few of the vagrant tribes appear to have real dialects of their own which they use among themselves; but they appear to have generally returned as their mother-tongue the common language of the tract which they frequent. These errors, however, affect to any appreciable extent the figures for foreign tongues only; and those figures are of the smallest possible importance, as the birth-place tables give us far more reliable information regarding migration, and the caste tables regarding race. Thus I believe that the language figures may be accepted as practically correct.

[1] This term is used by Dr. Hörnle to "designate collectively all the North Indian vernaculars of Sanskrit affinity," and is, I suppose, derived from Gaur, the old name of Bengal. I have adopted it as a convenient word, though I understand that some philologists object to it most strongly as a general name for the Indo-Aryan group of languages.

Part I.—Introductory and Comparative.

298. Bibliography.—There are many books to which the student of the languages of the Panjáb may be referred, and in which he will find admirable outlines of the relation in which those languages stand to other cognate languages, and minutely detailed information regarding the latter: but none, so far as I know, from which he can obtain information concerning the detailed structure of the Panjáb dialects. For a mere general sketch of the subject he cannot do better than read Beames' *Outlines of Indian Philology*, while Mr. Cust's *Modern Languages of the East Indies* (Trübner's Oriental series) is a useful compilation, though nothing more, and often inaccurate. The standard authority on the Aryan languages of the plains is Beames' *Comparative Grammar of the Aryan Languages of India*, the introduction to which is extraordinarly instructive. Hörnle's *Grammar of the Gaudian Languages* is admittedly not so accurate or full in dealing with the western as with the eastern members of the group. Mr. Drew has given some account of the dialects of Jammu and Kashmír in his book on those countries. As for the grammar of separate languages, the little book published by the Lúdhiána missionaries is the only Panjábi grammar in existence, and treats only of the Panjábi of that part of the country. For Sindhi and Pashto Trumpp's grammars are the grammars *par excellence*. For Bilochi, Gladstone's Manual and Dames' Grammar and Vocabulary (J. A. S. B., 1880) are the only books available; for Mockler's grammar treats only of the southern dialect. which is unintelligible to the Biloch of the Panjáb. Mr. O'Brien has published a most admirable *Glossary of the Multáni (Jatki), Language* and Mr. Jaeschke has printed a grammar of Tibetan and lithographed a manual of the language of Láhul. A long list of books and papers on the several languages of India will be found at pages 173 *ff* of Cust's *Modern Languages of the East Indies.*

299. The languages of the Panjab.—Table No. IX of Appendices A and B gives the number of persons, males, and females returned as speaking each of the several languages; and Abstract No. 61 on the opposite page summarises the results, the languages being grouped according to their affinities. Of the languages which are foreign to the Panjáb I need say little. Gújaráti is spoken by the Pársi shop-keepers, Nepalese by the Gurkha troops, and English by the British and American community; Turkish (Túrki) has been carelessly classed in Table IX as a European language, whereas it is doubtless the Chaghtaic language of Túrkistán; so again Chinese is probably the tongue of Chín or Chinese Tartary. The other foreign languages are spoken only by casual travellers or immigrants. The figures for Persian, however, need a word of explanation. I confess that the numbers returned as speaking this language surprise me. That there should be as many as 3,957 Persian speakers in the Peshâwar Division is perhaps not to be wondered at, seeing that Persian is the language of the Kábul Court, and is spoken in Badakshán and Káfiristán on the Trans-Indus border; and the Persian speakers of Lúdhiána are doubtless the dependants of those members of the family of Sháh Shúja who live there as political refugees. But that there should be more than 2,000 others scattered over British Territory, chiefly however in the great commercial centres, is what I should not have expected. I have had the figures re-examined, and can discover no mistake. The vernacular headings classed as Persian are as shown in the margin. It is of course possible that Pársi, or the Gújaráti speech of the Pársis, may have been in some cases read Fársi; but the number of these is so small that they would hardly affect the figures.

Fársi	5,336
Afghán Fársi	681
Kábuli	88
Afgháni	24
Iráni	13
Khorásáni	2
Kandahári	1
TOTAL	6,145

Thus the languages left for discussion are those of the western Gaudian group, of the northern Gaudian group excepting Nepalese, of the Iranic class excepting Persian, and of the Tibeto-Burman class. Unfortunately I am neither a philologist nor a linguist. In discussing the other subjects treated of in this report, though I am indebted to books and reports for most of my material, I have some sort of personal acquaintance with the subject. Here I have none.

300. I have collected such information as I could obtain concerning the several languages of the Panjáb, and have endeavoured to throw it into a convenient form. But as a rule the information was of the scantiest. In one respect, however, and that the most important from a Panjáb point of view, the amplest information was available; for the introduction to Beames' *Comparative Grammar of the Aryan Languages of India* contains a most admirable review of the internal affinities and the distinguishing characteristics of the several languages which compose the western Gaudian group, the group to which belongs the speech of 89 per cent. of the Panjáb people. I have therefore not hesitated to avail myself of it; and the plan on which I have written the present chapter is as follows. I have, in the remainder of this part of the chapter, described the distribution and discussed the future of the Panjáb languages. In Part II I have given a brief note on each language, analysing the figures, and, in the case of languages *not* included in the above-mentioned group, giving such information about them as I have been able to obtain. In Part III I have compiled, almost entirely from Mr. Beames' Introduction, such a description of those languages of the above group that concern us in the Panjáb and of their relations one with another as will, I hope, be interesting and useful to such as may have occasion to refer to this report, and have not the original book available for reference. In doing so I have not scrupled to make copious quotations from Mr. Beames, preferring to use his language instead of my own whenever possible. [After writing the above I thought it only proper to ask Mr. Beames for permission to make such large use of his work. He not only readily granted that permission, but most kindly and generously offered to read this chapter through and make any suggestions that might occur to him. To those suggestions I am indebted for many additions and corrections in the text of the chapter, and even in the quotations taken from his grammar, some of which he has wholly re-written for me; and it may be imagined that the help thus received has most materially enhanced the value of this sketch of the Panjáb languages. At the same time Mr. Beames must not be understood in any degree to endorse all that I have said, or to be in any way responsible for the correctness of my statements.]

301. Distribution of the Panjab languages.—Before discussing the various languages in detail, it will be well to briefly sketch their distribution. Abstract No. 62 on page 158 shows the distribution by language of every 10,000 inhabitants of each district and major state, and the distribution by residence of every 10,000 persons speaking each language. The districts are arranged as far as may be in order of locality. The language of our eastern border is Hindi. In Gurgáon it is the Braj Bhásha of Mathra and the Upper Doáb, perhaps slightly modified by contact with the Jaipuri or eastern dialect of Rájpútána. Passing up along the Jamna zone through Rohtak, Jínd, Karnál and the southern *tahsíls* of Ambála, the accent and pronunciation change considerably, clearing and softening as we go north; but the form remains substantially the same, save that on the border of Patiála a certain admixture of Panjábi words and forms is observable.

Part I.—Introductory and Comparative.

Abstract No. 61, *showing the* Languages of the Panjab.

Family.	Class.	Group.	Language.	Numbers.	Per mille of total.
ARYAN FAMILY	*Indic*	Western Gaudian	Hindi: Hindustáni	4,045,903	179
			Hindi: Bágri	282,351	12
			Panjábi: Panjábi	14,210,854	626
			Panjábi: Miscellaneous dialects	5,405	
			Sindhi: Sindhi	5,128	71
			Sindhi: Jatki	1,604,760	
			Gujaráti	586	...
			TOTAL WESTERN GAUDIAN	20,154,987	888
		Northern Gaudian	Kashmíri	49,534	2
			Dogri: Dogri	212,604	9
			Dogri: Gujari	17,696	1
			Pahári (Garhwáli)	1,272,204	56
			Nepalese	2,748	...
			TOTAL NORTHERN GAUDIAN	1,554,786	68
		Eastern Gaudian	Bengali	2,891	...
		Southern Gaudian	Maráthi	52	...
			TOTAL INDIC CLASS	21,712,716	956
	Iranic	East Iranic	Pashto	903,818	40
		West Iranic	Persian	6,145	...
			Bilochi	25,748	
			TOTAL IRANIC CLASS	935,711	41
	Italic		French	50	...
			Portuguese	15	...
			Italian	2	...
			TOTAL ITALIC CLASS	67	...
	Teutonic	German	German	37	...
			English	27,584	1
		Scandinavian	Swedish	1	...
			TOTAL TEUTONIC CLASS	27,622	1
			TOTAL ARYAN FAMILY	22,676,116	999
MONGOLIC FAMILY	*Turkic*		Turki	204	...
			Chinese (Tartar)	210	...
	Tibeto-Burman	Trans-Himalayan	Tibeti (Bhoti)	5,000	...
		Sub-Himalayan	Láhuli (Bunán)	10,303	...
			Kanauria (Tibarskad)	12,209	1
			TOTAL MONGOLIC FAMILY	27,926	1
DRAVIDIAN FAMILY			Madrasi (Telugu, Tamil, &c.)	268	...
SEMITIC FAMILY			Arabic	63	...
			Abyssinian	9	...
			TOTAL SPECIFIED LANGUAGES	22,704,382	1,000
			LANGUAGES UNSPECIFIED	7,738	...
			TOTAL POPULATION	22,712,120	...

NOTE.—The figures for Dogri, Pahári, Hindústáni and Bágri are not those given in Table IX. But see sections 307, 310, 316, 317 of the report.

Abstract No. 62, *showing the local* Distribution of Languages *for* District and States *in* order of locality.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	1
	Distribution by Language of every 10,000 of the Population of each District.											Distribution by Residence of every 10,000 of the People speaking each Language.										
Territorial Unit.	Hindústáni.	Bágri.	Paharí.	Kanauria, Láhulí, and Tibeti.	Dogri.	Kashmíri.	Panjábi.	Jatki.	Bilochi.	Pashto.	All Indian languages.	Hindústáni.	Bágri.	Paharí.	Kanauria, Láhuli, and Tibeti.	Dogri.	Kashmíri.	Panjábi.	Jatki.	Bilochi.	Pashto.	Territorial Unit.
Total Province	1,782	124	560	12	94	22	6,259	707	11	398	9,985	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	**Total Province**
Total British Territory	1,989	55	343	4	56	26	6,412	595	14	479	9,982	9,223	3,673	5,084	3,346	4,964	9,710	8,503	6,991	9,935	9,987	**Total British Territory**
Total Native States	815	463	1,620	47	277	4	5,510	1,251	...	3	9,998	777	6,327	4,916	6,654	5,036	290	1,497	3,009	65	13	**Total Native States**
Dehli	9,910	25	...	...	...	1	42	...	...	3	9,983	1,576	56	...	...	...	10	2	...	...	2	Delhi
Gurgáon	9,993	1	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	9,999	1,585	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Gurgáon
Karnál	9,568	3	...	...	...	...	426	...	...	...	9,999	1,472	6	...	...	...	3	19	...	...	...	Karnál
Ambála	6,615	4	55	...	...	1	3,293	...	...	...	9,967	1,745	13	45	...	...	15	247	...	1	1	Ambála
Rohtak	9,976	14	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	10,000	1,365	27	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Rohtak
Jind	5,737	1,605	...	...	...	...	2,655	...	...	2	10,000	354	1,421	...	...	...	...	47	...	...	1	Jind
Hissár	7,849	1,107	...	...	...	...	1,042	...	...	...	9,999	977	1,974	...	...	...	...	37	...	...	...	Hissár
Sirsa	2,652	1,646	...	...	...	...	5,696	...	...	5	9,999	166	1,476	...	...	...	...	102	...	...	1	Sirsa
Simla	2,283	41	4,869	92	1	106	1,769	...	...	7	9,262	24	6	165	144	...	92	6	...	...	...	Simla
25 Hill States (all but Bashahr and Chamba).	168	1	9,126	4	8	3	674	...	...	4	9 999	24	1	4,200	84	23	38	28	...	...	3	25 Hill States (all but Bashahr and Chamba)
Kángra	24	...	8,490	105	...	18	1,344	...	...	...	9,997	4	...	4,869	3,161	...	266	69	...	...	...	Kángra
Bashahr	19	...	7,892	2,033	...	...	28	...	...	...	9,972	...	...	399	4,754	...	...	...	...	...	...	Bashahr
Chamba	15	...	93	426	9,207	101	126	...	...	1	9,997	...	...	8	1,792	5,013	235	1	...	...	...	Chamba
Gurdáspur	23	...	...	...	987	23	8,919	...	...	1	9,996	5	...	...	...	3,824	390	517	...	...	1	Gurdáspur
Síalkot	78	...	...	...	222	7	9,677	...	...	3	9,987	20	1	...	...	1,057	144	689	...	9	3	Síalkot
Amritsar	48	14	...	...	9	307	9,595	...	...	6	9,993	11	45	...	...	40	5,543	603	...	...	6	Amritsar
Kapurthala	34	...	...	...	...	...	9,959	...	...	2	9,999	2	...	...	...	...	2	177	...	...	1	Kapurthala
Hushyárpur	13	...	2	...	...	...	9,985	...	...	...	9,999	3	...	1	...	...	2	633	...	...	...	Hushyárpur
Jálandhar	87	...	1	...	...	...	9,893	...	...	1	9,983	17	...	1	...	...	6	549	...	...	1	Jalandhar
Lúdhiána	76	3	1	...	...	58	9,847	...	...	2	9,987	12	6	...	...	...	723	429	...	...	1	Lúdhiána
Patiála	44	860	268	...	...	...	8,825	...	...	2	9,999	16	4,471	308	24	...	9	911	...	...	3	Patiála
Nábha	2,126	4	...	...	...	...	7,864	...	...	1	9,996	138	4	...	...	...	2	145	...	...	...	Nábha
Malerkotla	57	4	...	...	...	...	9,934	...	...	...	9,995	1	1	...	...	...	...	50	...	...	...	Malerkotla
Faridkot	132	102	...	...	...	...	9,767	...	...	1	10,000	3	35	...	...	...	1	67	...	...	...	Faridkôt
Firozpur	238	...	1	...	...	...	9,732	...	...	4	9,976	38	...	...	...	...	5	446	...	...	3	Firozpur
Lahore	259	...	1	...	...	42	9,631	...	...	8	9,951	59	...	1	...	...	789	626	...	3	8	Lahore
Gujranwála	17	...	...	...	...	6	9,973	...	...	2	9,998	3	...	...	...	...	77	433	...	...	2	Gujránwála
Gujrát	19	...	...	...	...	9	9,968	...	...	1	9,996	3	...	...	...	...	118	483	...	...	1	Gujrát
Jahlam	55	...	...	...	...	6	9,910	...	...	20	9,994	8	...	...	...	1	71	411	...	...	13	Jahlam
Ráwalpindi	235	...	...	1	1	40	9,412	...	...	254	9,954	48	1	...	27	4	670	544	...	1	230	Ráwalpindi
Hazára	20	...	...	...	2	42	8,894	...	...	650	9,997	2	...	...	...	4	344	255	...	...	293	Hazára
Jhang	8	1	...	...	...	...	9,981	2	...	7	9,999	1	2	...	...	...	2	278	1	...	3	Jhang
Montgomery	24	10	...	...	...	1	9,952	3	...	7	9,998	3	16	...	...	1	7	299	1	...	3	Montgomery
Multán	189	16	...	...	...	1	2,909	6,796	...	23	9,966	26	31	...	...	...	12	113	2,337	4	14	Multán
Baháwalpur	32	193	...	...	...	...	1,299	8,421	3	8	9,999	5	393	...	...	...	4	52	3,009	5	5	Baháwalpur
Muzaffargarh	17	4	...	...	...	1	99	9,779	...	32	9,998	1	5	...	...	...	4	2	2,063	66	12	Muzaffargarh
Dera Ghazi Khan	48	1	...	...	5	...	219	8,928	633	101	9,999	4	1	...	...	9	3	6	2,022	8,936	41	Dera Ghází Khan
Dera Ismail Khán	30	...	...	...	1	...	6,407	2,060	57	1,539	9,994	3	...	...	...	2	1	196	567	973	752	Dera Ismail Khán
Bannu	33	...	...	...	2	...	4,674	...	...	5,284	9,997	3	...	...	...	4	5	109	...	1	1,945	Bannu
Kohát	122	...	...	...	16	2	1,969	...	...	7,845	9,961	5	...	...	2	14	8	25	...	...	1,576	Kohát
Pesháwar	206	...	...	1	2	33	1,894	...	...	7,731	9,875	30	1	...	12	6	397	79	...	1	5,069	Peshâwar

Part I.—Introductory and Comparative.

Starting again from the south-eastern corner of the Province, and moving along its southern border through Hissár into Sirsa, we find the same language indigenous, but considerably modified by contact with Bágri, the speech of Bíkáner and a form of the western or Márwári dialect of Rájpútána; while in the southern portions of Hissár and the detached territory of Jínd and Patiála which lies on its south-eastern border, and still more in the south of Sirsa, a very considerable proportion of the population are immigrants from Bíkáner and speak the Bágri dialect from their birth. In the northern portion of the Hissár district Panjábi is indigenous; while along the northern border of the Sirsa district is settled a large immigrant population who have brought with them from Patiála their Panjábi speech. So again the west of Sirsa is occupied by immigrants from the Satluj Valley who speak the western form of Panjábi. Thus in the whole of the south-eastern corner of the Province, in a strip along the Jamna to the hills, and in another strip along the southern border to the middle of the Sirsa district,—in other words, in the whole of Gurgáon, Dehli, and Rohtak and the detached portion of Jínd and Patiála, in almost the whole of Karnál[1], in the three southern tahsíls of Ambála, in all but the north of Hissár, and in the south of Sirsa,—the language is Hindi, tempered in the south and south-west by a large admixture of Bágri. In all the remainder of the Panjáb plains till we come to the extreme south-western corner, the language of the people is Panjábi.

302. Mr. Beames remarks that no line can be drawn between Panjábi and Hindi within the area lying betwixt the Jamna and the Satluj, and that all that can be said is that on the banks of the one Hindi is spoken, and on the banks of the other Panjábi. Yet I cannot help thinking that something more definite than this can be laid down by way of demarcation; and the meridian of Sarhind in the east, and the course of the Ghaggar from where it crosses that line to Sirsa in the south, are probably fair approximations to the limits of the Panjábi language. It is at any rate certain that the language of the greater part of Patiála is as truly Panjábi as that of any other part of the Province. The Panjábi language, so limited, may be broadly divided into four types or main dialects. The eastern Panjábi, or the dialect of the Málwa, is spoken throughout the cis-Satluj tract. To it succeeds the central dialect, the standard type of the language, which is spoken in its highest purity in the Mánjha or tract lying east and south of Lahore and including the holy city of Amritsar. Throughout the Panjábi-speaking portion of the Western Plains the western or Pachháda dialect of Panjábi obtains, and grows more and more corrupt as we move westwards till it becomes the Hindko of the Mid-Indus valley, still a Panjábi dialect though with a large admixture of Persian and Pashto words, and perhaps forming a fifth and separate type. The pastoral and semi-nomad tribes of the central steppes speak uncouth dialects differing somewhat from those current in the river valleys; but no broad distinctions can apparently be drawn. Lastly the people of the Jahlam and Ráwalpindi districts speak a Panjábi dialect of which the type is Potwári, or the speech of the eastern portion of the tract, which again gradually changes to the south and south-west into the dialect of the Salt-Range which is more akin to the Western Panjábi of the *thal*, and to the north and north-west into the corrupt Hindko of Hazára and the Upper Indus Valley.

I have said that the western dialect prevails throughout the Panjábi-speaking portion of the Western Plains, for there is a portion of the Western Plains in which Panjábi is not spoken. As on the Rájpútána border of Sirsa and Hissár in the east, so also on the Rájpútána border of Baháwalpur in the west, there is a very considerable immigrant population who speak Bágri (Márwári) or the western Rájpútána dialect. But, excluding the inhabitants of this strip of territory, in all the south-western corner of the Panjáb, throughout Baháwalpur, Multán, Muzaffargarh, Derah Ghází, and the south of Derah Ismáíl and Jhang, the language of the people is Jatki. The position of this language is contested, and is discussed in section 313 of this chapter. But it apparently deserves to rank as a separate language; or if not, it is a dialect of Sindhi transitional to Panjábi, being at least as much Sindhi as Panjábi.

303. We have thus traversed the whole of the Panjáb plains up to the Indus. Beyond the Indus we meet for the first time with Bilochí in the south and Pashto in the north. The latter indeed is spoken this side the Indus, but chiefly by a few Patháns settled immediately on the river bank in the plains of Hazára, Ráwalpindi, and Bannu, and by them often only in their own homes and with the women of their families. Between the Indus and the lower Sulemáns, Bilochí is spoken by the organised Biloch tribes who dwell at the foot of the mountains in Derah Ghází and the south of Derah Ismáíl Khán. But Jatki is the language of the river valley, and is fast driving Bilochi back into the hills. Passing northwards into the Pathán tract, we find that on the border, in Derah Ismáíl and Bannu and in the exclusively Pathán tracts, Pashto alone is spoken, while among the mixed population of the riverain the corrupt Hindko form of Panjábi is used by Patháns and others alike, more especially in the former district; though here again the women of the Patháns have retained a firmer hold than have the men upon their language of origin. Moving still further north into Kohát and Pesháwar the universal language is Pashto, though a considerable mixed population of Indian origin still use among themselves the Hindko Panjábi. And here we pass the boundary between the northern and southern dialects of Pashto described in section 323.

304. The hills have still to be accounted for. The languages of the hills may be said generally to follow the course of those of the plains below them. But the line between the Hindi and Panjábi types lies much further west among the hills than in the plains at their feet. In the latter Panjábi has crossed the Satluj and occupied the two western tahsíls of Ambála; while among the former the eastern watershed of the Rávi which divides Kángra from Chamba, or perhaps the range which separates the Simla States, Mandi, and Kúlu from Kángra (for Kángra seems to be a debateable ground) is the line of separation. East of this line is spoken what I have called Pahári, of Hindi type. West of it up to the Hazára border is spoken Dogri, with its dialects of Chambálí and Chibháli, which is closely akin to the Potwári form of Panjábi that prevails in the Salt-range Tract. Beyond the Kágán valley however, and all along the western border of Hazára, Pashto is spoken; while across that bor-

[1] The table shows Panjábi as spoken by 25,580 persons in Karnál. But most of these live in villages belonging indeed to the Karnál district, but scattered through Patiála territory, or in the extreme north-west corner of the district.

der it is the language of the independent Afghán tribes. But among all these hills, from the Rávi to the Swát river, the Gújar herdsmen speak a peculiar dialect of their own which is apparently more closely akin to Hindi than to Panjábi. In the low hills along the foot of our eastern Himálayas, Panjábi and not Paháṛi appears to be the language of the people; while west of the Rávi, on the other hand, the inhabitants of the strip of plain country at the foot of the hills speak Dogri and not Panjábi. Throughout the hills, and within the main types mentioned above, an extraordinary variety of dialects prevails, that used in one valley being often barely intelligible to the inhabitants of the next; and a sort of *lingua franca* or standard speech seems to be current in each linguistic division of the tract, side by side with the local dialects of domestic life.

There is still a tract left undiscussed; and that is the portion of the Panjáb which lies beyond the mid-Himálayas, namely Kanáwar, Spiti, Láhul, and Pángi. In this tract is spoken either pure Tibetan, or languages, such as Láhuli and Kanauria, which hold an intermediate position between the Tibetan and the Indic groups. They are fully discussed in sections 319 and 320 of this chapter.

305. All over the Panjáb, except in the strictly Biloch and Pashto-speaking tracts, Urdu is the language of the more highly educated classes; while in a more or less corrupt form it is the *lingua franca* of all classes, at least in the towns. Finally, most of the vagrant and criminal tribes have dialects of their own and intelligible only to themselves. In some cases they appear to be really separate dialects peculiar to the tribe; in others only thinly disguised forms of the current language of the country intentionally altered for purposes of secrecy, much like the "willery youery goery" of the English schoolboy. Little is known of these dialects, and their speakers have seldom returned them as their mother-tongue.

306. Future of the Panjab languages.—No record of language was made at the Census of 1868, and consequently there are no previous statistics, a comparison with which might indicate the progress made by the several languages. But there is little doubt that the Urdu type of Hindi is gradually spreading over the Province and superseding the indigenous languages. Mr. Beames writes as follows:—

"It is difficult to prophesy the future of the Indo-Aryan group of languages, so much depends upon political changes which "no man can foresee. It may, however, with much probability be surmised that the immense extension of roads, railways, and other "means of communication will result in the extinction of Panjábi and the dialects of Rajputana, and the consequent general adop-"tion of one uniform language, the Persianized form of Hindí, from the Indus to Rajmahal, and from the Himalayas to the "Vindhya. The language will then be spoken by upwards of one hundred millions of human beings; and from its vast extent and "consequently preponderating importance, it cannot fail greatly to influence its neighbours."

* * * * * * * * * * * *

"In short, with the barriers of provincial insolation thrown down, and the ever freer and fuller communication between various "parts of the country, that clear, simple, graceful, flexible, and all expressive Urdu speech, which is even now the *lingua franca* of "most parts of India and the special favourite of the ruling race, because closely resembling in its most valuable characteristics "their own language, seems undoubtedly destined at some future period to supplant most, if not all, of the provincial dialects, and "to give to all Aryan India one homogeneous cultivated form of speech—to be, in fact, the English of the Indian world."

There is no doubt whatever that, in the Panjáb at least, the process here described is already in progress. Old Panjáb officials speak of the change in the Panjábi and of the extension of Hindústáni which have taken place even within their memory. I shall show presently that Pashto and Bilochi have already given place in many parts to the advancing Hindi dialects, and there is every probability that the movement will continue. Tibetan alone appears to be making way against the tide; but its scope is confined to but a small portion of the wildest tracts of the Panjáb. The following figures, which show the number of books published and registered in the Panjáb during the last six years in each of the languages, are interesting, and bring out very strongly the literary inactivity of the indigenous vernaculars in comparison with Urdu:

Abstract No. 63, *showing the* **number of Books published in each Language** *in the Pánjáb* **1875 to 1880.**

Language.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	Total.	Percentage.
Urdu	439	433	360	437	395	465	2,529	45·1
Hindi	161	120	97	70	101	196	745	13·3
Panjábi	154	102	114	141	170	103	784	14·0
Sindhi	...	...	1	2	...	5	8	0·1
Jatki	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...
Kashmíri	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...
Pashto	8	16	20	19	10	8	81	1·4
Sanskrit	22	20	14	16	14	25	111	2·0
Arabic	79	50	40	51	47	50	317	5·7
Persian	77	67	58	59	66	53	380	6·8
English, &c.	39	30	37	46	38	47	237	4·2
Polyglot	46	54	72	74	85	85	416	7·4
Total	1,025	892	815	915	926	1,037	5,610	100·0

PART II.—THE SEVERAL LANGUAGES OF THE PANJAB.

307. The Hindustani (Hindi) language.—The characteristics and affinities of the Hindi language are fully described in the section of this chapter which treats of the languages of the western Gaudian group. The figures of Table IX include 165,596 persons who were returned as speaking "Rájpútáni," and who should have been classed under Bágri, as explained in section 310. In the figures of Abstract No. 62, page 158, which shows the distribution of the Hindústáni-speaking population, this transfer has been made. The remaining figures of Table IX include entries in the schedules as shown in the margin.

Hindustáni	3,988,797
Urdu	31,683
Purbia	25,293
Minor dialects	130
TOTAL	4,045,903

Only in the Ráwalpindi and Deraját Divisions, in Farídkot, Malerkotla, and Baháwalpur was Urdu returned, and in them no figures were given under the head of Hindústáni. Thus it is apparent that the two terms were taken as synonymous throughout. The details of the Púrbia returns are shown in the margin; and it is evident from them that in very many cases people who really talk Púrbia have returned themselves as speaking Hindústáni. The fact is that the figures for "Hindústáni" include three very different elements which the statistics at our disposal do not enable us to separate; and it is for this reason that I have headed the column in which they are shown with the word "Hindústáni," and not "Hindi."

PURBIA RETURNS.

Dehli	528
Karnàl	2,180
Hissar	141
Ambála	12,692
Ludhiana	1,032
Simla	2,156
Amritsar	139
Sialkot	1,444
Ráwalpindi	260
Multan	598
Dera Ismail Khan	84
Dera Ghazi Khan	127
Kohat	139
Patiala	2,649
Nahan	400
Baghat	102
Elsewhere	622
TOTAL	25,293

307a. The Purbia dialect of Hindi.—First among these is the Púrbia as it is called in the Panjáb; the dialect of that swarm of immigrants from the North-Western Provinces, consisting chiefly, I believe, of inferior castes from Oudh and from Allahabad and its neighbourhood, who have come into the Province with the troops, still compose the mass of the camp-followers of all but frontier regiments, form so large a portion of the Hindu servants in the east of the Province, and are known in the Panjáb as Púrbias. The figures just given, so far as they relate to British Territory, do not return Púrbia as spoken in a single place where there is not or has not been since annexation, a considerable cantonment. This language is partly Baiswári and partly Bhojpuri. The former, though agreeing in its principal features with the dialects of eastern Hindi, possesses many points of resemblance to the western Hindi. The latter is the principal dialect of the eastern Hindi group. Both are very distinct both from the Hindi of the Eastern Panjáb and from the Urdu of Northern India.

308. The Urdu form of Hindi.—The second element is this same Urdu, the modern literary form and sprung from the ancient literary dialect of Hindi, and the *lingua franca* of the educated and official classes throughout the Bengal Presidency. Its origin and characteristics are thus described by Dr. Hörnle:

"The western Hindi is that which most nearly resembles what is commonly known as Hindi, namely the literary or High-"Hindi. This latter is merely a modified form of the Brij dialect, which was first transmuted into the Urdu by curtailing the "amplitude of its inflexional forms, and admitting a few of those peculiar to Panjábi and Márwári. The High-Hindi, as distin-"guished from the Urdu or Hindustáni, is a very modern language; but Urdu itself is comparatively modern. It originated during "the 12th century in the country around Dehli, the centre of the Mahomedan power. In that spot the Brij dialect comes into "contact with the Márwári and Panjábi; and there among the great camps (Urdu) of the Mahomedan soldiery in their intercourse "with the surrounding populations, a mixed language grew up which, as regards grammar, is in the main Brij, though intermixed "with Panjábi and Márwári forms; while as regards vocabulary, it is partly indigenous Hindi, partly foreign (Persian and Arabic). "For example, the final long *á* of strong masculine nouns, where the Brij has *au* and the Márwári *o*, is a bit of Panjábi. Again, the "affix *ne* of the active case is a contribution from Márwári. When the Brij has alternative forms, one only was adopted by the "Urdu. It was only in the 16th century, chiefly in the reign of Akbar, that Urdu was reduced to a cultivated form. With the "extension of the Mahomedan power, its use spread over the whole of the Hindi area; but it remained the language of those exclu-"sively who were more immediately connected with that power, either in the army or court or pursuits of learning; it never became "the vernacular of the people. The High-Hindi dates only from the present century. It is an outcome of the Hindu revival "under the influence of English Missions and Education. Naturally enough Urdu, the dominant and official dialect, came to hand "in this movement, and was *Hinduized* or turned into High-Hindi by exchanging its Persian and Arabic elements for words of "native origin (more or less purely Sanskrit). Hence Urdu and High-Hindi are really the same language; they have an identical "grammar, and differ merely in the vocabulary, the former using as many foreign words, the latter as few as possible. It appears, "then, that there are three different forms of speech current in the Hindi area; *viz.*, the High-Hindi or Urdu, the west Hindi, and "the east Hindi. The first of these is nowhere the vernacular of the people, but it is the language of literature, of the towns, and "of the higher classes of the population; and it takes the form of Urdu among Mahomedans and of Hindi among Hindus; though "the difference between these two forms is less marked in the mouth of the people than in the books of the learned."

Urdu retains in the Panjáb the position here assigned to it. It is the language of our cis-Indus Courts, and the speech of our officials. But, as already remarked, it is gradually gaining ground; and as the Panjábi speech of the peasantry is becoming more and more Hindi, so the Hindi language of the Panjáb is drawing nearer and nearer to Urdu.

309. The Hindi of the Eastern Panjab.—The third element included in our figures for Hindústáni is the Hindi of the eastern and south-eastern Panjáb, a form of the Braj Bhásha, tempered in the south-west by an admixture of Márwári. Its characteristics and affinities are described in the section of this report which treats of the languages of the western Gaudian group. Neither of the dialects discussed above, *viz.*, Púrbia and Urdu, is indigenous in the Panjáb. The Hindi, however, is the original speech of the people throughout the Jamna zone and Hariána. Its area has been defined in section 301, and its figures are given in section 307. I cannot separate it from Urdu and Púrbia so far as the figures go; but it may be said generally that, outside the tract where Hindi is the vernacular of the peasantry, all that is shown as Hindústáni is either one or the other of those two languages. It is indeed impossible to draw any definite line between Hindi and Urdu. The difference between the speech of the educated gentleman of Dehli and

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the young man at a well in a Rohtak village is sufficiently palpable; but almost every possible stage intermediate between the two is met with. Indeed the two are not two but one language. Mr. Beames writes :—

"Throughout the whole of this vast Hindi-speaking region (from Rájmahál to Dehli) though the dialects diverge considerably, "one common universal form of speech is recognised, and all educated persons use it. This common dialect had its origin apparently in "the country round Dehli, the ancient capital, and the form of Hindi spoken in that neighbourhood was adopted by degrees as the "basis of a new phase of the language, in which, though the inflections of nouns and verbs remained purely and absolutely Hindi, and "a vast number of the commonest vocables were retained, a large quantity of Persian and Arabic and even Turkish words found a place "just as Latin and Greek words do in English. Such words, however, in no way altered or influenced the language itself, which, when "its inflectional or phonetic elements are considered, remains still a pure Aryan dialect, just as pure in the pages of Wali or Saudu, as "it is in those of Tulsí Dás or Behári Lál. It betrays therefore a radical misunderstanding of the whole bearings of the question, and "of the whole science of philology, to speak of Urdu and Hindi as two distinct languages. When certain agitators cry out that the "language of the English Courts of law in Hindustan should be Hindi and not Urdu, what they mean is that clerks and native "writers should be restrained from importing too many Persian and Arabic words into their writings, and should use instead the "honest old Sanskrit Tadbhavas with which the Hindi abounds. By all means let it be so, only let it not be said that the Urdu is a "distinct language from Hindi. The most correct way of speaking would be to say 'the Urdu dialect of Hindi,' or 'the Urdu phase "of Hindi.' It would be quite impossible in Urdu to compose a single sentence without using Aryan words, though many sentences "might be composed in which not a single Persian word occurred. Hindi when it uses Arabic words is assumed to become a new lan-"guage, and is called by a new name Urdu; but when Panjábi and Sindhi do the same they are not so treated. The reason of this is that "the Urdu is based on only one dialect of Hindi and has slightly modified some of the inflections of that dialect, besides necessitating "some alteration in the method of constructing sentences. The result is that Urdu is not merely an infusion of Persian with "an Indian tongue, but a new creation, an independent member of the western Hindi group of dialects."

There are no well-marked dialects of Hindi current within the Province. The speech of Hissár and Sirsa approaches nearer to Márwári, and that of the western border of the Jamna zone to Panjábi; but the difference is almost more in accent and pronunciation than in language, and cannot be held to constitute a dialectic variation.

310. The Bagri Language.—Bágri is the language of the Bágar or Bíkáner prairie, and is the northern form of the western or Márwári type of the dialects of Rájpútána, spoken to the west of the Aravalli Range. It is a pure Hindi dialect, but is very distinct from the Hindústáni of Dehli, from which it differs almost as much as it does from Panjábi, both in inflexion and in vocabulary. The distribution of the Bágri speakers, so far as our figures serve us, is shown in the margin. But unfortunately the officer in charge of the Sirsa *tahsil* of Sirsa did not permit his staff to enter Bágri in their schedules, but instructed them to describe it as Hindústáni; and as this *tahsil* is precisely the portion of the district in which the Bágri is spoken most commonly, since it has the largest border in common with Rájpútána and includes among its population the largest proportion of Bágri immigrants, it follows that the figures for Sirsa are very much under the truth. The figures in the margin do not agree with those of Table IX. Unfortunately the Jínd and Patiála States returned the language of a large part of their population, especially of their detached southern territory, as "Rájpútáni," and this was classed as Hindústáni in Table IX. There is no doubt whatever that it should have been included with Bágri, and I have so included it in the present figures and in the table on page 157. The numbers thus transferred are 125,487 in Patiála, and 40,109 in Jínd.

District.	Percentage of total Bagri-speaking Population who live in the District.	Percentage of total Population of the District who speak Bagri.
Hissar	19·74	11·07
Sirsa	14·76	16·46
Patiala	44·71	8·60
Jind	14·21	16·05
Bahawalpur	3·93	1·93

Bágri	97,888
Márwári	18,031
Bíkáneri	557
Bángari	20[illegible]
Others	[illegible]4
TOTAL	116,755

The Bágri language is almost wholly confined to the immigrant population from Rájpútána which has settled in Hissár and the southern blocks of Jínd and Patiála, in Sirsa, Baháwalpur and, in smaller numbers, in Dehli. I have included in my figures for Bágri given in Table IX dialects returned in the schedules as shown in the margin above. The Bángari is of course the dialect of the highlands of Rohtak and Hissár, and should more properly have been included under Hindústáni. The distribution of the principal Bágri and Márwári entries is shown in the margin opposite. The Márwári speakers of Dehli and Amritsar, and of the portion of the Panjáb not lying on the Rájpútána border, are chiefly Márwári money-lenders or Bohras who have settled in some numbers of late years in the east and south of the Province, and are notorious for their unscrupulous rapacity.

District or State.	Bágri.	Márwári.
Dehli	73	1,511
Hissár	54,295	1,530
Sirsa	40,879	741
Amritsar	...	1,253
Faridkot	990	...
Baháwalpur	[illegible]	11,117
Other places	1,651	1,879
TOTAL	97,888	18,031

311. The Panjabi Language.—Panjábi, which is the vernacular of more than three-fifths of the inhabitants of the Province, is fully discussed in the section of this report which treats of the languages of the western Gaudian group; its limits are described in sections 301-2; the figures which show its distribution are given on page 158; while in section 302 an attempt is made to indicate its principal dialectic types. I shall therefore say nothing further concerning it in this place.

312. The Sindhi language.—The characteristics and affinities of the Sindhi language are fully described in the section of the present chapter which deals with the languages of the western Gaudian group, and the Sindhi-Panjábi dialect of Jatki is described in the next section. Sindhi proper is spoken by 2,384 persons in Bahawalpur who are probably immigrants from Sindh, and by 2,744 in British Territory, of whom 1,958 are found at the great commercial centres, and the remainder in the south-western districts of the Province.

313. The Jatki of the Lower Indus Valley[2].—The Sindhi language is divided by Trumpp into three

[1] See footnote on page 168.

[2] The greater part of this paragraph is taken from Mr. O'Brien's Glossary of the Multáni language, where will be found an admirable description of the language and a perfect mine of folklore and proverbial humour.

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dialects, of which the Sirai is that spoken in Siro or North Sindh. But as Mr. Beames remarks: "It is "evident from an examination of the published grammar that this threefold division does not exhaust the "variations of the language; and perhaps it would be more strictly correct to say that the numerous "dialects fall into three groups." To the north of Siro, or in that part of Sindh which borders on the Panjáb, is spoken what is there called the Uchh dialect; and this is identical with the language which I have shown in my tables under the name of Jatki, and which is the speech of the people throughout the southern portions of Derah Ismáíl and Jhang, and the whole of Derah Ghází, Muzaffargarh, Multán, and Baháwalpur[1]. "Except on the west, where it is abruptly stopped by Bilochi at the foot of the Sulemán "range, it is impossible to say where it begins. On the north it imperceptibly changes into Panjábi, on "the south Sindhi gradually takes its place, and on the east it fades into the Rájpútána dialects of Hindi." The Biloches call it Jagdáli or the language of the Jats; but the people who speak it call it Jatki, Hindi desi, Hindko, or Derawál, and Mr. O'Brien calls it Multáni. It is the language of an area of some 26,000 square miles, which embraces the lower valleys of the Indus, Chanáb, and Satluj down to their junction.

This Jatki language or dialect is classed by some philologists as a dialect of Sindhi, by others as a dialect of Panjábi. It does indeed contain many Panjábi and Sindhi words; but it has a large vocabulary which is peculiar to itself, and especially it differs from both Panjábi and Sindhi in having most of its inflections different from those of either, though some of them agree with the one and some with the other. Thus the case endings or post-positions of the genitive are the same as in Panjábi, those of the ablative the same as in Sindhi, while that of the dative is peculiar to Jatki. The pronouns on the whole are the same as those of Panjábi; but Jatki, like Sindhi and unlike all other Indian languages except Pashto, makes little use of the cases of its personal and possessive pronouns, but substitutes for them pronominal suffixes, attaching these to nouns, verbs and adverbs, which it specially prepares to receive them. Again following Sindhi alone of all Indian languages, the Jatki verb has a passive voice; but in parts of its conjugation it imitates Panjábi, while in its future, and in several other points, it follows forms peculiar to itself. On the whole it would appear to be far more closely allied to Sindhi than to Panjábi, though perhaps not sufficiently distinct from the former to be called a separate language.

Jatki is essentially a rustic language. Abounding in cerebral and nasal letters, it is rough in its sound, but its homely vigour gives it a flavour peculiarly its own. Its agricultural vocabulary is singularly copious, while it is correspondingly poor in abstract terms. There is no Jatki literature: indeed it is not a written language, the printed books which profess to be in that tongue being merely misspelt Panjábi, and sometimes printed in a character which no Multáni could decipher. But it abounds in the most homely and vigorous proverbs, stories, riddles, aphorisms, and even poems, admirable specimens of which will be found in Mr. O'Brien's Glossary of the language. It is the language of the people: and even the educated classes speak Hindústáni with difficulty, relapsing on the first opportunity into their native Jatki.

District.	Percentage of total Jatki-speaking population who live in the district.	Percentage of total population of the district who speak Jatki.
Multán	23·37	67·96
Muzaffargarh	20·63	97·79
Derah Ismáil Khan	5·67	20·60
Derah Ghází Khan	20·22	89·28
Baháwalpur	30·09	84·21
Total	99·8	...

The distribution of the Jatki language is shown in the margin. But the dialect of the south-western corner of the Jhang and the western end of the Montgomery district is hardly distinguishable from Jatki, though it is returned as Panjábi in the tables.

314. The languages of the Panjab Hills.—With the exception of the Pashto of the Hazára border and the Tibetan languages of Spiti and its neighbourhood, both of which will be discussed presently, the languages of the whole of that portion of the Himálayas which is included in the Panjáb or lies on its border belong to the Indic class of the Aryan family of languages. They are separated from the Tibetan class by the great range of the mid-Himálayas which divides the valley of the Chanáb on the north from the Satluj and Rávi on the south, and Pángi, Láhul, Spiti, and upper Kanáwar from the remainder of the Panjáb hills. They may be grouped under three main types, the Kashmíri to the west, the Dogri in the middle, and the Pahári to the east; the eastern and southern watershed of the Rávi forming the boundary between Dogri in Chamba and Jammu and Pahári in Kángra, Kúlu, Mandi, Suket, and the Simla Hill States, while Kashmíri is confined to the upper valley of the Jahlam.

315. The Kashmiri Language.—Kashmíri is the language of the valley of Srínagar in Kashmír, which nowhere touches our border. But famine and other causes, already fully discussed in the chapter on the Fluctuations of Population, have driven a considerable number of emigrants at one time or another from Kashmír into the Panjáb; and the language is now spoken by no fewer than 49,534 inhabitants of the Province. The distribution of these people is shown in the margin, small figures being neglected. They show that the Kashmíri colonies engaged in the shawl manufacture of Amritsar, Lúdhiánah, and Kángra account for more than 65 per cent. of the whole, the remainder being found either in the districts bordering upon Kashmír territory, in those where a temporary demand for labour existed, or in Lahore. The immigration from Kashmír has already been fully discussed in section 152. The present figures show that only a comparatively small portion of it was from the Kashmír valley.

District.	Percentage of total Kashmiri speaking population who live in the District.	Percentage of total population of the District who speak Kashmiri.
Ludhiana	7·23	0·58
Simla	0·92	1·06
Kangra	2·66	0·18
Amritsar	55·43	3·07
Gurdaspur	3·90	0·23
Sialkot	1·44	0·07
Lahore	7·89	0·42
Ráwalpindi	6·70	0·40
Gujrat	1·18	0·09
Peshawar	3·97	0·33
Hazára	3·44	0·42
Chamba	2·35	1·01
Total	97·11	...

Kashmíri belongs to the Indic class of the Aryan family of languages, but is further removed from the Hindi and Panjábi

[1] Bilochi is spoken close under the hills in Derah Ghází. Mr. Cust says that Jatki is the language of "Kach Gandára in Kelát "throughout the level country right up to the Baluchi hills," (sic); but gives no authority for the assertion.

types than either the Dogri or the Pahári. It possesses a considerable Persian vocabulary, due to the Mahomedan occupation of the valley; and it appears to have acquired from the neighbouring Tibetan the *ts* and *dz* sounds which it possesses in common with Pashto. It has a character of its own called Sharáda which is rarely used, Persian being the language of the Court and the Thákuri of the hills being used by the traders. The Arabic character is now generally used when Kashmíri is written, and there would appear to be no indigenous literature.

316. The Dogri language.—Dogri proper is the language of the Dogras or Rájpút inhabitants of Jammu, and is spoken only in Jammu itself, and in the strip of plain country immediately below the hills and between the Rávi and the Beás. But the Chibháli of the Kashmír hills which lie between the valley of Srinagar and the Ráwalpindi and Hazára border is, according to Drew, a dialect of Dogri, bearing to it much the same relation as does the Potwári, or Panjábi of Ráwalpindi and Jahlam, to the Panjábi of the central districts. Indeed it bears so close a resemblance to the former of these two dialects that the people of the Murree and Hazára hills, who really speak Chibháli, have entered themselves as speaking Panjábi. Dogri also belongs to the Indic class of languages, and would appear to be more closely allied to Panjábi than to Hindi; in fact it might almost be called the hill dialect of the former, as Pahári is of the latter. There is apparently no Dogri literature, but the language is said by Mr. Cust to have a character of its own which has been modified by the present Maháraja. In the figures for Dogri given in Table IX I have included the Chambáli dialect, under which head 104,469 inhabitants of Chamba have returned their language, and which is the speech of the whole of that state with the exception of the elevated tract of Pángi, where Pangiáli or Láhuli is spoken. I have also included 42 residents of Chamba speaking Bhadarwáhi, the dialect of the part of Kashmír bordering on Chamba; so that in reality only 2,080 of the Chamba people actually returned their language as Dogri.

So far as Table No. IX shows, Chamba is practically the only portion of the Panjáb in which Dogri is spoken. But most unfortunately the Dogri speaking population of the districts of the Amritsar Division returned their language,—or at least it was so returned in the divisional tables,—as "Pahári Dogri"[1]; and the second word being overlooked, the whole were classed under the head of Pahári, instead of under the head of Dogri in which they should most undoubtedly have been included. The error was not discovered till the table had been printed and the figures incorporated in the imperial tables. I do not therefore reprint the table; but I give the corrected figures for Dogri in the margin, and have used them in the table in section 301. The immigration from Kashmír accounts for a part of the Dogri speakers in Gurdáspur and Síálkot. But the language is spoken, not only in the Jammu hills, but also in the Baijwát and neighbouring portions of those districts which lie along the Jammu border, and once formed a part of that territory.

District or State.	Number speaking Dogri.	Percentage of total Dogri-speakers.	Percentage of total Population of District or State.
Gurdaspur	81,282	38·24	9·87
Sialkot	22,463	10·57	2·22
Chamba	106,591	50·13	9·47
Other Districts or States	2,268	1·06	—
Total	212,604	100·00	...

317. The Pahari language of the Eastern Hills.—The eastern group of hill languages is shown in our tables as Pahári, and would appear to be practically the same as the Garhwáli of the philologists. Its western boundary is the eastern watershed of the Rávi which separates Chamba from Kángra[2]; to the north it is separated from the Tibetan group of tongues by the mid-Himálayas; to the south it extends as far as the foot of the mountains, but not to the low hills at their base; while it stretches away eastward through Garhwál and Kumáon to meet the Nepalese. It is an Indic language, more akin to Hindi than to Panjábi, and is included with Nepalese by Hörnle in his northern Gaudian group. But here, as in all mountainous tracts, dialectic variations are numerous, each considerable mountain range separating two forms of speech which differ in a greater or less degree. Thus the Mandi people call their dialect Mandiáli, the Kúlu people Kúluki, Gaddi is spoken by the inhabitants of the range which divide Kángra from Chamba, and Hindúri by the people of the lower Hill States. The character used is the Thákuri or Thánkri of the hills; but the only literature that the language appears to possess begins and ends with a small but interesting collection of rhapsodies in praise of Rája Jagat Singh (A.D. 1650) by a Kángra bard called Gambhír Rai (J. A. S. B. 1875, p. 192).

The distribution of the Pahári speaking population of the Panjáb is shown in the margin, the corrections for Dogri just described being duly made in the figures of Table IX. The figures for Patiála represent the population of that portion of the State which lies among the Simla Hills.

District or State.	Percentage of total Pahári-speakers living in District.	Percentage of total Population of District speaking Pahári.
Simla	1·65	48·69
Kangra	48·69	84·90
Patiala	3·08	2·68
Bashahr	3·99	78·92
25 Hill States	42·00	91·26
Total	99·41	...

318. The language of the Hill Gujars.—Among the miscellaneous Panjáb dialects of column 12 of Table IX I have included 17,696 persons who returned their language as Gújari, of whom 14,966 are found in Hazára, 2,434 in Gurdáspur, 279 in Chamba, and 17 in Peshávar. The people of Hazára and Peshávar belong to those Gújar herdsmen who are found in great numbers throughout the mountain regions of Kashmír and Hazára and on the Hazára and Peshávar borders, from the Rávi in the east to the Swát river in the west. They speak, even in the exclusively Pathán valleys of Swát and Buner, a lan-

[1] The license taken in the matter of classification by the officer in charge of the Amritsar divisional office is alluded to in Book II of the report. It is to be feared that he may have thrown together separate figures for Pahári and Dogri under the above heading.

[2] Mr. Lyall, however, who probably knows more than anybody else of the people of the Panjáb hills, thinks that the people of Kángra proper, as distinct from Kúlu, approach both in race and language nearer to the western or Dogra, than to the eastern or Pahári group.

guage of their own of which little is known, but which is closely akin to Hindi, is said to be of a peculiarly archaic type, and differs markedly both from the Dogri and Chibháli dialects and from the Pashto, which together form the indigenous languages of the tract. The people of Gurdáspur and Chamba probably belong to the same class; but some of them may be Gaddis driven down by famine or the winter snows from the mountain range which separates Chamba from Kángra, for the word Gújar is used in the higher hills as practically synonymous with "shepherd," and almost all Gaddis are shepherds. The Gaddi dialect is sufficiently distinct from the Dogri and the Pahári between which it lies, and between which in all probability it forms a connecting link.

319. The languages of the higher Himalayas of the Panjab.—I have said that the mid-Himálayas which separate the valley of the Chanáb on the north from the Satluj and Rávi on the south, form the boundary between the Tibetan languages of Pángi, Láhul, and Spiti, and the Aryan tongues of the remainder of the Panjáb. But the line is in reality not so clearly marked as my language would imply, and there are gradations between the pure Tibetan of Spiti and the pure Aryan of Kúlu. Moreover, the upper valley of the Satluj after it has pierced the mid-Himálayan range, or that portion of the Bashahr state known as Kanáwar, has a language more akin to the former than to the latter. By the kindness of Mr. Alex. Anderson, who has communicated to me, in addition to his own information, notes on the subject by the Rev. Mr. Heyde, a Moravian missionary living on the spot, I am enabled to sketch with considerable accuracy the distribution of languages in this wildest portion of our territory.

The figures are grouped in Table IX under three headings, Kanauria, Láhuli, and Tibeti (columns 9 to 11). But the figures for Láhuli include 3,425 inhabitants of Chamba who returned their language as Pangiáli, and who reside in Pángi, the portion of Chamba lying beyond the mid-Himálayan range. The distribution of these languages is shown in the margin. Throughout the whole of Spiti, which, consisting of the valleys of the Spiti and Pin rivers and of a glacier region belonging to the western-Himálaya system, stretches southwards like a wedge between Kanáwar in the south-east and Láhul in the north-west, the language is Tibetan, or Bhoti as it is called by the Tibetans themselves, to whom the word Tibet is unknown.

Territory.	Numbers speaking			
	Kanauria.	Lahuli.	Pangiali.	Tibeti.
Lahul	...	5,779	...	41
Spiti	...	...	...	2,861
Simla	...	...	...	397
Chamba	...	1,085	3,425	421
Bashahr	12,209	...	...	871
Nalagarh	...	...	...	158
Others	...	14	...	251
TOTAL	12,209	6,878	3,425	5,000

320. Beyond the borders of Spití the same language extends, on the one hand down the upper course of the Satluj in Kanáwar, and on the other hand along the headwaters of the Chandra and Bhága (which united ultimately form the Chanáb) in Láhul down to within some 15 miles of their junction, and throughout that mountain portion of Pángi in Chamba which lies below the western Himálayas. Lower down the valley of the Satluj till it passes through the mid-Himálayas and out of Kanáwar, of the Chandra and Bhága to their junction, and of the united Chandra-Bhága till it passes out of Pángi into Kishtwár in Kashmír, a language prevails which was probably the original speech of all this tract between the western and mid-Himálayas, which I have called Kanauria in the east and Láhuli in the west, and which is locally known as Tibarskad in Kanáwar, Bunán in Láhul and eastern Pángi, and Pangiáli in western Pángi, the three forms presenting only slight local variations. But from about the junction of the Chandra and Bhága, and probably in the lower portions of Kanáwar also, the admixture of Pahári with the original Tibetan stock constantly increases as we move southwards and westwards; and the resulting variations are locally distinguished by different names, the dialect of the lower Bhága being called Gáhri, of the lower Chandra, Gondla or Tinún, of the upper Chandra-Bhága, Pattan or Manchat, and of lower Kanáwar, Milchang[1]. Mr. Jæschke, the greatest living Tibetan scholar, is of opinion that this mother-tongue of Láhul and Kanáwar "belongs neither to the Tibetan nor to the Sanskritian family;" and Mr. Heyde writes: "Bunán, which "is nearly the same as the Tibarskad of Kanáwar, is not a mere dialect of the Tibetan, but a language "which stands on its own legs. No doubt you find many Tibetan words in Bunán; but all of them more "or less have reference to the Buddhist religion, and most of them were probably introduced when that "religion was brought into Láhul from Tibet." He points out, however, that directly you pass from the Bunán proper of upper into the Pattan of lower Láhul, and leave the area of Buddhist for that of Bráhman influence, the language becomes far more Sanskritised in its form, and approaches much more nearly to the hill dialects of Pahári; so that "the Pattan or Manchat may be said to stand in about the same relation "to the Hindi as the Bunán and Gondla or Tinún stand to the Tibetan language." It is most curious that while, as pointed out in the Chapter on Religion, Brahminism is rapidly spreading northwards up the valleys of Kanáwar and Láhul and driving Buddhism before it, the Tibetan language is making equally certain though not perhaps quite such rapid progress in the opposite direction, and supplanting the indigenous languages of those tracts. Mr. Anderson writes:—

"The Bunán is, however, fast disappearing from Láhul, where Tibetan is displacing it. It has, so far as I have been able to "ascertain, no written character. While the Rájas of Kúlu ruled in Láhul it was written in the Tánkri character, and so also in "all probability when Láhul was under Chamba. But now it is written in the Tibetan character; and a man of the lower Bhága "will speak to one of the lower Chandra, not in Bunán, but in Tibetan."

321. The Bilochi language.—Bilochi is the language of the Biloches, and is spoken throughout Bilochistán except by the Brahois of Kelát territory and by some subject races of Persian origin. It belongs to the Iranic class of the Aryan family of languages, and appears to stand to the modern Persian of Irán in a relation somewhat similar to that existing between Panjábi and the literary Hindi or Braj. It

[1] More properly Milchanang (pronounced Minchang) the Tibetan for "notorious, very common, vulgar." Mr. Cust gives the Luhrung or Kanani, Lidung or Lippa, and Sugnum dialects of Tibetan as spoken in Kanáwar, and the Sumchu in Láhul. I do not know what may be his authority. I believe the list in the text to be exhaustive.

PART III.—COMPARATIVE SKETCH OF HINDI, PANJABI, AND SINDHI[1].

326. The languages of the Western Gaudian group.—The Gaudian speech of cis-Himalayan India comprises seven languages, Hindi, Panjábi, Sindhi, Gújaráti, Maráthi, Oriya, and Bangáli. Of these Oriya is not represented at all in the Panjáb, while Gújaráti, Maráthi, and Bangáli are only spoken by a few casual immigrants, by the Pársis of our shops, or by the Bengali Babu of our offices. Sindhi proper is spoken by only 5,128 people; but it acquires importance from the fact that Jatki, which is the language of a million and a half of the inhabitants of the Province, is a dialect of Sindhi, or, to say the least, stands half-way between that language and Panjábi. Thus the three first of the seven languages which form the group are the ones with which we have to deal.

"Of these three languages," Mr. Beames writes, "Hindi is the most important. It is the language of the people from the Panjáb "to Bengal. Under the general term Hindi are included many widely differing dialects, so widely differing indeed that it is very "difficult to say what Hindi is and what it is not. The word itself is foreign, and introduced by the Mahomedans to whom the "country was known by its Persian name of Hind; while the natives, on the rare occasions when they used any one common "appellation for the whole country, knew it as Bháratavarsha. Hindi then strictly means the language of India. As the two "great divisions of Prakrit, the Sauraseni and Magadhi, drew apart and gradually developed into the modern dialects, those of the "outlying portions of the Aryan territory took the names of the kingdoms or provinces in which they were spoken. Thus the "Hindi of Orissa became known as Oriya, that of Bengal as Bengáli, and so on. But there remained in the centre a mass of "dialects, for which there was no provincial name sufficiently definite or sufficiently permanent. These consequently have continued "to be called Hindi. But recent researches have proved that under this general name are included dialects derived from the "Sauraseni, and thus pertaining to the western group of Indo-Aryan speech, and dialects belonging to the eastern or Magadhi group. "Had there not been for many centuries an independent kingdom of Bengal there seems to be no reason why the Bhojpuri, Maithilí, "and Magadhi dialects of Behar should not have been, together with Bengali, treated as one language called Púrbí or Eastern Hindi. "In the opposite direction had not the Mahomedans imposed on the country between the Satluj and the Indus the Persian name of "the *Panj áb* "or five waters," no one would in all probability have ever heard of Panjábi as a distinct language; we should have "merely had one more dialect of western Hindi. Similarly the Arab conquests in Sindh secured for that Province an independent "existence, and for its language a name and an individuality which in spite of its marked peculiarities it would otherwise not "have obtained.

"It was apparently during the 11th or 12th century A.D. that the dialects included under the generic term Hindi first began "to take their present shape. At that time neither Gujarati, Panjábi, nor Sindhi were yet definitely separated from Hindi "or from each other.

"Of the two groups into which the Hindi dialects fall, the western has been the most fortunate. Upon the Braj, the principal "member of the group, have been based first the Urdu the *lingua franca* of the greater part of India, and later the High Hindi, "the literary language of the whole Hindi area."

327. The composition of the three languages.—Our three languages, or Hindi, Panjábi and Sindhi, are all of Prákrit origin; but all three have a large admixture of Arabic and Persian and even Turkish words, which the languages of North-Western India have borrowed from their Musalmán conquerors where those of the east and south have gone back to the original Sanskrit. At the same time Hindi still bears clearer marks of its Sanskrit origin than does any other of the Gaudian tongues, the Sauraseni Prákrit of North-Western India from which it is derived, and which is still the sacred language of the Jains, having been a dialect of special purity[2]. In Panjábi, the language of a Province where Mahomedan predominance has been more widely extended and is of older date than in the Hindi-speaking tract, the proportion of words of which the Sanskrit origin is at once apparent is smaller, and the admixture of foreign terms larger than in Hindi; while the language of Sindh, the first part of India to be brought under the influence of Islám, possesses hardly a single word in its original Sanskrit form.

"This," writes Mr. Beames, "is one of those cases in which we observe a regular gradation from west to east. In the extreme "west we have Sindh and the Panjáb, with a vast majority of Musalmán inhabitants, and a large amount of Arabic words, contrasted "with a very scanty allowance of Tatsamas[3]. Going east we come into the great central Hindi area, where the balance between the "two races is more even, the numerical superiority of the Hindus being balanced by the greater intelligence of the Mahomedans; and "here we find consequently the habit of borrowing from Persian kept up side by side with recurrence to Sanskrit, such recurrence, "however, being less frequent in consequence of the already existing abundance of Tadbhava words. Further east again, in Bengal "and Orissa, there is an immense majority of Hindus, while the Mahomedan element consists chiefly of races of Indian origin con-"verted to Islám after their language had finally adopted its present form; and as a natural result their speech contains a maximum "of Tatsamas. With regard to the Arabic and Persian element, however, it must be observed that in all the languages it is still an "alien. It has not woven itself into the grammar of any of them. All the Arabic words in Hindi or any other language are nouns, "or participial forms used as nouns. They conform to their own grammatical rules as strictly, in the mouth of a correct speaker, as "though the rest of the sentence were pure Arabic. Rarely and quite exceptionally occur such words as *tahsílna*, *kabúlna*, *dághna*, "where Arabic and Persian nouns have been furnished with a Hindi termination; but the usual form is *tahsil karna*, where the "Hindi verb does all the grammatical work, and the Arabic noun is unaltered and uninflected throughout. When they are used as "nouns they take the usual post-positions indicative of case, but as these post-positions are merely appended to them without caus-"ing any internal change in their structure, it cannot be said that they are at all affected."

328. The structural development of the three languages.—Here again I quote from Mr. Beames as follows :—

"Looking upon the change from a synthetical to an analytical state as progress and development, not as corruption or decay, "it may be interesting to institute a comparison between the several languages in this respect. And here, as might be expected, we "find in most instances that those languages which are most prone to the use of Tatsama words are also most backward in develop-"ment.

[1] For the source whence this sketch is chiefly compiled, see the end of section 300 *supra*.

[2] For a most interesting discussion of the probability that the Magadhi Prákrit was once the vernacular of almost the whole of Northern India, but was displaced from Sindh, the Panjáb, and the upper Ganges Valley by an immigration, probably from Western Rájpútána, of an Aryan people speaking the closely allied yet distinct Sauraseni, see pages xxxi, xxxii of the introduction to Hörnle's *Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*.

[3] Tatsama and Tadbhava are two convenient terms used by Sanskrit grammarians. Tatsama or "the same as it" describes words taken straight from the Sanskrit after the language into which they were introduced had developed and assumed its present form, and which therefore retain their Sanskrit garb and remain foreign words. Tadbhava or "of the nature of it" is applied to words which, derived from the Sanskrit, have developed with the language of which they form a part and have conformed with its genius, but have not undergone such alteration in the process as to obscure their Sanskrit derivation.

Part III.—Comparative Sketch of Hindi, Panjabi, and Sindhi.

"The most advanced language is the Hindi, which is closely followed by the Panjábi and Gújaráti. In Hindi the noun has lost "nearly all traces of inflection; the only vestiges remaining are the modification of the base in the oblique cases of nouns ending in "*á* or *ah*, as *ghorá*, oblique base *ghore*, *bandah*, oblique base *bande*, and the terminations of the plural *en*, *án*, *on*; and in common "talk the plural is very little used, a periphrastic construction with *sab* or *log* being generally preferred. The pronouns exhibit a "slight advance upon the Prákrit forms, but have evidently come down to modern time through Prákrit, and therefore retain more "of an inflectional character. In the pronouns, each case must be derived from the corresponding case in Sanskrit, just as in an "Italian verb each person of each tense is a distinct corruption of the corresponding Latin person and tense. But with the Hindi "noun the case is different. The noun owes to Sanskrit merely its base or crude form. All its cases are formed out of its own "resources, resources themselves of Sanskrit origin, but put together and employed in a way quite foreign to Sanskrit ideas. Thus "when a Sanskrit noun exhibits three base forms, the Hindi rejects all these niceties, and takes the simple nominative for its sole "base, declining it by means of post-positions.

"In the verb Hindi has still more markedly thrown away the Sanskrit inflectional system. The Hindi verb is an arrange-"ment of participles conjugated by means of the substantive verbs, derived from the roots *as* and *bhú*. Only two tenses are synthe-"tical, the indefinite present, corrupted from the present indicative of the Sanskrit, and the imperative from the same tense in Sans-"krit. In fact Hindi might appropriately be described as the English of the group, having cast aside whatever could possibly be "dispensed with, and commending itself to an Englishman by its absence of form, and the positional structure of its sentences result-"ing therefrom.

"Panjábi follows Hindi as regards its nouns, having the same simplicity of declension and the same absence of inflection. "Although the particles used to denote cases are different from those used in Hindi, yet the method of their use is precisely the same; "only bases ending in *á* are subject to modification, all others remain unchanged. The verb is very similar in structure to Hindi, "and the differences of form are hardly more than dialectic. The pronouns are also nearly the same as Hindi. The claim of Pan-"jábi to be considered an independent language rests more upon its phonetic system, and its store of words not found in Hindi, than "upon any radical difference in its structure or inflections."

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"Sindhi ranks next after Panjábi and Gújaráti in the matter of development. It is a rough language, loving thorny paths of "its own, but there hangs about it, to my mind, somewhat of the charm of wild flowers in a hedge whose untamed luxuriance "pleases more than the regular splendour of the parterre. There is a flavour of wheaten flour, and a reek of cottage smoke about "Panjábi and Sindhi, which is infinitely more natural and captivating than anything which the hide-bound Pandit-ridden languages "of the eastern parts of India can show us.

"In Sindhi the preparation of the base for reception of the case-particles assumes great importance, there being in nearly every "case three separate base-forms in the singular and three in the plural, the plural forms being in addition various and numerous for the "oblique and vocative.[1] That these forms result from a partial retention or half-effaced recollection of the Sanskrit inflectional sys-"tem is apparent, and this fact places Sindhi in an inferior stage of development to that of the forenamed languages. The cases are "formed, however, analytically by the addition of particles; that indicative of the possessive relation is so multifariously inflected as "to raise that case into a pure adjective agreeing with the governing noun in gender, number, and case. Whereas Hindi is satisfied "with three forms of the genitive particle, Panjábi with four, Gújráti requires nine, and Sindhi twenty. The adjective is also subject "to the same multiplied changes of termination as the substantive. The pronouns, as in Hindi, retain more traces of an inflectional "system, and closely resemble those of that language. The verb is, as in other languages, composed chiefly of participial forms "combined with the three auxiliaries, but, like Gújaráti, the future, as well as the indefinite present, shows signs of the synthetical "system of Sanskrit, and in some other respects also is less purely analytical than Hindi. The passive in particular exhibits a system "of combination in which a tendency to analytical treatment is not fully emancipated from synthetical ideas."

329. The written characters of the three languages.—On this subject Mr. Beames writes:—

"Having thus briefly generalized the structural characteristics of the seven languages, the character in which they are written "next demands attention. The Hindi and Marathi use the ordinary Nágri in printed books, and their written character, as also "that of Gújaráti, does not vary from it more than is natural under the circumstances; the written character in all these languages "being merely a rounder and more flowing variety of the printed. Sindhi has remained till modern times almost unwritten. The "rude scrawls in use among the mercantile classes defy analysis, and were so imperfect that it is said no one but the writer himself "could read what was written[1]. The abandonment of the mátrá or top line of the Devanágri letters is a common feature in all these "cursive alphabets. It is either dropped entirely, as in the Kayathi character used in Behar, or a series of lines are ruled across "the page first like a schoolboy's copy book, and the writing is hung on below as in the Modh or "twisted" current hand of the "Marathas."

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"The Mahájani character differs entirely from that used for general purposes of correspondence, and is quite unintelligible to "any but commercial men. It is in its origin as irregular and scrawling as the Sindhi, but has been reduced by men of business "into a neat looking system of little round letters, in which, however, the original Devanágri type has become so effaced as hardly "to be recognizable, even when pointed out. Perhaps this is intentional. Secresy has always been an important consideration with "native merchants, and it is probable that they purposely made their peculiar alphabet as unlike anything else as possible, in order "that they alone might have the key to it.

"In the mercantile and ordinary current hands, the vowels are only partially indicated; *a* or *i* in its full or initial form generally "does duty for the whole. This is of no great consequence in ordinary correspondence where the context, as in Persian, supplies the "key to the meaning. Sometimes, however, difficulties arise, as in the well-known story of the merchant of Mathura, who was "absent from home, and whose agent wrote from Dehli to the family to say his master had gone to Ajmere and wanted his big "ledger. The agent wrote *Bábú Ajmere gayá bari bahí bhej dijiye*. This was unfortunately read *Bábú áj mar gayá bari bahú bhej dijiye*, "The master died to-day, send the chief wife"! (apparently to perform his obsequies)

"Panjábi employs the character called Gurmukhi, a name probably derived from the fact that the art of writing was at first only "employed on sacred subjects, and was practised by pupils who recorded the oral instructions of their Guru, instead of, as had been "the case in earlier times, committing his teachings to memory. The Panjábi character probably took its origin from the Gupta; "or it might be more accurate to say that the earlier character of Asoka (3rd century B.C.) underwent modification, the type of "which is uniform throughout India down to the Gupta era (about the 5th century A.D.), but that after that the various provinces "began to make local variations of their own. The Kutila inscriptions date from about 800 to 1100 A.D.; and as far as we know "the history of those three centuries, there was no one paramount power during the time whose authority extended over all Aryan "India as there had been at various times in the preceding ages. Subject as it was to the kings of the Ghaznavi and Ghori dynas-"ties, the Panjáb was politically sundered from the Gangetic provinces during a great portion of that time, and we may suppose "it to have entered upon a distinct course of linguistic development. This will account for the archaic character of many of the "Gurmukhi letters,"

which generally assimilate more closely to the Kutila or even to the earlier Gupta than does the Devanágri character of the Hindi language.

330. The pronunciation of the three languages.—The following is an abstract of Mr. Beames' remarks on the pronunciation of the three languages with which we are concerned:—

Vowels.—Hindi, Panjábi and Sindhi alike drop the Sanskrit inherent *a* at the end of a word except in poetry, and solve the difficulty of pronouncing a final nexus by inserting an *a* between the two letters. The final *a* is not even restored before inflection—thus *sunkar*, not *sunakar*. In the middle of a word it is retained where its omission is absolutely impossible,

[1] There are some twelve to thirteen different alphabets current in Sindh, some of which differ very widely from the others. Of late, however, the Arabic character, though very ill adapted to express Sindhi sounds, has come into common use.

Part II.—The several Languages of the Panjab.

has preserved many archaic forms which have been lost by its western brother, and is generally far more inflectional in its construction than is modern Persian. It is divided into two main dialects so different that each is almost unintelligible to the tribes that speak the other; and the belt of Brahois who inhabit Saráwan and Jahláwan form the boundary between them. The northern or Sulemáni dialect is spoken by the Rind Biloches of the neighbourhood of the Bolán pass, in Kachhi and Upper Sindh, and on the lower Panjáb frontier. It thus comes into contact with Sindhi, Panjábi, Brahoi, and Pashto. Of these Sindhi and Panjábi have affected the vocabulary considerably, and Pashto very slightly if at all; while Brahoi has probably borrowed considerably from Bilochi. But the nucleus of the vocabulary is the original Persian stock, and the words for common objects, acts, and ideas are nearly all pure Bilochi. The purest form of this dialect is spoken by the Dumki and Bugti tribes; the most corrupt, among the Bozdár. But the local variations are very slight. The southern or Makráni dialect is not spoken in the Panjáb. Bilochi is not a written language, there being no indigenous literature. But the memories of the people teem with ballads setting forth the brave deeds, loves, and adventures of their national heroes, and the poetic fire is not extinct, for additions are still being made to the stock. The Persian character has been hitherto used by scholars or students for the record of this traditional literature. The Bilochi is rapidly disappearing, at any rate from the Panjáb plains. It is said that when we first took the Panjáb, Bilochi was the language of the lower valleys of the Indus and Chanáb including the Muzaffargarh and the western portion of the Multán districts[1]. Be this as it may, its limits have sensibly receded within even the last few years; and it is now spoken only on the Sulemán border, and by those Biloch tribes of Derah Ghází and the southern part of Derah Ismáíl which, settled immediately below the hills, have retained their tribal organisation. Even among them it is being fast superseded by the local Jatki of the river valley; and a Biloch chief has been known to learn his own national language in order to be able to use it in conversation with European officers. In fact if it were not that it is officially countenanced as the language of the tribes, it would in all probability have almost ceased to be spoken as the language of any portion of our territories. The present distribution of the Bilochi-speaking population is shown in the margin.

District.	Percentage of total Bilochi-speaking Population living in the District.	Percentage of total Population of District who speak Bilochi.
Derah Ismail Khan	9·73	0·57
Derah Ghazi Khan	89·36	6·33
Total	99·09	

322. The Pashto language[2].—Pashto, or Pakhto, is the language of the Patháns, as the people of Hindústán call the "Pukhtánah" or Pakhto-speaking nation, the Πάκτυες of Herodotus; and it extends from Quetta and the valley of Peshín south of Kandahár to Káfiristán in the north, from beyond the Helmand on the west to the Indus valley on the east, and throughout the hills of Bajaur, Swát and Buner. It is generally classed with the Iranic rather than with the Indic class of the Aryan family of languages, but serves in some degree as a connecting link between the two, being in many respects more akin to the Indian than to the Persian group, and especially in its retention of the cerebrals and in the number of its inflections, which latter it possesses in perhaps greater abundance than any other Oriental language except Arabic. It has very many points in common with the old Magadhi Prákrit, which was probably once the vernacular of the whole of Northern India; and it is not impossible that at one time the same language was spoken by the Aryans of Afghánistán and of the Panjáb, till the Sauraseni Prákrit pushing up the Indus, across the five rivers, and down the Ganges valley, separated the eastern Magadhi from which sprang the eastern Hindi, from the western which is now called Pashto[3]. Among Indian languages the one which has the strongest affinities with Pashto is Sindhi, which in several ways form a connecting link between the Indic and Iranic classes. Dr. Trumpp thus sums up the position:—

> "It is true that the palatal sibilants of Pashtu can only have their origin from the Zend, and that in the prononns and "numerals many forms receive their only light from the Zend. But on the other hand it must not be forgotten that the Pashtu has "preserved the whole cerebrals of the Indian Prakrit tongues, that a very large stock of pure Pashtu words is directly derived "from the adjoining Prakrit idioms (chiefly from the Sindhi, less from the Panjábi) that *the whole formation of the declensional and "conjugational process* bears the closest analogy to the Sindhi, and that the whole structure of the Pashtu active and causal verbs "in the past tenses fully coincides with and can only be explained from the Sindhi. The Pashtu, however, is by no means a Prakrit "idiom like the Sindhi, Panjabi, &c., but *an old independent language forming the first transition from the Indo-Aryan to the "Iranian family, and therefore participating in the characteristics of both, but still with predominant Prakrit features.* This is "also fully borne out by the geographical position of the Pashtu between the Indian and Iranian idioms."

Pashto was, till recent times, a purely colloquial language; and the earliest Pashto book to which a date can be assigned is a History of the Yúsufzai written by one Shekh Mali in 1417 A.D. There is now, however, a considerable mass of indigenous literature, chiefly consisting of tribal or national histories and of erotic or Sufiist poems. Among them may be mentioned the Díwáns of Khushhál Khán the great Khatak chief (1640-1690), known as "the Father of Afghán Poesy," and of Abdul Rahmán and Abdul Hamíd, Momand (1720 A.D.), the latter of whom is called "the Shekh Sádi of "the Afgháns;" the Makhzan-i-Afgháni by the celebrated Mughal priest Akhúnd Darwázah; and the Táríkh-i-Murassa of Afzal Khán Khatak, grandson of Khushhál Khán. Persian is however still the language of the Afghán Court and of high life, and Arabic that of their religion and learning. The character used is the Persian, to which the Patháns have added several symbols to express sounds unknown to the Persian alphabet, and among others the *ts* and *dz* sounds which they have perhaps borrowed from the Turanian dialects of Túrkistán.

323. Two dialects of the language are spoken in the Panjáb; the hard or Pesháwari, in which it is called Pakhto, and the soft or Kandahári, in which it becomes Pashto. The former is often called the northern or eastern dialect, and the latter the southern or western. The line which separates the two is the northern boundary of the Khatak tract in Kohát and the south-east of the Peshawár district. North of that line Pakhto is spoken, and with especial purity in Yúsufzai and Hashtnaghar. South of it Pashto prevails, and is found in its purest Kandahári form among the tribes of *Pawindah* origin who have settled in Derah Ismáíl Khán.

[1] So at least Colonel Edmonstone told General Cunningham.

[2] I am indebted for much assistance in the compilation of the following paragraphs to a M.S. account of the Pashto language, kindly lent me by the writer, Major Trevor Plowden.

[3] See foot-note to page 168.

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The distribution of the Pashto-speaking population is shown in the margin, neglecting small figures.

District.	Percentage of total Pashto-speaking Population who live in the District.	Percentage of the total Population of the District who speak Pashto.
Ráwalpindi	2·30	2·54
Derah Ismáíl Khán	7·52	15·39
Bannú	19·45	52·84
Peshawar	50·69	77·31
Hazára	2·93	6·50
Kohát	15·76	78·45
Total	98·65	...

On the Peshawar border it will probably remain the language of the people. But south of the Salt range it appears to be gradually giving way before the local Panjábi dialects; and the Patháns of the cis-Indus tract, and even of the right bank of the Indus, have already ceased to speak Pashto, or use it only as a domestic language, their women retaining it where the men have adopted the Panjábi in its place. Mr. Tucker writing of Derah Ismáíl Khán says: "There can be no doubt that "under English rule Hindústáni is rapidly superseding Pashtu, "and that this language is doomed to die out in these parts "as assuredly as the Celtic of the Scotch and Welsh High- "lands." In Hazára also Hindi is said to be "superseding "Pashtu, even among the Pathán and allied tribes."

324. Miscellaneous dialects of the Panjab.—The figures given under this head in column 12 of Table IX comprises entries in the schedules as shown in the margin.

Gújari	17,696
Potwári	438
Labanki	2,569
Labánaki	711
Odki	1,498
Sánsi	34
Báwaria	67
Thalai	75
Khetráni	13
Total	23,101

The *Gújari*, or dialect of the Gújar herdsmen of our western hills, is discussed with the other hill languages in section 318. The *Potwári* should of course have gone with Panjábi, of which it is the trans-Salt-range dialect; but I did not know even this much when the figures were classified. *Labanki* is the name given on the lower Indus to the speech of the Sikh Labánas of that part, who are said to have emigrated from the Central Panjáb during the rule of the Khálsa and settled on the river, bringing their dialect with them and taking to sedentary occupations. It is shown as spoken by 1,421 people in Muzaffargarh, 1,146 in Derah Gházi, and 2 in Multán. *Labánaki* is the dialect of the Labána traders and carriers who once had the whole carrying trade of Rájpútána and the Panjáb in their hands, though now the railways have left them the hills only as a field. Their operations covered such a wide extent of country that it is not to be wondered at that they should have a peculiar form of speech, which is doubtless intelligible to the whole class. It is shown as spoken by 711 people in Gurdáspur, and is probably identical with the Labanki which precedes it in the list. *Odki* is the dialect of the Ods or wandering navvies who, hailing from the North-West Provinces or Rájpútána, travel all over the Province in search of employment on large earthworks. It is returned as spoken by 375 persons in Multán, 550 in Muzaffargarh, 509 in Derah Gházi, and 64 elsewhere, and is said to be a Márwári dialect in those parts. *Sánsi* and *Báwaria* are the dialects of the two gipsy tribes of those names, while *Thalai* is said to be another name for the Báwaria dialect. *Khetráni* is the language of the *Khetráns*, who are sometimes called Biloch, sometimes Pathán, and are probably Jat. It might well have been classed as Bilochi.

325. The written characters of the Panjab.—I have already in treating of each language stated the character in which it is written. The characters used in the Panjáb are the Persian for Urdu, Pashto, and Bilochi, the Gurmukhi for Panjábi, the Devanágri and its Thákuri modification for the Hindi languages of the hills and plains, the Tibeti for Tibetan, and the various mercantile characters [1]. A very interesting quotation from Mr. Beames on this subject will be found at page 169. I add a few notes as supplementary to the information there given. The mercantile cursive used by the trading classes throughout the greater part of the Panjáb plains, and commonly known as Hindi or Mahájani in the east and Lunda [2] further to the west, is apparently a Nágri rather than a Gurmukhi character, though it varies so greatly from one part of the Province to another that a shop-keeper of the Eastern Plains cannot read the books of his brother of the west. In the lower Indus Valley again the Aroras, or as they are locally called Kirárs, use a cursive of their own called Kiráki, which is probably one of the Sindhi forms alluded to by Mr. Beames. The Gurmukhi would appear to be little used save by the Sikhs, while they are of all Panjáb communities the most illiterate, few but the priestly classes being able to read and write. Where Persian is not known Devanágri seems to be the favourite character, except in the hills where Thákuri takes its place; and there can be little doubt that, owing perhaps to its being the character of our Courts and offices, Persian is rapidly driving all others out of the field. The characters in which the schedules of the present Census were written are returned as shown in the margin for British Territory. It is not improbable that the distinction between Nágri and Mahájani has not always been observed in compiling these figures; but the details are, I believe, otherwise accurate. The Pahári or Thákuri character was used only in Kángra, and the Tibetan in Spiti and Láhul. The Dehli and Hissár divisions, Ludhiána, Hushyárpur and Kángra account for 2,807 out of the 2,938 Nágri writers; while Mahájani was used only in the Hissár division, Kángra, Fírozpur, Multán, Derah Ismáíl, and Hazára. Of the 83 Gurmukhi writers 40 were in Hushyárpur, 13 in Fírozpur, 12 in Ráwalpindi, and 14 in Peshawar. Of course every possible effort was made to obtain Persian writers, and especially to avoid the use of Mahájani. Excluding the Dehli, Hissár, Ambála and Jálandhar divisions, only 492 out of 31,456 schedules were written in any character other than Persian; and the figures showed so many written in that character by enumerators of the shop-keeping class that I made special inquiries as to their correctness. The explanation I received, more especially from the western districts, was that even village-shopkeepers were commonly acquainted with the Persian character, while their sons could read and write it almost without exception. In the Hills the ordinary character is the Thákuri or Thánkri, apparently a variety of the Devanágri type; but even there the traders commonly use a Lunda character differing but little from that of the plains below [3].

Character.	Towns.	Villages.	Total.
English	106	2	108
Persian	6,760	39,952	46,712
Devanágari	64	2,874	2,938
Mahájani	1	810	811
Gurmukhi	1	82	83
Pahári	22	2,284	2,306
Tibetan		25	25
Total	6,954	46,029	52,983

[1] Dr. Leitner has published a collection of lithographed specimens of the characters of Hindi origin in use in the Panjáb.

[2] Or "tailless"; so called because all unnecessary flourishes, and even the vowels as a general rule, are dispensed with.

[3] Mr. Coldstream tells me that there is a distinct form of the Hill character which is peculiar to the State of Náhan or Sirmúr.

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but it is omitted wherever it can be slurred over or got rid of. Its position is exactly parallel to that of its linguistic counterpart the final short *e* of early English, which we have in the modern language everywhere discarded in pronunciation, and in most cases in writing also, only retaining it where, as in *line*, its presence indicates a shade of pronunciation.

Palatals.—The Hindi, truest and most central type of all, holds fast the correct pronunciation of the *j*; but Panjábi, especially in the west of the Province, modifies it into something not unlike a very palatal *y* aspirated. The Hindi-speaking peasant cannot and will not use *z*, the dots of the transliterator notwithstanding [1].

Cerebrals.—The cerebrals are pronounced very much like the English dentals. Hindi substitutes the cerebral *r* and *rh* for the Sanskrit cerebral *d* and *dh* except at the beginning of a word or when forming part of a nexus; but Panjábi, having invented new characters for the former pair, preserves the true sounds for the latter. Thus Hindi *gári* is in Panjábi *gaddi*, a "cart." Sindhi follows Hindi, and often replaces the dental by the cerebral *d*.

Semi-vowels.—In Sindhi *j* is quite distinct from *y*, the latter having a more liquid sound, and being often dropped at the beginning of words. Panjábi and Hindi turn the Sanskrit *y* into *j* in most cases, and write it so. So with *w*, Sindhi and Panjábi keep it quite distinct from *b*, but the latter uses the two indifferently, giving each when written its true sound. Hindi both writes and pronounces every *w* as *b*, except in words taken direct from the Sanskrit, and in such words as *wuh, wahán, waisa.* "*Felices quibus vivere est bibere,*" if it were but wine they drank, and not the water of a muddy pond in which they and their neighbours have washed themselves, their clothes, and their cattle.

Sibilants.—Panjábi and Sindhi use only one sound of *s* for both the Sanskrit forms of *s* and for the *sh*; indeed the former is altogether averse from this class of sounds, generally altering them into *h*. In the central and western Hindi (that of the Dehli Territory) *sh* is chiefly confined to Arabic words, and the Sanskrit letter *sh* is used to express the Arabic and Persian *kh*.

Nasals.—In Panjábi the hard *n* is not used, the only *n* sounds in use being the English *n* and the *anuswára* or French *n*. In Sindhi the *n* sounds, except the English *n*, embody the semi-vowels of their organ, *ny, nr*, and the guttural nasal *ng* is used [2]. This last indeed appears in some Panjábi words also, as in *sinng* a "horn."

Compound consonants.—The dropping of the inherent final *a* already alluded to leaves roots ending with one consonant to be followed by inflexions beginning with another. Consequently combinations impossible to Sanskrit tongues constantly occur; but they are pronounced as they stand, the complicated modifications which Sanskrit rules of euphony would compel being unknown to the modern Prákrit languages.

331. The literature of the three languages.—Mr. Beames writes in this connexion as follows:—

"Hindi literature in its earlier form consists, with one notable exception, wholly of religious poems. This exception is the "first of all in point of time, the Prithirája Rasan of Chand Bardai, in which the ancestry, birth, heroic deeds, and final overthrow "of Prithiráj, a Chauhán Rájpút and the last Hindu King of Dehli, are recited in many thousand lines of doggerel verse." Even here, however, an immense deal of religion and fable is intermixed with the history. "The date of the poem is probably "about 1200 A.D. Subsequent Hindi literature consists almost entirely of long tiresome religious poems, together with some of a "lighter type, translations, or rather *rifaccimenti* of older poems, none of which are particularly worth reading except for the light "they throw on the gradual progress of the language.

"Still, there are, as I have said before, some exceptions; the seven hundred couplets of Behári Lál contain many pretty, though "fanciful, conceits, and are composed in extremely correct and elegant verse; and here and there among the religious poems may be "found meditations and prayers of some merit. The *Ramoyan* of Tulsi Das is probably only admired because the masses are "unable to read the original of Valmiki. In modern times a perfect cloud of writers has arisen, among whom, however, it is "impossible to single out any one deserving of special mention. The introduction of the Persian character, in supersession of the "clumsy Nagari, has rendered the mechanical process of writing much easier and more rapid, while many good lithographic "presses in all parts of the country pour forth books of all descriptions, the majority of them undoubtedly pernicious trash, but "some here and there of a more wholesome tone, which, through probably not destined to live, may pave the way for productions "of a higher style [3].

"Of the other languages it cannot be said in strictness that they have any literature, if by that word we mean written works. "In most Aryan countries in India there has existed from the earliest times a large body of unwritten poetry. These ballads or "rhapsodies are still sung by the Bháts and Chárans, two classes corresponding somewhat to our European bards, and the antiquity "of some of the ballads still current is admitted to be great. The poems of Chand, to which I so often refer, are nothing more than "a collection of these ballads; a collection probably made by the poet himself, when in his old age he bethought him of the gallant "master whom he had so long served, and who had died in the flower of his manhood, in that last sad battle at Pánipat. Through-"out all the country of the Rajputs, far down to the mouths of the Indus and the confines of Bilochistan, the Indian bards wandered "singing, and a considerable quantity of their poems still lives in the mouths of the people, and has in these latter times been printed. "This, as far as I know, is all that Sindh can show of ancient literature. And the case is not far different in the Panjáb. In that "Province the language is still very closely connected with various forms of western Hindi. Though Nanak, the great religious "reformer of the Panjáb and founder of the Sikh creed, is generally pointed to as the earliest author in the language, yet few writings "of his are extant, and in the great collection called the Granth, made by Arjan Mal, one of his disciples, in the sixteenth century, "there is nothing distinctly Panjábi. It is for the most part an anthology culled from the writings of Hindi poets, such as Kabir, "Namadev, and others, and consequently the language is pure old Hindi."

332. Dialects of the three languages.—I have already pointed out how innumerable are the local dialects of the Panjáb, and how little we know about them. In my sketch of the distribution of the Panjáb languages (section 302), I have endeavoured to indicate the types of the principal dialects current in the Province and the limits within which each obtains. The Hindi language is commonly divided into four strongly marked forms, of which the Maithil of Tirhút, the Magadh of Monghyr, and the Bhojpuri of Eastern Hindústán are included under the name of Eastern Hindi. The fourth dialect extends from the neighbourhood of Benares to the eastern limits of Panjábi, and is known as Western Hindi. Mr. Hörnle, however, considers that the western dialects of Hindi possess less affinity with the eastern dialects of the same language than they do with Panjábi, Sindhi and Gújaráti. He separates the dialect of Oudh and Baghelkand, which is apparently what we in the Panjáb call Púrbia, under the name of Baiswári, grouping it, not however without hesitation, under Eastern Hindi; and he classes Western Hindi, including the Rájpútana dialects, under the name of Western Gaudian, together with Panjábi, Sindhi, and Gújaráti. Of this Western Hindi, with which we are chiefly concerned in the Panjáb, and of the other dialects of the Province, Mr. Beames writes:—

"When we get beyond the Bhojpuri area, about Benares, we come into Central Hindustan, and from Benares to Dehli the dialectic "differences are not so very great as to call for special remark. It is true that there are many diversities in the words, and occasion-"ally also in the inflectional forms used in various parts of this wide tract, but there is no very striking divergence from the central

[1] It would appear that the *ts* and *ds* sounds for *ch* and *j*, which Mr. Beames calls "unassimilated palatals," are characteristic of the comparatively undeveloped Turanian languages, and are found among Aryan tongues only where the latter have come into contact with Turanian speech, as in the Maráthi which marches with Telugu, and in Pashto and Kashmíri which are in close juxtaposition with the languages of Túrkistán and Tibet.

[2] Mr. Beames notes that the original Panjábi spelling of the Sikh name "Singh" is with a *gh*, and that if the spelling *Sinh* is now used, it is probably a modern Sanskritised form, such as is now coming into fashion in Bengal.

[3] Those who wish to pursue this subject further should read M. Garcin de Tassy's *Histoire de la littérature Hindustani* in which an immense amount of information is collected. The author is an ardent admirer of Hindi literature.

Part III.—Comparative Sketch of Hindi, Panjabi, and Sindhi.

"type. To the south, however, in the vast regions of Rájputána, strongly marked dialectic peculiarites again meet us, and there is a "large number of provincial forms of speech. The Márwari, which I have alluded to before, merges gradually into Gujarati, which is "conterminous with it on the south, in such forms as the infinitive in *wo*, and the form of the future in *sí*. It still retains the ancient "genitive signs *ro, ri, re,* and many other distinctive marks. Some of the Rájput dialects again exhibit a tendency to approach to "Mahrati, and others more to the west modulate gradually into Panjábi and Sindhi.

"Panjábi is spoken half-way through the country between the Satluj and Jamna. It is impossible to say where it begins, both "it and Hindi being spoken with equal fluency and equal incorrectness, just as an Alsatian speaks French and German, both equally "badly. Throughout the Panjáb and Sindh the most important tribe in point of numbers is that of the Jats, who under the name of "Játs also spread far into Rájputána and the Doab. Panjábi, Sindhi, and Western Hindí, regarded as the mother-tongue, appear to "us almost as one language, with a regular series of modifications extending in waves from the Persian Gulf, up the Indus, across "the five rivers, and far on into the deserts of the Rájputs. Thus the present participle in Hindi ends in *tá*, in Eastern Panjábi "this is softened to *dá*, with an *n* inserted when the root ends with a vowel, thus *kardá*, "doing," but *khándá*, "eating." As we "get further into the country going westwards and southwards about Shahpur and Jhang, we find this *n* always used even after "bases ending in a consonant, thus *márendá*, "beating." When, however, we get right down into Sindh, the form in *ndá* has "become the regular classical termination in universal use, and is fortified by a long vowel; thus, *márindo*, "beating," which takes us "back to the Prakrit *marento* and Sanskrit *mârayant*.

"There are so many dialects in Panjábi that it is impossible to enumerate them. In every district, nay in every parganah a "difference is perceptible. The general features are the same throughout, but there is a twang, a dozen or so of inflections, "several scores of words, quite peculiar to that one place, and not understood out of it. In fact, in all the parts of India "with which I am personally acquainted I have noticed something of the same peculiarity, namely, that the words which the peasant "uses to express the objects around him, the different descriptions of cattle, tools, seeds, grasses, crops, diseases of crops, grain in va-"rious stages, soils, waters, weathers, and the like, differ in every district I go to. Going from Gújarát to Jhelam, and from "Jhelam to Ráwalpindi, the whole of the ryots' surroundings change their names completely twice over. Perhaps the only "exception is the plough, which I only know by two names,—*hal* in Upper India, and *nángal* in Bengal and Orissa. The "cow may be perhaps cited as another exception, and in truth *gau* and *gai* would perhaps be understood in most places, and the "generic term *goru* for cattle in a good many—but the peasant is not content with this. His cow is red, or dun, or grey, or white, or "fertile, or barren, or has had one calf or two, or is milch or dry, or has its horns bent forwards or backwards, or straight, or of "uneven length, and each of these peculiarities has a name, and that name is used, to the exclusion of the generic term "cow," and "differs in every district; so that to the superficial observer, or perhaps even to a careful student who judged from this class of "words, there would at first sight appear to be more dialects in the language than there really are. Still, after making all due allow-"ance for those peculiarities, I am of opinion that, owing to the absence of any written standard, our brave Panjábi peasants "possess a number of *boná fide* dialects which is considerably in excess of that possessed by most languages spoken over an "equal area of level country in any other part of India.

"Panjábis for the most part understand Hindi readily, and very quickly learn to speak it correctly, abandoning the peculiarities "of their own language as mere dialectic vagaries. The Hindustanis, from their superior cultivation, take high tone with the simple "Panjábis, and laugh them out of their pronunciation and local forms, insisting, as do certain Bengalis with regard to Orissa, that "these latter are mere vulgarisms, to be shunned by correct speakers. Of course in the wilder parts of the Panjáb Hindí is not well "understood, and in the very wildest not at all.

"With regard to Sindhi, the reverse is the case; while it is fairly intelligible to the wild wandering Jat and Gujar tribes of the "desert, and to the Southern Panjábis generally, it is quite unintelligible to the more settled and cultivated population. I have "known a Sindhi come to my court at Gujrat, in the northern part of the Chaj Doab, lying between the Chenab and Jhelam rivers, "and not a single person could make out what he said."

CHAPTER VI.

THE RACES, CASTES, AND TRIBES OF THE PEOPLE.

PART I.—CASTE IN THE PANJAB.

333. The popular conception of caste.—An old agnostic is said to have summed up his philosophy in the following words;—"The only thing I know is that I know nothing; and I am not quite sure that I know that." His words express very exactly my own feelings regarding caste in the Panjáb. My experience is that it is almost impossible to make any statement whatever regarding any one of the castes we have to deal with, absolutely true as it may be as regards one part of the Province, which shall not presently be contradicted with equal truth as regards the same people in some other district. Yet I shall attempt to set forth briefly what seem to me the fundamental ideas upon which caste is based; and in doing so I shall attempt partly to explain why it is that the institution is so extraordinarily unstable, and its phænomena so diverse in different localities. What I propound in the following paragraphs is simply my working hypothesis as it at present stands; but I shall not stop to say so as I write, though almost every proposition made must be taken subject to limitations, often sufficiently obvious, and not unfrequently involved in some other proposition made in the very next paragraph. My views are of little weight so long as they are not illustrated and supported by instances drawn from actually existing fact. Such instances I have in great abundance, and they will be found in part in the detailed description of castes which follow this discussion. But I have leisure neither to record all my evidence, nor to marshal what I have recorded; and I give my conception of caste with a crudeness of exposition which lack of time forbids me to modify, not because I think that it is anything even distantly approaching to the whole truth, but because I believe that it is nearer to that truth than is the generally received theory of caste as I understand it [1].

The popular and currently received theory of caste I take to consist of three main articles:—

(1) that caste is an institution of the Hindu religion, and wholly peculiar to that religion alone:

(2) that it consists primarily of a fourfold classification of people in general under the heads of Bráhman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Súdra:

(3) that caste is perpetual and immutable, and has been transmitted from generation to generation throughout the ages of Hindu history and myth without the possibility of change.

Now I should doubtless be exaggerating in the opposite direction, but I think that I should still be far nearer to the truth if, in opposition to the popular conception thus defined, I were to say—

(1) that caste is a social far more than a religious institution; that it has no necessary connection whatever with the Hindu religion, further than that under that religion certain ideas and customs common to all primitive nations have been developed and perpetuated in an unusual degree; and that conversion from Hinduism to Islám has not necessarily the slightest effect upon caste:

(2) that there are Bráhmans who are looked upon as outcasts by those who under the fourfold classification would be classed as Súdras; that there is no such thing as a Vaisya now existing; that it is very doubtful indeed whether there is such a thing as a Kshatriya, and if there is, no two people are agreed as to where we shall look for him; and that Súdra has no present significance save as a convenient term of abuse to apply to somebody else whom you consider lower than yourself; while the number of castes which can be classed under any one or under no one of the four heads, according as private opinion may vary, is almost innumerable:

(3) that nothing can be more variable and more difficult to define than caste; and that the fact that a generation is descended from ancestors of any given caste creates a presumption, and nothing more, that that generation also is of the same caste, a presumption liable to be defeated by an infinite variety of circumstances.

334. The hereditary nature of occupations.—Among all primitive peoples we find the race split up into a number of tribal communities held together by the tie of common descent, each tribe being self-contained and self-sufficing, and bound by strict rules of marriage and inheritance, the common object of which is to increase the strength and preserve the unity of the tribe. There is as yet no diversity of occupation. Among more advanced societies, where occupations have become differentiated, the tribes have almost altogether disappeared; and we find in their place corporate communities or guilds held together by the tie of common occupation rather than of common blood, each guild being self-contained and self-governed, and bound by strict rules, the common object of which is to strengthen the guild and to confine to it the secrets of the craft which it practises. Such were the trades-guilds of the middle ages

[1] Owing to the limitation of the time allowed me to complete the report, the whole of this chapter except Part II was written in less than three weeks. It would have taken me as many months to have digested and put into shape the whole of my material.

as we first meet with them in European history. But all modern inquiry into their origin and earlier constitution tends to the conclusion—and modern authorities on the development of primitive institutions are rapidly accepting that conclusion—that the guild in its first form was, no less than the tribe, based upon common descent; and that the fundamental idea which lay at the root of the institution in its inception was the hereditary nature of occupation. Now here we have two principles, community of blood and community of occupation. So long as the hereditary nature of occupation was inviolable, so long as the blacksmith's son must be and nobody else could be a blacksmith, the two principles were identical. But the struggle for existence is too severe, the conditions of existence too varied, and the character and capacity of individuals too diverse to permit of this inviolability being long maintained; and in any but the most rudimentary form of society it must like the socialist's dream of equal division of wealth, cease to exist from the very instant of its birth. And from the moment when the hereditary nature of occupation ceases to be invariable and inviolable, the two principles of community of blood and community of occupation become antagonistic. The antagonism still continues. In every community which the world has ever seen there have been grades of position and distinctions of rank; and in all societies these grades and distinctions are governed by two considerations, descent and calling. As civilisation advances and the ideas of the community expand in more liberal growth, the latter is ever gaining in importance at the expense of the former; the question what a man is, is ever more and more taking precedence of the question what his father was. But in no society that the world has yet seen has either of these two considerations ever wholly ceased to operate; in no community has the son of the coal-heaver been born the equal of the son of the nobleman, or the man who dies a trader been held in the same consideration as he who dies a statesman; while in all the son has begun where the father left off. The communities of India in whose midst the Hindu religion has been developed are no exceptions to this rule; but in their case special circumstances have combined to preserve in greater integrity and to perpetuate under a more advanced state of society than elsewhere the hereditary nature of occupation, and thus in a higher degree than in other modern nations to render identical the two principles of community of blood and community of occupation. And it is this difference, a difference of degree rather than of kind, a survival to a later age of an institution which has died out elsewhere rather than a new growth peculiar to the Hindu nation, which makes us give a new name to the old thing and call caste in India what we call position or rank in England.

335. Occupation the primary basis of caste.—The whole basis of diversity of caste is diversity of occupation. The old division into Bráhman, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Súdra, and the Mlechchha or outcast who is below the Súdra, is but a division into the priest, the warrior, the husbandman, the artisan, and the menial; and the more modern development which substituted trader for husbandman as the meaning of Vaisya or "the people" did not alter the nature of the classification. William Priest, John King, Edward Farmer, and James Smith are but the survivals in England of the four *varnas* of Manu. But in India which, as I have already explained in chapter IV, sections 211-2, to which I would here refer the reader, was priest-ridden to an extent unknown to the experience of Europe even in the middle ages, the dominance of one special occupation gave abnormal importance to all distinctions of occupation. The Bráhman, who could at first claim no separate descent by which he should be singled out from among the Aryan community, sought to exalt his office and to propitiate his political rulers, who were the only rivals he had to fear, by degrading all other occupations and conditions of life. Further, as explained in the sections just referred to, the principle of hereditary occupation was to him as a class one of the most vital importance. As the Bráhmans increased in number, those numbers necessarily exceeded the possible requirements of the laity so far as the mere performance of priestly functions was concerned, while it became impossible for them to keep up as a whole even the semblance of sacred learning. Thus they ceased to be wholly priests and a large proportion of them became mere Levites. The only means of preserving its overwhelming influence to the body at large was to substitute Levitical descent for priestly functions as the basis of that influence, or rather perhaps to check the natural course of social evolution which would have substituted the latter for the former; and this they did by giving the whole sanction of religion to the principle of the hereditary nature of occupation. Hence sprang that tangled web of caste restrictions and distinctions, of ceremonial obligations, and of artificial purity and impurity, which has rendered the separation of occupation from descent so slow and so difficult in Hindu society, and which collectively constitutes what we know as caste. I do not mean that the Bráhmans invented the principle which they thus turned to their own purpose; on the contrary, I have said that it is found in all primitive societies that have outgrown the most rudimentary stage. Nor do I suppose that they deliberately set to work to produce any craftily designed effect upon the growth of social institutions. But circumstances had raised them to a position of extraordinary power; and naturally, and probably almost unconsciously, their teaching took the form which tended most effectually to preserve that power unimpaired.

Indeed in its earlier form, neither caste nor occupation was even supposed in India to be necessarily or invariably hereditary. It is often forgotten that there are two very distinct epochs in the post-Vedic history of the Hindu nations, which made respectively contributions of very different nature to that body of Hindu scriptures which we are too apt to confuse under the generic name of the Shástras, and which affected in very different manners the form of the Hindu religion. The earlier is the epoch of the Bráhmanas and the Upanishads, while Hinduism was a single and comparatively simple creed, or at most a philosophical abstraction; and the later is the epoch of the Puránas and Tantras, with their crowded Pantheon, their foul imaginings, their degraded idolatry, and their innumerable sects. The former may be said to end with the rise and the latter to begin with the growing degeneracy of Buddhism. In the earlier Hinduism we find that, while caste distinctions were primarily based upon occupation, considerable license in this respect was permitted to the several castes, while the possibility of the individual rising from one caste to another was distinctly recognised. This was the case even as late as the age of Manu, by which time the caste system had assumed great strictness, and the cardinal importance of occupation had become a prominent part of the Brahminical teaching, though its hereditary nature had not yet been so

emphatically insisted on [1]. It was in the dark ages of Hindu history, about the beginning of an æra during which Brahminism was substituted for Hinduism and the religion became a chaos of impure and degraded doctrine and sectarian teaching, that the theory of the necessarily hereditary nature of occupation seems to have taken its present form. In the earlier epoch the priest was always a Bráhman; in the later the Bráhman was always a priest.

336. But if occupation was not necessarily transmitted by descent and if caste varied with change of occupation in the earlier æra of Hinduism, it is no less true that this is the case in the present day; though under caste restrictions as they now stand the change, in an upward direction at least, is infinitely slower and more difficult than then, and is painfully effected by the family or tribe in the course of generations instead of by the individual in the course of years. The following pages will contain numerous instances of the truth of this assertion, and the whole body of tribal and caste tradition in the Panjáb supports it. I have not always thought it necessary to state their traditions in discussing the various castes; and I have seldom stopped to comment on the facts. But the evidence, imperfect as it is, will be found to possess no inconsiderable weight; while the very fact of the general currency of a set of traditions, groundless as they may be in individual instances, shows that the theory of society upon which they are based is at least not repugnant to the ideas and feelings and even practice of the people who believe them. Indeed, for the purposes of the present enquiry it would almost be allowable to accept traditional origin; for though the tradition may not be true, it might have been, or it would never have arisen. Instances of fall in the social scale are naturally more often met with than instances of rise, for he who has sunk recalls with pride his ancestral origin, while he who has risen hastens to forget it.

337. **The political and artificial basis of caste.**—But before proceeding to give specific instances of recent change of caste, I must adopt a somewhat extended definition of occupation, and must take a somewhat wider basis than that afforded by mere occupation, even so defined, as the foundation of caste.

In India the occupation of the great mass of what may be called the upper or yeoman classes is the same. Setting aside the priests and traders on the one hand and the artisans and menials on the other, we have left the great body of agriculturists who constitute by far the larger portion of the population. This great body of people subsists by husbandry and cattle-farming, and so far their occupation is one and the same. But they are also the owners and occupiers of the land, the holders of more or less compact tribal territories; they are overlords as well as villains; and hence springs the cardinal distinction between the occupation of ruling and the occupation of being ruled. Where the actual calling of every-day life is the same, social standing, which is all that caste means, depends very largely upon political importance, whether present or belonging to the recent past. There is the widest distinction between the dominant and the subject tribes; and a tribe which has acquired political independence in one part of the country, will there enjoy a position in the ranks of caste which is denied it in tracts where it occupies a subordinate position.

Again, the features of the caste system which are peculiar to Brahminical Hinduism, and which have already been alluded to, have operated to create a curiously artificial standard of social rank. There are certain rules which must be observed by all at the risk of sinking in the scale. They are, broadly speaking, that widow marriage shall not be practised; that marriages shall be contracted only with those of equal or nearly equal standing; that certain occupations shall be abstained from which are arbitrarily declared to be impure, such as growing or selling vegetables, handicrafts in general, and especially working or trading in leather and weaving; that impure food shall be avoided; and that no communion shall be held with outcasts, such as scavengers, eaters of carrion or vermin, and the like. There are other and similarly artificial considerations which affect social standing, such as the practice of secluding the women of the family, the custom of giving daughters in marriage only to classes higher than their own, and the like; but these are of less general application than those first mentioned. Many of these restrictions are exceedingly irksome. It is expensive to keep the women secluded, for others have to be paid to do their work; it is still more expensive to purchase husbands for them from a higher grade of society, and so forth; and so there is a constant temptation to disregard these rules, even at the cost of some loss of social position.

Thus we have as the extended basis of caste, first occupation, and within a common occupation political prominence and social standing, the latter being partly regulated by a set of very arbitrary rules which are peculiar to Indian caste, and which are almost the only part of the system which is peculiar to it. It is neither tautology nor false logic to say that social standing is dependent upon caste and caste upon social standing, for the two depend each upon the other in different senses. The rise in the social scale which accompanies increased political importance will presently be followed by a rise in caste; while the fall in the grades of caste which a disregard of the arbitrary rules of the institution entails, will surely be accompanied by loss of social standing.

338. **Instances of the mutability of caste.**—The Bráhmans are generally husbandmen as well as Levites, for their numbers are so great that they are obliged to supplement the income derived from their priestly office. But when a Bráhman drops his sacerdotal character, ceases to receive food or alms as offerings acceptable to the gods, and becomes a cultivator pure and simple, he also ceases to be a Bráhman, and has to employ other Bráhmans as priests. Witness the Taga Bráhmans of the Dehli division, who are Tagás, not Bráhmans, because they have "abandoned" (*tág dena*) their priestly character. Indeed in the hills the very practice of agriculture as a calling or at least the actual following of the plough is in itself sufficient to deprive a Bráhman of all but the name of his caste; for Mr. Lyall points out that in the following quotation from Mr. Barnes "ploughing" should be read for "agriculture" or "husbandry," there being very few, even of the highest Bráhman families, who abstain from other sorts of field work.

[1] For instances of the possibility of change of caste it will be sufficient to refer the reader to Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, Appendix IV, to Muir's *Sanskrit texts,* Vol. I, Chap. IV, and still more to a Buddhist pamphlet called Vajra Shúchi which is translated at Vol. I. pages 296 *ff.* of Wilson's *Indian Caste,* and which for direct vigourous reasoning and scathing humour would not disgrace the best days of English party polemics.

Part I.—Caste in the Panjab.

"It will afford a tolerable idea of the endless ramification of caste to follow out the details of even the Sarsut tribe as established in these hills. The reader acquainted with the country will know that Brahmins, though classed under a common appellation, "are not all equal. There are primarily two great distinctions in every tribe claiming to be of such exalted origin as the Brahmins,— "*viz.*, those who follow and those who abstain from agriculture. This is the great touchstone of their creed. Those who have never "defiled their hands with the plough, but have restricted themselves to the legitimate pursuits of the caste, are held to be pure "Brahmins; while those who have once descended to the occupation of husbandry retain indeed the name, but are no longer acknowledged by their brethren, nor held in the same reverence by the people at large."

So again if a Bráhman takes to handicrafts he is no longer a Bráhman, as in the case of the Thávis of the hills, some of whom were Bráhmans in the last generation. The Dharúkras of Dehli are admittedly Bráhmans who have within the last few generations taken to widow marriage; and the Chamarwa Sádhs and the whole class of the so-called Bráhmans who minister to the outcast classes, are no longer Bráhmans in any respect beyond the mere retention of the name. The Mahá Bráhman, so impure that in many villages he is not allowed to enter the gates, the Dákaut and Gújráti, so unfortunate that other Bráhmans will not accept offerings at their hands, are all Bráhmans, but are practically differentiated as distinct castes by their special occupations. Turning to the second of Manu's four great classes, we find the Mahájan a Mahájan in the hills so long as he is a merchant, but a Káyath as soon as he becomes a clerk; while the Dasa Banya of the plains who has taken to the practice of widow marriage is a Banya only by name and occupation, not being admitted to communion or intermarriage by the more orthodox classes who bear the same title. The impossibility of fixing any line between Rájpúts on the one hand, and Jats, Gújars, and castes of similar standing on the other, is fully discussed in the subsequent Parts of this Chapter, in the paragraphs on the Jat in general, on the Rájpúts of the Eastern Hills, and on the Thakar and Ráthi. I there point out that the only possible definition of a Rájpút, in the Panjáb at least, is he who, being the descendant of a family that has enjoyed political importance, has preserved his ancestral status by strict observance of the caste rules enumerated above. The extract there quoted from Mr. Lyall's report sums up so admirably the state of caste distinctions in the hills that I make no apology for repeating it. He says:—

"Till lately the limits of caste do not seem to have been so immutably fixed in the hills as in the plains. The Raja was the "fountain of honour, and could do much as he liked. I have heard old men quote instances within their memory in which a Raja promoted a Girth to be a Rathi, and a Thakur to be a Rájput, for service done or money given; and at the present day the power of "admitting back into caste fellowship persons put under a ban for some grave act of defilement is a source of income to the Jagirdar "Rajas.

"I believe that Mr. Campbell, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, has asserted that there is no such thing as a distinct "Rájput stock; that in former times, before caste distinctions had become crystallized, any tribe or family whose ancestor or head rose "to royal rank became in time Rájput.

"This is certainly the conclusion to which many facts point with regard to the Rájputs of these hills. Two of the old royal and "now essentially Rájput families of this district, *viz.*, Kotlehr and Bangahal, are said to be Bráhmin by original stock. Mr. Barnes "says that in Kangra the son of a Rájput by a low-caste woman takes place as a Rathi: in Seoraj and other places in the interior of "the hills I have met families calling themselves Rájputs, and growing into general acceptance as Rájputs, in their own country at "least, whose only claim to the title was that their father or grandfather was the offspring of a Kanetni by a foreign Bráhmin. On "the border line in the Himalayas, between Thibet and India Proper, any one can observe caste growing before his eyes; the noble is "changing into a Rájput, the priest into a Bráhmin, the peasant into a Jat; and so on down to the bottom of the scale. The same "process was, I believe, more or less in force in Kángra proper down to a period not very remote from to-day."

And Kángra is of all parts of the Panjáb the place in which the proudest and most ancient Rájpút blood is to be found. As Captain Cunningham says in his *History of the Sikhs:* "It may be assumed "as certain that, had the conquering Mughals and Patháns been without a vivid belief and an organised "priesthood, they would have adopted Vedism and become enrolled among the Kshatriya or Rájpút races." In Sirsa we have instances of clans who were a few generations ago accounted Jat being now generally classed as Rájpúts, having meanwhile practised greater exclusiveness in matrimonial matters, and having abandoned widow marriage; while the reverse process is no less common. So the Chauháns of Dehli are no longer recognized as Rájpúts since they have begun to marry their widows. Finally we have the whole traditions of the Panjáb tribes of the Jat and Gújar status to the effect that they are descended from Rájpúts who married below them, ceased to seclude their women, or began to practise widow marriage; and the fact that one and the same tribe is often known as Rájpút where it has and as Jat where it has not risen to political importance.

339. But it is possible for Rájpúts and Jats to fall still lower. The Sahnsars of Hushyárpur were admittedly Rájpúts till only a few generations ago, when they took to growing vegetables, and now rank with Aráins. Some of the Tarkháns, Lohárs, and Náis of Sirsa are known to have been Jats or Rájpúts who within quite recent times have taken to the hereditary occupations of these castes; and some of the Chauháns of Karnál, whose fathers were born Rájpúts, have taken to weaving and become Shekhs. So too the landowning castes can rise. A branch of the Wattu Rájpúts of the Satluj, by an affectation of peculiar sanctity, have in the course of a few generations become Bodlas, and now deny their Rájpút and claim Qureshi origin; and already the claim is commonly admitted. A clan of Ahírs in Rewári has begun to seclude their women and abandon widow marriage; they no longer intermarry with the other Ahírs, and will presently be reckoned a separate caste; and there is a Kharral family lately settled in Baháwalpur who have begun to affect peculiar holiness and to marry only with each other, and their next step will certainly be to claim Arab descent. The process is going on daily around us, and it is certain that what is now taking place is only what has always taken place during the long ages of Indian history. The ease with which Saiyads are manufactured is proverbial, and some of our highest Rájpút tribes are beginning in the Salt-range to claim Mughal or Arab origin. On the frontier the dependence upon occupation of what there most nearly corresponds with caste, as distinct from tribe, is notorious. A Máchhi is a Máchhi so long as he catches fish, and a Jat directly he lays hold of a plough. There are no Rájpúts because there are no Rájas; and those who are notoriously of pure Rájpút descent are Jats because they till the land.

Among the artisan and menial tribes the process is still more common, and the chapter on this section of the community abounds with instances. One Chamár takes to weaving instead of leather-working and becomes a Chamar-Juláha; presently he will be a Juláha pure and simple: another does the same and becomes a Rangreta or a Búnia: a Chúhra refuses to touch night-soil and becomes a Musalli or a Kutána. Within the castes the same process is observable. The Chándar Chamár will not eat or marry with the Jatia Chamár

because the latter works in the hides of impure animals; one section of the Kumhárs will hold no communion with another because the latter burn sweepings as fuel; a third section has taken to agriculture and looks down upon both. In all these and a thousand similar instances the sections are for all practical purposes distinct castes, though the caste name, being based upon and expressive of the hereditary occupation, is generally retained where the main occupation is not changed. Indeed I have my doubts whether, setting aside the absolutely degrading occupations such as scavengering, the caste does not follow the occupation in the case of even each individual among these artisan and menial castes much more generally than we suppose. We know next to nothing about their organisation, and I do not pretend to make anything more than a suggestion. But it is certain that these lower castes have retained the organisation of the guild in extraordinary completeness long after the organisation of the tribe or caste has almost completely died out among the landowning classes whom they serve. And it may be, especially in towns and cities, that this organisation is meant to protect the craft in the absence of the bond of common descent, and that men belonging by birth to other castes and occupations may on adopting a new occupation be admitted to the fraternity which follows it.

340. The nature and evolution of the institution of caste.—Thus we see that in India, as in all countries, society is arranged in strata which are based upon differences of social or political importance, or of occupation. But here the classification is hereditary rather than individual to the persons included under it, and an artificial standard is added which is peculiar to caste and which must be conformed with on pain of loss of position, while the rules which forbid social intercourse between castes of different rank render it infinitely difficult to rise in the scale. So too, the classification being hereditary, it is next to impossible for the individual himself to rise; it is the tribe or section of the tribe that alone can improve its position, and this it can do only after the lapse of several generations, during which time it must abandon a lower for a higher occupation, conform more strictly with the arbitrary rules, affect social exclusiveness or special sanctity, or separate itself after some similar fashion from the body of the caste to which it belongs. The whole theory of society is that occupation and caste are hereditary; and the presumption that caste passes unchanged to the descendants is exceedingly strong. But the presumption is one which can be defeated, and has already been and is now in process of being defeated in numberless instances. As in all other countries and among all other nations, the graduations of the social scale are fixed; but society is not solid but liquid, and portions of it are continually rising and sinking and changing their position as measured by that scale; and the only real difference between Indian society and that of other countries in this respect is, that the liquid is much more viscous, the friction and inertia to be overcome infinitely greater, and the movement therefore far slower and more difficult in the former than in the latter. This friction and inertia are largely due to a set of artificial rules which have been grafted on to the social prejudices common to all communities by the peculiar form which caste has taken in the Brahminical teachings. But there is every sign that these rules are gradually relaxing. Sikhism did much to weaken them in the centre of the Panjáb, while they can now hardly be said to exist on the purely Mahomedan frontier; and I think that we shall see a still more rapid change under the influences which our rule has brought to bear upon the society of the Province. Our disregard for inherited distinctions have already done something, and the introduction of railways much more, to loosen the bonds of caste. It is extraordinary how incessantly, in reporting customs, my correspondents note that the custom or restriction is fast dying out. The liberty enjoyed by the people of the Western Panjáb is extending to their neighbours in the east, and especially the old tribal customs are gradually fading away. There cannot be the slightest doubt that in a few generations the materials for a study of caste as an institution will be infinitely less complete than they are even now.

341. Thus, if my theory be correct, we have the following steps in the process by which caste has been evolved in the Panjáb—(1) the tribal divisions common to all primitive societies; (2) the guilds based upon hereditary occupation common to the middle life of all communities; (3) the exaltation of the priestly office to a degree unexampled in other countries; (4) the exaltation of the Levitical blood by a special insistence upon the necessarily hereditary nature of occupation; (5) the preservation and support of this principle by the elaboration from the theories of the Hindu creed or cosmogony of a purely artificial set of rules, regulating marriage and intermarriage, declaring certain occupations and foods to be impure and polluting, and prescribing the conditions and degree of social intercourse permitted between the several castes. Add to these the pride of social rank and the pride of blood which are natural to man, and which alone could reconcile a nation to restrictions at once irksome from a domestic and burdensome from a material point of view; and it is hardly to be wondered at that caste should have assumed the rigidity which distinguishes it in India.

342. The tribal type of caste.—Thus caste in the Panjáb is based primarily upon occupation, and given that the occupation is that most respectable of all occupations, the owning and cultivation of land, upon political position. But there are other forms which are assumed by caste, or at least by what most nearly corresponds with it in some parts of the Province, which may in general be referred to two main types. The first type is based upon community of blood; the second is a trades-guild pure and simple. Both are strictly analogous to caste proper; but the existence of both in their present forms appears to be due to the example of those Musalmán nations who have exerted such immense influence in the Panjáb, and both differ from caste proper in the absence of those artificial restrictions which are the peculiar product of Brahminism. The purest types of the ethnic or national caste are the Patháns and Biloches, both untainted by any admixture of Hindu feeling or custom. Here the fiction which unites the caste, race, nation, or whatever you may choose to call it, is that of common descent from a traditional ancestor. In the main it is something more than a fiction, for if the common ancestor be mythical, as he probably is, there is still a very real bond of common origin, common habitat, common customs and modes of thought, and tribal association continued through several centuries, which holds these peoples together. But even here the stock is not even professedly pure. It will be seen from my description of the two great frontier races whom I have quoted as types, that each of them includes in its tribal organisation affiliated tribes of foreign origin, who some-

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times but by no means always preserve the tradition of their separate descent, but are recognised to the full as being, and for all practical purposes actually *are* Biloch or Pathán as truly as are the tribes who have certainly sprung from the parent stock. Still more is this the case with the Mughal, Shekh, and Saiyad, who are only strangers in the land. "Last year I was a weaver, this year I am a Shekh; next year if prices rise I shall be a Saiyad." The process of manufacture in these cases is too notorious for it to be necessary for me to insist upon it; and so long as the social position of the new claimant is worthy of the descent he claims, the true Mughals, Shekhs, and Saiyads, after waiting for a generation or so till the absurdity of the story is not too obvious, accept the fiction and admit the brand new brother into their fraternity.

Throughout the Western Plains, and in a somewhat lower degree throughout the cis-Indus Salt-range Tract, where Islám has largely superseded Brahminism and where the prohibition against marriage with another caste is almost universally neglected, we find the distribution of the landowning classes based upon tribe rather than upon caste. The necessity for community of present caste as a condition of intermarriage having disappeared, the more comprehensive classification of caste has become a mere tradition of ancestral status, and the immediate question is, not is a man a Rájpút or a Jat, but is he a Siál or a Chhádhar, a Janjúa or a Manhás. The restrictions upon intermarriage are in actual practice almost as strict as ever; but they are based upon present social rank, without reference to the question whether that rank has yet received the impress or sanction of admission into the caste with which it would correspond. In fact the present tendency even in the case of Rájpúts, and still more in that of lower castes of Indian origin, is markedly to reject their original Hindu caste, and to claim connection with the Mughal conquerors of their country or the Arab founders of their faith. Thus we have no broad classification of the people under a few great castes with their internal division into tribes, such as we find in the Hindu portion of the Panjáb; or rather this classification is of far less importance, being little more than a memory of origin, or a token of a social rank which is more precisely expressed by the tribal name.

343. The effect of occupation upon the tribal form of caste.—So too, the lines which separate occupations one from another are relaxed. In the case of the impure occupations which render those who follow them outcasts, this is not indeed the case. The Pathán who should become a scavenger would no longer be recognised as a Pathán, though he might still claim the name; indeed, as already pointed out in the Chapter on Religion, the prejudice is carried into the very mosque, and the outcast who has adopted Islám is not recognised as a Musalmán unless at the same time he abandon his degrading occupation. But the taint is not so markedly hereditary, nor is the prejudice against menial occupations or handicrafts generally so strong. A Pathán who became a weaver would still remain a Pathán, and would not be thought to be polluted; though, as in all countries, he would be held to have fallen in the social scale, and the better class of Pathán would not give him his daughter to wife. In fact the difference between the condition of a Pathán who took to weaving on the frontier and the Rájpút who took to weaving in the Dehli Territory, would be precisely that between caste in India and social standing in Europe. The degradation would not in the case of the former be ceremonial or religious, nor would it be hereditary save in the sense that the children would be born in a lower condition of life; but the immediate and individual loss of position would be as real as among the strictest castes of the Hindus. Thus we find on the frontier men of all castes engaging from poverty or other necessity in all occupations save those of an actually degrading nature. Between these two extremes of the purely Mahomedan customs of the Indus and the purely Hindu customs of the Jamna we meet with a very considerable variety of intermediate conditions. Yet the change is far less gradual than might have been supposed probable; the break from Islám to Brahminism, from tribal position and freedom of occupation to the more rigid restraints of caste, taking place with some suddenness about the meridian of Lahore, where the great rivers enter the fertile zone and the arid grazing grounds of the West give place to the arable plains of the East. The sub-montane zone retains its social as well as its physical characteristics much further west than do the plains which lie below it, and here the artificial restrictions of caste can hardly be said to cease till the Salt-range is crossed.

Closely allied with these tribal or ethnic communities based upon identity of recent descent, is the association which binds together small colonies of foreign immigrants under names denoting little more than their origin. Such are the Púrbi, the Kashmíri, the Bangáli. These people have their own distinctions of caste and tribe in the countries whence they came. But isolation from their fellows in a land of strangers binds them together in closer union. The Púrbi is a Púrbi to the people of the Panjáb, and nothing more; and in many cases this looseness of classification spreads to the people themselves, and they begin to class themselves as Púrbi and forget their original divisions. Examples may be found even nearer home. The Hindu is a small class on the frontier, and he is generically classed as Kirár without regard to his caste. The men of the Bágar are strangers in the Panjáb, and they are commonly known as Bágri irrespective of whether they are Jats or Rájpúts. Many more instances of similar confusion might be given. Even community of creed, where the numbers concerned are small, constitutes a bond which cannot be distinguished from that of caste. The resident Sikhs on the Peshâwar frontier are a caste for all practical purposes; while the case of the Bishnois of Hariána who are chiefly recruited from two very different castes is still more striking.

344. The trades-guild type of caste.—The second type which I have included together with castes proper and the western tribes in my caste tables, is almost precisely the trades-guild of Europe in the middle ages. And it again owes its existence very largely to the prevalence of Mahomedan ideas. It is found chiefly in the larger cities, and is almost always known by a Persian or Arabic name. The class of Darzis or tailors is a good example of what I mean. Here the caste organisation, the regulations of the fraternity, and the government by common council or *pancháyat* are as complete as among the true castes. But there is no longer even the fiction of common origin, and the only bond which unites the members of the guild is that of common occupation—a bond which is severed when the occupation is abandoned and renewed when it is resumed. I have already said that I am not at all sure whether this is not the case with the artisan castes in general in a far greater degree than is commonly supposed. It appears to me that in the case of the menial and artisan classes the real caste is what I have already noticed, and shall

presently describe more particularly, under the name of the *section;* and that the caste name is often merely a generic term used to include all who follow the same occupation. If the numerous agricultural tribes of the Indus who are included under the generic term Jat observed caste distinctions and refused to eat together and intermarry, we should have a state of things corresponding exactly with what we find throughout the Province among the industrial classes, where each so-called caste comprises under a common occupational term a number of sections of different geographical origin and of different habits, who refuse to hold communion with one another, and are for all practical purposes separate castes. But even here the distinction is often based upon minor differences in the occupation or in the mode of following it; and community of origin in the remote past is often, though by no means always, admitted. And even if my suggestion be well-founded there is still this cardinal distinction, that in the case of the caste or section of the caste the basis of the organisation is hereditary, and the stranger is admitted voluntarily and deliberately; whereas in the case of the guild there is no pretence to community of blood, and anybody following the craft is admitted almost as a matter of right. To this class probably belong the Malláh, the Qassáb, the Sabzi-farosh, the Máshqi when not a Jhínwar, the Núngar, and many of those quasi-castes of whom I have to say that I cannot tell whether the name signifies anything more than the occupation of the people included under it. Somewhat similar to these are the followers of divers occupations which are almost if not altogether confined, in the east of the Province at least, to the members of a single caste, of which the chapter on artisan and menial castes furnishes so many examples. The Bharbhúnja is *almost* always I believe a Jhínwar; the Jarráh is *almost* always a Nái; but it would not have been safe to class them as Jhínwar and Nái respectively, and so I have shown them separately in my tables. Yet another form of quasi-caste is afforded by the religious and ascetic orders of *faqírs* which, in the absence of all pretence of community of blood and the purely voluntary nature of their association, are somewhat analogous to the trades-guild. These men abandon caste properly so called on entering the order to which they belong; but it would have been absurd to omit them altogether or to show them under "Miscellaneous," and I have therefore ranked them in my tables as castes. Many of them are subject to some form of authority which is exercised by the order in its corporate capacity; but many of them are absolutely free from restrictions of any kind, and the word caste is not really applicable to these classes.

345. **Different types included in the caste-tables.**—Thus the figures of my tables of tribes and castes include groups formed upon several very distinct types. There is the true caste in the Brahminical sense of the term, the Bráhman, Rájpút, Banya and so forth; the tribe or race based upon common blood, such as the Pathán, Biloch, Káthia; there is the colony of foreigners like the Púrbi and Kashmírí, or of believers in a strange creed like the Bishnoi; there is the true occupational caste such as the Nái, the Chamár, and the Chúhra; there is the common trades-guild like the Darzi and the Qassáb; there is the occupation pure and simple as the Jarráh and Gharámi; there is the ascetic order as the Gosáin and Nirmala; and besides these there are all possible intermediate stages. Moreover the name which is applied to a true caste or race in one part of the Panjáb, in another merely signifies an occupation; of which fact Aráin and Biloch are two notable examples, the first meaning nothing more than a market-gardener in the Salt-range Tract, the latter little more than a camelman in the centre of the Province, and each in either case including an indefinite number of castes or tribes with nothing but community of occupation to connect them.

346. **Effect of conversion upon caste.**—At the beginning of this chapter I stated, admittedly as an exaggeration of the truth, that caste has little necessary connection with the Hindu religion, and that conversion from Hinduism to Islám has not necessarily the slightest effect upon it. I shall now consider how far that statement has to be modified. I have attempted to show in the preceding paragraphs that pride of blood, especially in the upper, and shame of occupation, especially in the lower classes, are in all societies the principal factors which regulate social rank; and that when Brahminism developed caste, all that it did was to bind the two together, or at least to prevent the dissolution of the tie which bound them and which would have broken down in the ordinary course of social evolution, and while thus perpetuating the principle of the hereditary nature of occupation and social status, to hedge it round and strengthen it by a network of artificial rules and restrictions which constitute the only characteristic peculiar to the institution of caste. This I take to constitute the only connection between Hinduism and caste; and it is obvious that, these restrictions and prejudices once engrafted on the social system, mere change of creed has no necessary effect whatever upon their nature or their operation. As a fact in the east of the Panjáb conversion has absolutely *no* effect upon the caste of the convert. The Musalmán Rájpút, Gújar, or Jat is for all social, tribal, political, and administrative purposes exactly as much a Rájpút, Gújar or Jat as his Hindu brother. His social customs are unaltered, his tribal restrictions are unrelaxed, his rules of marriage and inheritance unchanged; and almost the only difference is that he shaves his scalplock and the upper edge of his moustache, repeats the Mahomedan creed in a mosque, and adds the Musalmán to the Hindu wedding ceremony. As I have already shown in the chapter on Religion, he even worships the same idols as before, or has only lately ceased to do so [1].

347. The fact is that the people are bound by social and tribal custom far more than by any rules of religion. Where the whole tone and feeling of the country-side is Indian, as it is in the Eastern Panjáb, the Musalmán is simply the Hindu with a difference. Where that tone and feeling is that of the country beyond the Indus, as it is on the Panjáb frontier, the Hindu even is almost as the Musalmán. The difference is national rather than religious. The laxity allowed by Mahomet in the matter of intermarriage has no effect upon the Musalmán Jat of the Dehli division, for he has already refused to avail himself even of the smaller license allowed by the Hindu priests and scriptures, and bound himself by tribal rules far stricter than those of either religion. But the example of the Pathán and the Biloch has had a very great effect upon the Jat of the Multán division; and he recognises, not indeed the prohibitions of Mahomet,—or rather not only

[1] This is much less true of the middle classes of the towns and cities They have no reason to be particularly proud of their caste; while the superior education and the more varied constitution of the urban population weaken the power of tribal custom. In such cases the convert not unfrequently takes the title of Shekh: though even here a change of caste name on conversion is probably the exception.

them, for they represent the irreducible minimum,—but the tribal rules of his frontier neighbours, more strict than those of his religion but less strict than those of his nation. I believe that the laxity of the rules and restrictions imposed by the customs of castes and tribes which is observable in the Western Panjáb, and among the Hindus no less than among the Musalmáns, is due far more to the example of the neighbouring frontier tribes than to the mere change of faith. The social and tribal customs of the eastern peasant, whether Hindu or Musalmán, are those of India; while in the west the people, whether Hindu or Musalmán, have adopted in great measure, though by no means altogether, the social and tribal customs of Afghánistán and Bilochistán. In both cases those rules and customs are tribal or national, rather than religious.

At the same time there can be no doubt that both the artificial rules of Hindu caste, and the tribal customs which bind both Hindu and Musalmán, have lately begun to relax, and with far greater rapidity among the Musalmáns than among the Hindus. And this difference is no doubt really due to the difference in religion. There has been within the last thirty years a great Musalmán revival in the Panjáb; education has spread, and with it a more accurate knowledge of the rules of the faith; and there is now a tendency which is day by day growing stronger, to substitute the law of Islám for tribal custom in all matters, whether of intermarriage, inheritance, or social intercourse. The movement has as yet materially affected only the higher and more educated classes; but there can be little doubt that it is slowly working down through the lower grades of society. The effect of conversion to Sikhism has already been noticed in the chapter on Religion, as has the effect of change of creed upon the menial classes; and this latter will be dealt with more at length in that part of the present chapter which treats of those castes.

348. Effect of Islam in strengthening the bonds of caste.—But if the adoption of Islám does not absolve the individual from the obligations common to his tribe or caste, still less does its presence as such tend to weaken those obligations. Indeed it seems to me exceedingly probable that where the Musalmán invasion has not, as in the Western Panjáb, been so wholesale or the country of the invaders so near as to change bodily by force of example the whole tribal customs of the inhabitants, the Mahomedan conquest of Northern India has tightened and strengthened rather than relaxed the bonds of caste; and that it has done this by depriving the Hindu population of their natural leaders the Rájpúts, and throwing them wholly into the hands of the Bráhmans. The full discussion of this question would require a far wider knowledge of Indian comparative sociology than I possess. But I will briefly indicate some considerations which appear to me to point to the probable truth of my suggestion. I have said that caste appears to have been far more loose and less binding in its earlier form than as it appeared in the later developments of Brahminism; and we know that, at least in the earlier and middle stages of Hinduism, the contest between the Bráhman and the Rájpút for the social leadership of the people was prolonged and severe (see Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I). The Mahomedan invaders found in the Rájpút Princes political enemies whom it was their business to subdue and to divest of authority; but the power of the Bráhmans threatened no danger to their rule, and that they left unimpaired. The Brahminic influence was probably never so strong in the Panjáb as in many other parts of India; but it is markedly strongest in the Dehli Territory, or in that portion of the Province in which, lying under the very shadow of the Mughal court, Rájpút power was most impossible. Moreover it is curious that we find the institutions and restrictions of caste as such most lax, and a state of society most nearly approaching that which existed in the earlier epoch of Hinduism, in two very dissimilar parts of the Panjáb. One is the Indus frontier, where Mahomedanism reigns supreme; the other is the Kángra hills, the most exclusively Hindu portion of the Provicne. On the Indus we have the Saiyad and the Pír, the class of Ulama or divines who take the place of the Bráhman; the Pathán or Biloch as the case may be, who correspond with the Kshatriya; the so-called Jat, who is emphatically the "people" or Vaisya in the old sense of the word, and includes all the great mass of husbandmen of whatever caste they may be, Awáns, Jats, Rájpúts and the like, who cannot pretend to Kshatriya rank; the Kirár or trader of whatever caste, Banya, Khatri, or Arora, corresponding with the later use of Vaisya; the artisan or Súdra; and the outcast or Mlechchha. The two last classes have no generic names; but the three first correspond almost exactly with the Bráhman, the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya of the middle Hindu scriptures, nor are the boundaries of these divisions more rigorously fixed than we find them in those scriptures. The other portion of the Province in which caste restrictions are most loose and caste divisions most general and indefinite is the Kángra hills; or precisely the only part of the Panjáb into which Mahomedanism has found no entrance, in which Mahomedan ideas have had no influence, in which Hinduism has remained absolutely sheltered from attack from without, and in which the oldest Rájpút dynasties in India have preserved their supremacy unbroken up to within the last eighty years. On the Indus we appear to have caste as it is under the Mahomedan, on the Jamna as it is under the Bráhman, and in the Himálayas of Kángra as it is under the Rájpút. The state of caste relations in the Kángra hills is fully described under the heads of Jats in general, Rájpúts of the Eastern Hills, Thakars and Ráthís, Kanets, and Hill Menials. The whole matter is summed up in the quotation from Mr. Lyall given on page 175. Here the Rájpút is the fountain of honour, and the very Bráhman is content to accept rank at his hands. Mr. Barnes writes of the Kángra Bráhmans:—

"The hills, as I have already stated, were the seats of petty independent princes, and in every principality the Bráhmans are "arranged into classes of different degrees of purity. The Raja was always considered the fountain of all honour, and his classification, made probably at the counsel of his religious advisers, was held binding upon the brotherhood. In these graduated lists "no account was ever taken of the zamindar Brahmins, as they were contemptuously styled;—they were left to themselves in "ignôble obscurity. Thus, in the days of Raja Dharm Chand, the two great tribes of Kángra Brahmins,—the "Nagarkotias" "(from Nagarkot, the ancient name of Kángra) and the "Batehrus,"—were formally sub-divided into clans. Of the Nagarkotias "Dharm Chand established thirteen different families, of which, at the risk of being considered tedious, I subjoin a catalogue."

So we find the Rája of Kángra bribed to elevate a caste in the social scale; and the Rája of Alwar making a new caste of a section of the Mínas, and prescribing limits to their intermarriage with those who had till then been considered their brothers.

Under Mahomedan rule the Rájpút disappeared, and for the Hindu population the Bráhman took his place. Hence the wide differences between caste in Kángra and caste in the Dehli Territory. In the

Hills, the very stronghold at once of Rájpút power and of Hinduism in its most primitive form, we have the Bráhman, but with a wide difference between the Bráhman who prays and the Bráhman who ploughs; we have the Rájpút, a name strictly confined to the royal families and their immediate connections, and refused to such even of those as soil their hands with the plough; we have the great cultivating class, including the Thakars and Ráthis of acknowledged and immediate Rájpút descent who furnish wives even to the Rájpúts themselves, and the Ráwats, Kanets, and Ghiraths of somewhat lower status; we have the Kirár or Mahájan, including not only traders, but all the Káyaths and the clerkly class, and even Bráhmans who take to these pursuits; we have the respectable artisan class, the carpenter, mason and water-carrier; and finally we have the Koli or Dági, the outcast or Mlechchha of the hills. And from top to bottom of this social scale, no single definite line can be drawn which shall precisely mark off any one caste or grade from the one below it. Each one takes its wives from and eats with the one immediately below it, and the members of each can, and they occasionally do, rise to the one immediately above it.

349. **Tribal divisions among the landowning castes.**—Within the caste the first great division of the landowning classes is into tribes; and the tribe appears to me to be far more permanent and indestructible than the caste. I have already shown how in the west of the Panjáb the broader distinctions of caste have become little more than a tradition or a convenient symbol for social standing, while the tribal groups are the practical units of which the community is composed. There is, I fancy, little doubt that when a family or section of a caste rises or sinks in the social scale, while it changes the name of its caste, it often retains its tribal designation; indeed it is probable that that designation not unseldom becomes the name of a new caste by which it is to be known in future. Thus the widow-marrying Chauhán Rájpúts of Dehli are now known as Chauháns, and not as Rájpúts; while their brethren of the next district, Karnál, who have not infringed the caste rule, are known as Rájpúts, and only secondarily as Chauhán Rájpúts. This theory is in accordance with the tradition by which the constant recurrence of tribal names in different castes is accounted for by the people themselves. The Chauhán Gújars, for instance, will tell you that their ancestor was a Chauhán Rájpút who married a Gújar woman; and that his descendants retained the tribal name, while sinking to the rank of Gújars owing to his infringement of caste regulations[1]. Indeed this is simply the process which we see in actual operation before our very eyes. As I have already remarked, the same tribe is known as Rájpút in a tract where it has, and as Jat in a tract where it has not risen to political importance; but the tribal name, indicating a far stronger and more enduring bond than that of common caste, still remains to both. Sir Henry Maine has pointed out how two considerations gradually tend to be substituted for or added to the tie of common descent as the basis of tribal unity, common occupation of land, and common subjection to tribal authority. He writes:—

> "From the moment when a tribal community settles down finally upon a definite space of land, the land begins to be the basis "of society instead of the kinship. The change is exceedingly gradual, and in some particulars it has not even now been fully "accomplished; but it has been going on through the whole course of history. The constitution of the family through actual blood-"relationship is of course an observable fact; but for all groups of men larger than the family, the land on which they live tends "to become the bond of union between them, at the expense of kinship ever more and more vaguely conceived." And again—"Kinship as the tie binding communities together tends to be regarded as the same thing with subjection to common authority. "The notions of Power and Consanguinity blend, but they in nowise supersede one another."

The institution of *hamsáyah* among the Biloches and Patháns, by which refugees from one tribe who claim the protection of the chief of another tribe are affiliated to, and their descendants become an integral part of the latter, is an admirable example of the second of these two processes; and in the substitution of land for blood as the basis of tribal unity, we very probably find the explanation of that standing puzzle of Indian tribal tradition, how the common ancestor managed to conquer the tribal territory single-handed, or how, if he had followers, it happens that all the living members of the tribe trace their descent from him, while the lineage of those followers is nowhere discoverable.

350. Within the tribe the same basis of sub-division is often found to exist, the clans being apparently territorial, while the smaller septs are probably founded upon real descent. In fact it is exceedingly difficult to draw the line between tribe and clan, except where the two are connected by the present occupation of common territory and subjection to a common tribal authority. When a section of a great tribe such as the Punwár Rájpúts separates from the parent tribe and acquires for itself a new territory as did the Siáls, the section becomes for all practical purposes a new and independent tribe; and the memory of the old tribe is to the new one what caste is to tribes in the west, a mere tradition of origin. So when a member of a tribe rises to such importance as to become independent of tribal authority, he practically founds a new tribe, even though he may still occupy the territory formerly held as part of the old tribal domain; as, for instance, appears to have been the case with the Barár section of the Sidhu Jats. Perhaps the most striking instance of the degree in which tribal divisions depend upon political and territorial independence, is afforded by the Biloch tribes, who were originally five. Of these two, the Rind and Lashári, rose to prominence and divided the nation into two corresponding sections. As time went on the nation broke up into a number of independent tribes, each with a separate territory and organisation of its own; and now, though every Biloch refers himself to either Rind or Lashári stock, the names are but a tradition of origin, and in the Panjáb at least no Rind or Lashári tribe can be said to exist as such. The groups of tribes found in different parts of the Province who claim common descent from some one of the great Rájpút races, the Bhatti, Chauhán, Punwár, and the like, are instances of the same process. The local tribes are now independent units, and can hardly be included under the original tribal name save as a symbol of origin. Thus the line of demarcation between tribe and clan is no better defined than is that between caste and tribe. As soon as a section of a caste abandons the customs of the parent stock, whether as regards hereditary occupation or social habits, it tends to become a new caste. As soon as a clan separates itself from the territory and organisation of the parent tribe, it tends to become a new tribe. Where

[1] There is another possible explanation of the tradition, and that is that the caste was inherited in the female line. There is no inconsiderable weight of evidence to show that this was the custom, at any rate among certain classes, within comparatively recent times. But the matter, like all other similar matters, needs further examination.

the Indian tribal and caste restrictions upon intermarriage are still observed, the best definition would probably be obtained by taking endogamy and exogamy as the differentiæ of the caste and tribe respectively; a caste being the smallest group outside which, and a tribe the largest group within which marriage is forbidden. But in a great part of the Panjáb this test does not apply.

351. Tribal divisions among the priestly and mercantile castes.—In the case of the castes or classes who, not being essentially landowners, possess no political or territorial organisation, the basis of tribal division is very different. Here we have no compact tribes based upon real or fictitious community of blood and occupying tribal territories. The Bráhman has almost invariably accompanied his clients in their migrations; and indeed it will sometimes be found that the Bráhmans of a tribe or of a group of village communities, being too small in number to be independent, have kept up the connection with their place of origin long after it has fallen into neglect or even oblivion among the landowning communities with whom they dwell. Thus we find Bráhmans of different *gotras* or clans scattered haphazard over the country without any sort of tribal localization, and the same is true of the mercantile classes also. In both cases the divisions are wholly based upon real or imaginary common descent. The *gotras* of the Bráhmans, the clans of the Khatris and Aroras are innumerable; but they are not localised, and are therefore probably more permanent than are the territorial tribes of the landowners. This absence of tribal organisation is perhaps one of the reasons why, of all classes of the community, the Bráhmans and traders observe most strictly the artificial rules which preserve the integrity of caste organisation. How far the Brahminical *gotra* is really tribal is a distinct question to which I shall presently return.

But in the case of both the priestly and the mercantile classes, we find that their castes are broken up into sections, too large and too devoid of cohesion to be called tribes, and approaching much more nearly to separate castes, both in the actual effect of the divisions upon social intercourse and intermarriage, and probably also in their origin. These divisions are generally known by geographical designations, such as the Gaur Bráhmans of the ancient Gaur and the Sársút Bráhmans of the Saruswati and the Panjáb, the Uttarádhi Aroras of the north and the Dakhani Aroras of the south, the Agarwál Banyas of Agroha and the Oswál Banyas of Osia. But the present distinction between these sections is as a rule based upon difference of social and religious customs. It is not unnatural that, in the course of ages, the strictness with which the artificial restrictions which regulate social and caste matters are observed should vary in different parts of the country; and it is no less natural that, where the two standards come into contact, those whose standard is the stricter should look down upon those whose practice is more lax. The Gaur Bráhman sees with horror his Sársút brother eat bread from the hands of other than Bráhmans, and do a thousand things which to him would be pollution. The result is that the Gaur refuses to eat or intermarry with the Sársút, and that for all practical purposes the sections are not one but two castes; far more so indeed than, for instance, the Jat and the Gújar. Nor does it seem to me impossible that these sections may in some cases represent real diversity of race or origin; that the Gaurs may have been the Bráhmans of Gaur and the Sársúts the Bráhmans of the Panjáb, both called Bráhmans because they were priests, but having nothing else in common. Again, among some of the Panjáb trading castes great sections have been fixed within recent times, which are based not upon geographical distribution, but upon voluntary divergence of social custom. Such are the great Dhaighar, Chárzáti and other sections of the Khatris described under that caste heading. Throughout all these great sections, whether geographical or social, the same tribal divisions are commonly found unchanged. The tribes or clans of the Gaur and Sársút Bráhmans, of the Uttarádhi and Dakhani Aroras, of the Agarwál and Oswál Banyas are in great part identical. Now where these divisions are really tribal, and based upon common descent, this must mean that the tribal divisions preceded the divergence of custom which resulted in the formation of what I have here called sections, and that the original stock was one and the same. But where, as is often the case, they are mere Brahminical *gotras*, I do not think that this necessarily follows [1].

352. Tribal divisions among artisan and menial castes.—Among the artisan and menial castes we find precisely the same great sections, based either upon differences of custom which in turn depend upon geographical distribution or, I believe in very many cases indeed, upon difference of origin, one section of an industrial caste being descended from Jats who have sunk in the social scale, another perhaps from Ahírs, while a third is the original stock to which the industry has been hereditary beyond the memory of the tribe. The Chamár of the middle Satluj will not intermarry with the Jatia Chamár of the Dehli Territory because the latter works in the skins of impure animals; the Suthár carpenter from Sindh looks down upon and abstains from marriage with the Kháti of the Málwa; and so forth throughout the list. Among the menial castes moreover, as among the priestly and mercantile, we have a double classification; and by the side of the great sections we find what correspond with tribal divisions. But among the menial castes, or at least among those who occupy the position of hereditary village servants, I believe that these divisions often have their origin rather in allegiance to the tribal master than in any theory of common descent. It has often been noticed that the menial castes denote their tribal sub-divisions by names famous in political history, such as Bhatti, Khokhar or Chauhán; and our present papers furnish abundant instances. Now on the frontier a Lohár who is attached to a village of the Muhammadzai tribe will call himself Lohár Muhammadzai, while one who lives in the service of the Daulatkhel will call himself Lohár Daulatkhel. There can be no doubt that the connection between the village menials and the agricultural communities whom they serve was in old times hereditary and not voluntary, and that the former were in every sense of the word *adscripti glebæ*. In fact, as I shall presently explain in greater detail, we still find the tribal organisation of the territorial owners of a tract perpetuated in great integrity by the territorial organisation of the village menials, where all but its memory has died out among their masters. It seems to me more than probable that in old days, when menials were bound more closely to the tribes they served, the names of those tribes were used to distinguish the several groups of menials; and that for instance Chamárs serving Bhattis would be called Chamár tribe Bhatti, and those serving Khokhars called Chamár tribe Khokhar. When the bonds grew less rigid and a change of masters became possible, the old name would be retained though the reason

[1] See further section 353 on the next page.

for it had ceased to exist, and thus we should find Bhatti and Khokhar Chamárs scattered throughout the Province. In fact the process would be simply another instance of that substitution of the idea of subjection to a common authority for that of common blood as the basis of tribal division, regarding which I have already quoted Sir H. Maine's language in section 349.

353. The Brahminical gotras.—I have said that among the priestly and mercantile castes we find a set of divisions corresponding with the true tribal divisions of the landowning classes, which runs through the great geographical or social sections which I have described above. These divisions are, among the Khatris and Aroras, in all probability real tribes denoting common descent, or at any rate special association of some sort, at an earlier stage in the history of the caste, of the ancestors of all those who now bear the same tribal name. Among the Bráhmans and Banyas these divisions are known as *gotras*, and it is not so certain that their origin, among the Banyas at least, is tribal. The word *gotra*, more commonly known under the corrupted form of *got*, means a family or lineage, the descendants from a common ancestor, and it also means a flock, those who shelter within a common fold. The Bráhmans say that their *gotras* are named after the great Hindu Rishis, though it does not clearly appear whether the members of each *gotra* claim descent from the Rishi whose name it bears as from a carnal or as from a spiritual father. It is curious that the names of many of the founders of these *gotras* occur among the ancient genealogies of the prehistoric Rájpút dynasties, the Rájas in question being not merely namesakes of, but distinctly stated to be the actual founders of the *gotra*; and it would be strange if inquiry were to show that the priestly classes, like the menials just discussed, owe their tribal divisions to the great families to whom their ancestors were attached[1]. At any rate, whatever their origin, the Brahminical *gotras* have among the Bráhmans become absolutely hereditary; and every Bráhman, whether Gaur, Sársút, Dákaut, or otherwise, belongs to some one or other of these *gotras*. Thus, taking these great sections as tribes, the *gotra* is wider than the tribe; and while new tribes and clans can be and are constantly being formed, no new *gotra* is possible[2].

But the Brahminical *gotra* extends far beyond the body of Bráhmans; for the theory of the Hindu religion is that every Hindu, whatever be his caste, belongs to some one or other of them. The *gotra* thus defined is used only at marriage, on the occasion of *sankalpa*, and in similar formal ceremonies; and the great majority of the Hindu peasantry do not so much as know that they have a *gotra* at all, much less what it is. But all the stricter Hindu castes, such as the Banyas and Khatris and Aroras, know and recognize their *gotra*. Indeed the Banyas have, so far as I know, no tribal divisions within the great sections of Agarwál, Oswál and the like, except these Brahminical *gotras*. Thus the question suggests itself whether the universal currency of the same set of *gotras* throughout the whole Bráhman caste, and their adoption by the Banyas, is not due to a wish to conform with the rule of Hinduism just enunciated, rather than to any real community of descent denoted by a common *gotra*. In any case these *gotras* are of singularly little importance. Except to the priests and merchants and to some of the stricter and more educated classes they mean little or nothing; while although to those priests and merchants they do stand in some degree in the place of tribal divisions, yet as they are in no way localised their significance is almost wholly religious, and the divisions which are really important among these castes are what I have called the great sections. It matters little or nothing whether a Bráhman, a Banya, or an Arora is of the Gautama or of the Bháradwáj *gotra*; what we really want to know is whether he is Gaur or Sársút, Agarwál or Oswál, Uttarádhi or Dakhani. The horrible trouble and confusion which resulted in the Census from the fact that the peasantry of the eastern Panjáb call their tribes by the same word *got* as is commonly used for the Brahminical *gotra*, will be noticed presently.

354. Tribal divisions of women.—A curious question arose in the record of tribes in the Census schedules; namely, whether a woman changed her father's tribal name for that of her husband on marriage. There is no doubt whatever that the Brahminical *gotra* follows that of the husband; and the more educated enumerators, knowing this, often objected to record the *got* or tribe of the wife as different from that of the husband. I asked some of my friends to make inquiries as to the custom in various parts of the Province, but in many cases the *got* and *gotra* have evidently been confused in their investigations and replies. But on the whole the result seems to be as follows. With Bráhmans, Banyas, Khatris, Káyaths, and Aroras the woman's *got* follows that of her husband. But this is almost certainly the Brahminical *gotra*. In some of the cases it must be so, as the sections do not intermarry, and there is nothing else to change. Among the Khatris it would be interesting to know whether a Kapúr woman marrying a Mahra man would be considered a Kapúr or a Mahra. Throughout the Western Plains Hindus change the clan; but here again they almost all belong to the castes mentioned above. In the hills and the sub-montane tracts the tribe is certainly changed; for in the lower hills there is a formal ceremony called *got kunála* or "the tribal trencher", at which the women of the tribe eat with the bride and thus admit her to the community. In the eastern districts the tribe is as certainly *not* changed at marriage, nor does a boy change it on adoption. It is born and dies unaltered with both man and woman. In Sirsa it does not change, for a man always speaks of his wife by her tribal and not by her personal name; and the same custom obtains among the Dehli Gújars. On the other hand in Fírozpur, which adjoins Sirsa, the custom of *got kunála* is said to obtain. Among the Musalmáns of the west the tribe does not appear to change by marriage; but if the wife is of standing which is nearly but not quite equal to that of her husband, she is often addressed by courtesy as belonging to the tribe of the latter. The point is practically important in this way. The diversity of custom which prevails, added to the interference of the educated enumerator, makes the record of tribal divisions for women of exceedingly uncertain value; and it would have been better to tabulate the males only for the several tribes and clans. At a future Census the enumerator should be directed to record the clan or tribe of a married woman as stated by her husband, whether the same as his own or different.

[1] For a curious instance of classification of Bráhmans into tribes by the command of a Rajput ruler, see the quotation from Mr. Barnes given on page 179.

[2] Is it possible that the *gotra* is a relic of descent through the female line, like the corresponding phænomenon among the Australian and North American Indians.

Part I.—Caste in the Panjab.

355. The tribal organisation of the people.—An extensive collection of facts bearing upon the tribal organisation of the people, together with a most valuable dissertation on the general subject, will be found in Vol. II of Mr. Tupper's treatise on *Panjáb Customary Law.* The Panjáb affords a peculiarly complete series of stages between the purely tribal organisation of the Pathán or Biloch of the frontier hills and the village communities of the Jamna districts. The territorial distribution of the frontier tribes in the fastnesses of their native mountains is strictly tribal. Each clan of each tribe has a tract allotted to it; and within that tract the families or small groups of nearly related families either lead a semi-nomad life, or inhabit rude villages round which lie the fields which they cultivate and the rough irrigation works which they have constructed. In these they have property, but beyond them there are no boundaries in the common pasture lands of the clan. Where the tribe or clan has occupied a tract within our border in sufficient numbers to undertake its cultivation, the distribution differs little from that obtaining beyond the border. We have indeed laid down boundaries which mark off areas held by groups of families; but these boundaries are often purely artificial, and include hamlets which are united by no common tie and separated from their neighbours by no line of demarcation save one based upon administrative convenience. When however the tribe conquered rather than occupied the tract, and its cultivation is still in the hands of the people whom they subjugated, we find that they did almost exactly what we have done in the case last described. They drew arbitrary boundaries which divided out the land into great blocks or village areas, and each clan or section of a clan took one of these blocks as its share, left the cultivating population scattered in small hamlets over the fields, and themselves occupied central villages of some strength and size. These two types are found more or less prevailing throughout the Western Plains and Salt-range Tract. But in the great grazing grounds we find, perhaps even more commonly than either of these, a third type which is not based upon any sort of tribal organisation. A miscellaneous collection of cultivators have broken up the land and so acquired rights in it, or have been settled by capitalists who acquired grants of land on condition of bringing it under cultivation. This form of settlement was especially encouraged under Sikh rule; when the cardinal principle of administration was to crush the gentry, to encourage cultivation, and to take so much from the actual cultivator as to leave nothing for the landlord.

356. In the east of the Province we find the village community about which so much has been written; and nowhere perhaps in more vigorous perfection than in the south-eastern districts. But it is a great mistake to suppose that the village community wholly supersedes tribal organisation. The tribal maps of the Panjáb when published will show how very generally tribes hold compact territories, even where the village communities are strongest. Where this is the case the villages of the tribe constitute one or more *thapas*, or tribal groups of village communities held together by feudal ties and by the fact or fiction of common ancestry. Under the Mughals the revenue administration used to be based upon these *thapas*, the revenue being assessed upon the group of villages as a whole, and being distributed among them by the headmen of the collective villages under the presidency of the headman of the parent village. So too, till our time the definite boundaries which now separate each village from its neighbours were very indefinitely marked even in the cultivated tracts, as is proved by the manner in which they zig-zag in and out among the fields; while in the common pastures they were probably almost unknown, as to this day the cattle of neighbouring villages belonging to the same tribe graze in common without reference to boundaries. The following description of the *thapa* organisation is taken from my settlement report of Karnál. The vigorous organisation of the priestly and menial castes, based upon the tribal organisation of their clients and masters, is especially interesting with reference to the remarks made in sections 351-52. It would be interesting to know whether the same holds good with the mercantile castes.

"A tribal community having obtained possession of a tract, in course of time it would be inconvenient for them all to live "together, and a part of the community would found a new village, always on the edge of a drainage line from which their tanks "would be filled. This process would be repeated till the tract became dotted over with villages, all springing originally from one "parent village. The people describe the facts by saying that of several brothers one settled in one village and one in another; but "this no doubt means that the parts of the community that migrated consisted of integral families or groups of families descended "in one common branch from the ancestor. In this way were divided the many villages known by the same name, with the addition "of the words *kalán* and *khurd* (big and little). This by no means implies that kalán is *larger* than khurd, but only that the "elder branch settled in kalán.

"The group of villages so bound together by common descent form a *thapa*, and are connected by sub-feudal ties which are "still recognized, the village occupied by the descendants of the common ancestor in the eldest line being, however small or reduced "in circumstances, still acknowledged as the head. To this day when a headman dies, the other villages of the *thapa* assemble to "instal his heir, and the turban of the parent village is first tied on his head. When Bráhmans and the brotherhood are fed on the "occasion of deaths, &c., it is from the *thapa* villages that they are collected; and the Bráhmans of the head village are fed first, and "receive double fees. So among the menial castes, who still retain an internal organization of far greater vitality than the higher "castes now possess, the representative of the head village is always the foreman of the caste jury which is assembled from the "*thapa* villages to hear and decide disputes. In old days the subordinate villages used to pay some small feudal fees to the head "village on the day of the great Diwáli. The head village is still called "the great village," the "turban village," "the village "of origin," or "the *tíka* village," *tíka* being the sign of authority formally impressed in old days on the forehead of the heir "of a deceased leader in the presence of the assembled *thapa*. In one case a village told me that it had changed its *thapa* because "there were so many Bráhmans in its original *thapa* that it found it expensive to feed them. I spoke to the original *tíka* village "about it, and they said that no village *could* change its *thapa*, and quoted the proverb[1] 'A son may forget his sonship; but not "'a mother her motherhood.'"

It is curious to note how the fiction of common descent is preserved when strangers are admitted into these tribal groups or village communities. The stranger who receives by gift a share of another's land is called a *bhúmbhái* or "earth brother;" and if a landowner of a tribe other than that of the original owners is asked how he acquired property in the village, his invariable answer is "they settled me as a brother."

357. Marriage and intermarriage between tribes.—The restrictions upon intermarriage will be given in some detail in Part II of Chapter VII in treating of civil condition; and it is unnecessary to repeat the information here. The custom as to intermarriage in the hills will be found described in the

[1] Mr. Douie notes that the members of all the villages included in the *thapa* make offerings once a year at the *Satti* of the *tika* village. (See paragraph 220 *supra*).

sections on Rájpúts of the eastern hills, Ráthis and Ráwats, and Kolis and Dágis; while the curious rule against taking a bride from a village marching with one's own has already been discussed in section 136. The marriage customs of the people of Karnál will be found minutely described at pages 127 to 134 of my settlement report on that district. A brief notice of some curious customs will be found in the present chapter under the head of Jats of the western sub-montane. The subject is one of great interest and value, and sadly needs more detailed inquiry. Customs of this sort are of all others the most persistent, and often throw most valuable light upon the origin and affinities of the tribes. The reason why I allude to the subject in this place is, because I wish to point out how obviously the rules and customs regulating marriage point to the former existence of marriage by capture and, perhaps less obviously, of an intermediate stage when the capture had become fictitious, but the fiction was enacted with greater veri-similitude than now-a-days. Some of the suggestions I am about to make may very probably be fanciful; but the general tendency of the facts is beyond the possibility of a doubt. The strict rule of tribal exogamy which still binds all classes both Hindu and Musalmán throughout the Eastern Plains, excepting however the priests and traders who observe only the prohibitions of the Sanskrit scriptures; especially the rule against marrying from a neighbouring village; the formal nature of the wedding procession, which must be as far as possible mounted on horses, and in which only males may take part; the preparatory oiling of the bridegroom, the similar treatment of the bride being perhaps a later institution; all point to marriage by capture. So does the use of the mark of the bloody hand at both villages. The marking all the turnings from the village gate to the bride's house may be a survival of a very common intermediate stage, where the bridegroom visits the bride by stealth. The rule that the procession must reach the girl's village after midday, and must not enter the village, but remain outside in a place allotted to them; the fight between the girl's and boy's parties at the door of the bride's house; the rule that the girl shall wear nothing belonging to herself; the hiding of the girl from the boy's people at the wedding ceremony; all point to marriage by capture. So do the rule by which the boy's party must not accept food at the hands of the girl's people after the wedding, and must pay them for what they eat on the succeeding night, and the fiction by which the girl's father is compelled to ignore all payment of money by the bridegroom's friends. The bloody hand stamped on the shoulder of the boy's father by the girl's mother as he departs, and the custom which directs the girl to go off bewailing some one of her male relatives who has lately died, saying "Oh my father is dead," or "Oh my brother is dead," are very marked; as is the fight with sticks between the bride and bridegroom. Finally we have the rule that after the ceremonial goings and comings are over, the wife must never visit her father's house without his special leave; and the fact that—

> "the village into which his daughter is married is utterly tabooed for her father, her elder brother, and all near elder relatives. "They may not go into it or even drink water from a well in that village, for it is shameful to take anything from one's daughter "or her belongings. Even her more distant elder relations will not eat or drink from the house into which the girl is married, "though they do not taboo the whole village. The boy's father can go to the girl's village by leave of her father, but not without."

Similarly, all words denoting male relations by marriage are commonly used as terms of abuse; as, for instance, *súsra, sála, bahnoi, jawai*, or father-in-law, wife's brother, sister's husband, and daughter's husband. Of these the first two are considered so offensive, that they are seldom used in their ordinary sense [1].

358. Social intercourse between castes.—The rules regulating social intercourse between different castes as they exist in the Jamna districts are given in the following quotation from the Karnál Settlement Report.

> "Broadly speaking, no superior tribe will eat or drink from the hands or vessels of an inferior one, or smoke its pipes. But the "reputed purifying influences of fire, especially as exercised upon *ghi* and sugar, and the superior cleanliness of metal over earthen "vessels, are the foundation of a broad distinction. All food is divided into *pakki roti*, or fried dry with *ghi*, and *kachchi roti*, or "not so treated. Thus, among the Hindus a Gújráti Bráhman will eat *pakki*, but not *kachchi roti*, from a Gaur, a Gaur from a Taga, "any Bráhman or Taga from a Rájpút, any Bráhman, Taga or Rájpút from a Ját, Gújar, or Ror. Excepting Bráhmans and Tagas, "each caste will drink water from a metal vessel if previously scoured with earth (*mánjna*), and will smoke from a pipe with a "brass bowl, taking out the stem and using the hand with the fingers closed instead, from the same people with whom they will eat "*pakki* bread; but they will not drink or smoke from earthen vessels, or use the same pipe-stem, except with those whose *kachchi* "bread they can eat. Játs, Gújars, Rors, Rahbáris and Ahírs eat and drink in common without any scruples. These again will "eat a goldsmith's *pakki* bread, but not in his house; and they used to smoke with carpenters, but are ceasing to do so. Musalmáns "have lately become much less strict about these rules as governing their intercourse among themselves, and many of them now eat "from any respectable Musalmán's hand, especially in the cities. And, subject strictly to the above rules, any Musalmán will eat "and drink without scruple from a Hindu; but no Hindu will touch either *pakki* or *kachchi* from any Musalmán, and will often throw "it away if only a Musalmán's shadow falls upon it, partly perhaps because Musalmáns eat from earthen vessels, which no Hindu "can do unless the vessel has never been used before. This affords an easy mode of telling whether a deserted site has been held by "Musalmáns or Hindus. If the latter, there will be numbers of little earthen saucers (*rikábis*) found on the spot. Bráhmans and "Rájpúts will not eat from any one below a Ját, Gújar, or Ror, while these three tribes themselves do not as a rule eat or drink "with any of the menial castes; and the following castes are absolutely impure, owing to their occupation and habits, and their "mere touch defiles food; leather-maker, washerman, barber, blacksmith, dyer (*chhímpi*), sweeper, *dúm*, and *dhának*. The potter is "also looked upon as of doubtful purity. The pipes of a village, being often left about in the common rooms and fields, are generally "distinguished by a piece of something tied round the stem—blue rag for a Musalmán, red for a Hindu, leather for a *Chamár*, string "for a sweeper, and so forth; so that a friend wishing for a smoke may not defile himself by mistake.
>
> "*Gur* and most sweetmeats can be eaten from almost anybody's hand, even from that of a leather-worker or sweeper; but in "this case they must be whole, not broken."

The extraordinary state of matters in the hills is described under the heads Hill Menials, and Kolis and Dágis. In the west of the Province, where all caste restrictions are so lax, any Musalmán wil eat from the hands of any respectable member of the same faith, while even Hindus are much less strict than in the east. So in the Sikh tract also; but here the rule against a Hindu eating from the hand of a Musalmán seems to be even more strict than in the east. In all parts of the Province and among all classes any sort of intercourse with the impure castes, whether polluted by their occupation or by the nature of their food, is scrupulously avoided.

[1] Mr. Wilson writes: "There is a very general rule against speaking of one's wife's father as 'father-in law' (*súsra*). The "Musalmáns of Sirsa call him 'uncle,' (*táya* or *chácha*); the Bráhmans of Gurgáon, 'Pandit Ji' or 'Misr Ji'; the Káyaths, 'Rai "Sáhib"; the Banyas, 'Lála Sáhib' or 'Sáh Ji'; the Meos, 'Chaudhri' or 'Muqaddam,' or—a specially Meo usage—*dokra* or 'old man' "(see Fallon); insomuch that if you call a Meo woman *dokri*, she will fly at you with 'Do you call me your mother-in-law!'; while if "you address her as *burhya*, which really means exactly the same thing, she will reply 'Very well, my son! Very well!'"

Part I.—Caste in the Punjab.

Community of food is formally used as an outward and visible token of community of blood; and any ceremony in which the tribe, clan, or other agnatic group takes a part as such, generally includes some sort of formal eating together or *confarreatio*, more especially when the object of the ceremony is to admit a new member into the group, as at adoption or marriage[1].

359. General distribution of agricultural castes.—Abstract No. 64 on the next page shows the general distribution of castes throughout the Province, the figures representing the proportion borne by each group of castes to every thousand of total population.

The distribution of each caste will be discussed more fully when the caste itself comes under consideration. It will of course be understood that the castes are grouped very roughly. Indeed it will be apparent from the following pages that any but the roughest classification is impossible, for not only is the class within which any given caste should fall incapable of exact definition, but it varies in different parts of the Province. Still some sort of classification was necessary on which to arrange the chapter, and I have therefore divided the various castes and tribes into three great groups. The first or landowning and agricultural group comprises half of the total population of the Panjab, and is even more important socially, administratively, and politically than it is numerically. It is divided into six sections. The first includes the two great frontier races, the Biloches and Patháns; and with the latter I have taken the Tanáoli, Tájik and Hazára, as closely allied to them if not really entitled to be ranked with them. Next follows the great Jat race, and after that the Rájpúts, with the Thakars and Ráthis whom it is so impossible to separate from them, and one or two minor castes which are perhaps rather Rájpút tribes than separate castes. The next class, the minor dominant tribes, includes all those castes which, while hardly less important in their particular territories, are less numerous and less widely distributed than the four great races already specified. Such are the Gakkhars and Awáns of the Salt-range Tract, the Kharrals and Dáúdpotras of the Western Plains, the Dogars and Rors of the Eastern Plains, the Meos of Gurgáon, and the Gújars of the hills. Next follow the minor agricultural tribes, the Sainis, Aráins, Kanets, Ghiraths, Ahírs, Mahtams and the like, who, while forming a very important factor in the agricultural community of the Panjáb, occupy a social and political position of far less importance than that of the dominant tribes. The last class is headed Foreign Races, and includes Shekhs, Mughals, Túrks, and the like, most of whom perhaps have no real title to the name under which they have returned themselves, while many of them own no land and are mere artisans, though these cannot be separated from the still greater number who are landowners.

360. The distribution of these classes is very marked. The Biloches and Patháns are of course chiefly to be found in the trans-Indus districts; but while the latter form the great bulk of the group in the districts where they prevail, the former, who have settled in the Province at a far more recent date, are accompanied by a very large class of inferior cultivating classes of all castes who are, in accordance with the custom of the lower Indus, grouped under the comprehensive name of Jat, a term whose significance is in these parts occupational as much as ethnic. Setting these districts aside, the Jats are to be found in greatest predominance in the great Sikh States and districts, and in the south-east of the Province in Rohtak and Hissár. In the sub-montane districts, the Salt-range Tract, and Kángra, and throughout the cis-Indus districts of the Western Plains, excepting Muzaffargarh which goes with the trans-Indus group, the Rájpút to a great extent takes the place of the Jat. In the Hill States, with the exception of Chamba, Rájpúts are few, and are important by their social and political position rather than by their numbers. But the figures are of no very certain significance, since the line of demarcation between Thakar and Ráthi who have been classed with Rájpúts, and Kanets and Ghiraths who have been classed as minor agricultural tribes, is exceedingly difficult to draw, and the abnormal figures for Chamba are due to this cause. The proportion of minor dominant tribes naturally varies from district to district, and their distribution is discussed in the section devoted to their consideration. The same may be said of the minor agricultural castes, the group being too miscellaneous in its composition for its distribution to present very general features. But it is noticeable that where the Jat, who prefers to do his own cultivation, is numerous, these castes are found only in small numbers, while they bear the highest proportion to total population in those tracts where the Hill Rájpút, who looks upon agriculture as degrading, is most largely represented. Taking the landowning and agricultural castes as a whole, they form the largest proportion of the population in the trans-Indus districts; and this is due to the freedom from occupational restraints which I have already noticed as prevailing on the frontier, a very large proportion of the industrial and menial work being done on the frontier by members of the dominant and agricultural tribes, and not, as in the rest of the Province, by separate castes. They are least numerous in the sub-montane tract and in the Eastern Plains, where they are assisted in the cultivation by a numerous class of village menials, and where, the Hindu religion being most prevalent and commerce most important, the religious and mercantile elements of society are most numerous.

361. General distribution of professional castes.—The next great group consists of the priestly, ascetic, professional, and mercantile castes, and includes people of very different social positions, from the priestly Bráhman to the wandering pedlar. As a whole they occupy a position superior to that of the landowning classes if measured by a religious standard, for the great mercantile castes come next after the Bráhmans in strictness of religious observance; but infinitely inferior if the comparison be made from a social or political standpoint. The Bráhmans are naturally most numerous in the Hindu and the Saiyads in the Musalmán portions of the Province, the former being extraordinarily numerous in the hills where Hinduism is stronger than in any other part of the Panjáb. The ascetic orders are chiefly to be found in the eastern and central districts, partly perhaps because they are more common among Hindus than among Mahomedans, but still more I suspect because it is in these districts that the wealth of the Province is concentrated, and in them that there is most hope for an idle man who wishes to live at the expense of his fellows. The minor professional group consists of Náís, Mirásis, Jogis, and the like, and

[1] For instance, the ceremony of *got kunála* described in section 354. The eating together very commonly takes the form of a distribution of *gur* or sweetmeats.

Part I.—Caste in the Panjab.

Abstract No. 64, *showing the* General Distribution of Castes *for* Districts and States.

	Landowning and Agricultural.							Professional and Mercantile Caste.							Vagrants, Menials, and Artisans.												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1 to 6.	7	8	9	10	7 to 10.	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	13 to 23.	
	Biloch and Pathan, &c.	Jat.	Rajput, &c.	Minor Dominant Tribes.	Minor Agricultural Tribes.	Foreign Races.	Total Landowning and Agricultural Castes.	Brahman, &c.	Saiyad, &c.	Faqirs.	Minor Professional Castes.	Total Professional Castes.	Mercantile Castes.	Miscellaneous Castes.	Vagrant Castes.	Scavengers.	Leather-workers.	Weavers.	Watermen and Cooks.	Blacksmiths and Carpenters.	Potters.	Washermen and Dyers.	Oilmen, &c.	Other Artisans.	Hill Menials.	Total Vagrant Menial and Artisan Castes.	
Dehli	27	166	53	71	60	87	464	95	14	19	30	158	79	7	1	54	98	4	26	26	21	12	17	8	7	284	Dehli
Gurgáon	11	100	41	200	116	18	486	82	7	27	31	147	63	1	9	39	111	11	22	25	22	11	30	9	9	298	Gurgáon
Karnál	10	153	87	101	52	23	426	89	7	24	39	159	72	1	4	57	87	21	55	38	24	17	25	9	...	337	Karnál
Hissar	6	268	121	27	40	9	471	63	4	15	29	111	93	17	17	53	99	3	9	37	39	19	41	8	1	326	Hissár
Rohtak	13	330	54	5	44	16	462	195	2	21	32	160	79	1	4	72	90	2	21	33	22	18	22	8	...	292	Rohtak
Sirsa	11	253	185	5	34	14	502	22	3	11	32	68	66	3	33	73	83	11	15	35	64	15	21	10	...	360	Sirsa.
Ambála	10	160	90	53	106	28	447	61	8	19	30	118	54	6	3	40	132	29	47	40	15	12	30	17	2	367	Ambála
Ludhiána	7	360	53	59	46	11	536	41	6	31	29	107	49	4	5	30	109	24	27	44	13	15	24	10	...	301	Ludhiána
Simla	33	5	43	4	228	90	403	65	7	4	9	85	44	9	3	43	83	22	9	41	4	23	5	31	106	370	Simla
Jálandhar	6	208	59	40	187	14	514	39	9	24	30	102	41	2	7	41	121	20	34	51	16	18	18	10	2	338	Jálandhar
Hushyárpur	8	162	113	92	143	10	528	86	4	18	23	131	32	...	...	20	127	23	28	49	12	12	17	8	11	307	Hushyárpur
Kángra	1	15	222	12	242	2	494	151	...	9	22	182	28	6	1	1	71	38	18	46	14	10	11	5	74	289	Kángra
Amritsar	6	230	31	12	68	12	359	39	7	22	34	102	74	37	8	120	28	47	54	61	33	21	27	10	15	424	Amritsar
Gurdáspur	12	157	95	54	93	16	427	58	7	14	36	115	48	8	8	69	44	49	46	57	21	16	23	7	55	395	Gurdáspur
Siálkot	4	264	57	32	66	16	439	36	15	12	39	102	65	19	12	78	26	27	37	60	29	20	17	9	58	373	Siálkot
Lahore	14	171	59	18	133	23	418	23	9	8	30	70	100	15	15	107	25	39	53	50	34	19	29	11	5	387	Lahore
Gujránwala	6	282	59	5	36	15	403	29	17	8	46	100	92	11	9	94	36	43	37	65	44	20	20	12	8	388	Gujránwala
Firozpur	8	287	61	41	97	12	506	19	7	11	26	63	58	5	20	107	49	31	39	44	23	19	21	9	...	362	Firozpur
Ráwalpindi	45	58	177	197	52	62	591	23	25	2	27	77	73	29	3	27	28	45	12	42	18	16	16	12	...	219	Ráwalpindi
Jahlam	13	150	98	210	54	33	558	17	25	3	33	78	90	16	...	42	37	49	16	42	17	17	19	13	...	252	Jahlam
Gujrat	4	263	32	156	33	19	507	13	27	2	32	74	80	48	3	56	48	35	30	51	24	16	15	8	3	289	Gujrat
Shahpur	28	82	196	141	22	24	493	13	22	5	39	79	126	...	3	67	36	53	29	36	28	14	17	9	...	292	Shahpur
Multán	50	187	108	26	56	32	459	8	21	7	28	64	175	2	11	53	34	43	33	28	25	24	13	10	...	274	Multán
Jhang	42	122	227	34	15	22	462	13	18	9	37	77	164	1	1	53	36	61	32	29	39	14	14	5	...	284	Jhang
Montgomery	37	100	132	47	119	15	450	7	14	9	39	69	142	1	12	68	34	48	52	31	42	18	17	11	...	333	Montgomery
Muzaffargarh	184	323	23	5	21	18	574	5	24	6	24	59	115	1	12	33	33	41	41	31	20	19	10	6	...	246	Muzaffargarh
D. I. Khan	259	465	4	2	2	15	747	8	20	3	12	43	113	...	1	20	11	13	16	12	6	6	4	2	...	91	D. I. Khan
D. G. Khan	346	442	7	1	2	14	812	6	24	2	5	37	112	...	4	13	3	2	5	3	...	2	1	1	...	34	D. G Khan
Bannú	431	162	10	63	12	36	714	6	37	2	23	68	87	...	...	18	12	11	15	31	13	7	9	11	...	127	Bannú
Peshávar	474	8	5	188	37	32	744	6	12	1	17	36	37	22	1	13	13	26	3	32	13	11	15	8	...	135	Peshávar
Hazára	257	1	61	349	25	33	726	11	38	1	15	65	38	36	...	6	16	29	4	34	9	10	7	3	...	118	Hazára
Kohát	643	8	11	90	6	25	783	5	44	1	21	71	46	1	...	7	11	10	6	33	7	7	9	5	...	95	Kohát
British Territory	**62**	**189**	**82**	**74**	**75**	**22**	**504**	**43**	**13**	**12**	**29**	**97**	**74**	**11**	**5**	**54**	**59**	**30**	**30**	**41**	**22**	**15**	**20**	**9**	**11**	**256**	**British Territory**
Patiala	6	308	46	30	84	11	485	64	5	24	30	123	70	1	8	50	100	15	25	41	19	12	23	11	8	312	Patiala
Nabha	8	326	50	23	83	9	499	69	4	25	32	130	72	...	4	46	98	18	22	46	19	14	17	9	...	293	Nabha
Kapurthala	4	155	80	40	224	12	515	32	11	29	29	101	41	1	5	65	65	29	49	48	19	17	26	9	2	334	Kapurthala
Jind	6	350	41	12	44	17	470	110	1	24	37	172	71	1	12	58	90	5	20	38	21	18	21	8	...	291	Jind
Faridkot	6	369	44	21	27	9	476	21	1	17	28	67	58	1	42	138	46	27	25	53	17	17	27	5	...	397	Faridkot
Maler Kotla	16	328	48	34	88	15	529	36	12	24	32	104	65	3	4	22	105	24	23	48	16	12	24	8	...	286	Maler Kotla
Kalsia	10	167	51	71	100	10	409	52	3	23	32	110	61	3	5	46	142	55	48	45	15	13	33	8	...	410	Kalsia
Total East Plains	*7*	*296*	*50*	*28*	*94*	*12*	*487*	*64*	*5*	*24*	*31*	*124*	*68*	*1*	*8*	*54*	*94*	*17*	*27*	*43*	*19*	*14*	*23*	*10*	*4*	*313*	Total East Plains
Baháwalpur	103	208	159	30	54	29	583	6	16	3	25	50	109	...	13	32	31	30	64	22	19	18	9	6	10	254	Baháwalpur
Mandi	2	2	47	9	478	1	539	109	...	5	6	120	30	...	3	...	56	24	2	17	10	4	5	3	182	306	Mandi
Chamba	3	3	376	8	97	20	507	133	...	6	17	156	17	...	...	1	42	20	5	30	13	3	2	2	194	312	Chamba
Nahan	2	2	28	22	345	4	403	49	1	4	120	174	27	1	7	6	40	6	16	27	2	2	4	12	275	397	Nahan
Bilaspur	1	17	93	36	240	1	388	286	...	6	8	300	25	2	3	1	96	55	21	26	10	9	5	5	53	284	Bilaspur
Bashahr	...	...	33	...	606	1	640	78	...	2	2	82	5	...	9	...	1	...	1	32	1	...	...	2	222	268	Bashahr
Nalagarh	5	15	18	168	307	9	522	107	1	11	16	135	22	...	4	12	108	12	8	26	8	8	11	7	105	309	Nalagarh
Suket	1	6	34	2	426	...	469	127	...	5	8	140	21	...	6	1	48	17	3	39	6	1	2	2	240	365	Suket
Total Hill States	*2*	*5*	*92*	*23*	*342*	*6*	*470*	*134*	*1*	*5*	*39*	*179*	*21*	...	*5*	*2*	*54*	*17*	*7*	*26*	*8*	*3*	*3*	*6*	*190*	*321*	Total Hill States
British Territory	**62**	**189**	**82**	**74**	**75**	**22**	**504**	**43**	**13**	**12**	**29**	**97**	**74**	**11**	**5**	**54**	**59**	**30**	**30**	**41**	**22**	**15**	**20**	**9**	**11**	**296**	**British Territory**
Native States	**20**	**225**	**75**	**27**	**142**	**14**	**503**	**70**	**6**	**17**	**29**	**122**	**64**	...	**10**	**41**	**77**	**19**	**28**	**36**	**17**	**13**	**18**	**8**	**40**	**307**	**Native States**
Province	**56**	**195**	**81**	**67**	**89**	**21**	**509**	**48**	**12**	**13**	**29**	**102**	**71**	**9**	**6**	**52**	**62**	**29**	**31**	**40**	**21**	**15**	**19**	**8**	**15**	**298**	**Province**

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its numbers are tolerably constant throughout the cis-Indus Panjáb, while beyond the Indus it is hardly represented. Taking the professional group as a whole, and especially the religious element, its numbers decrease steadily from east to west; chiefly because the Bráhmans, who form an integral portion of the stock from which the Hindu population has chiefly sprung, are naturally far more numerous than the Saiyads, who are but foreign immigrants in the Panjáb. The mercantile castes are found in greatest abundance in the south-western districts; not because commerce is there peculiarly extensive, but because the Aroras, the principal mercantile castes of these parts, are not mere traders, but largely follow all sorts of occupations both industrial and agricultural. Setting these districts aside the trading castes are least numerous in the hills, where commerce is very much in the hands of the Bráhmans. The miscellaneous class is largely composed of Kashmíris, who are chiefly to be found in the districts on the Kashmír border, and in the great Kashmíri colonies of Amritsar and Ludhiána.

362. General distribution of menial castes.—The last of the three groups comprises all the lower strata of society, the vagrant, criminal, and gipsy tribes, the village menials, and the industrial classes. I shall show when I come to discuss these castes in greater detail, how wholly impossible it is to class them by occupation with even approximate accuracy. Thus the classes into which I have divided them in the abstract have no very definite significance. Still certain broad facts are brought out by the figures. The vagrant tribes are chiefly to be found in two parts of the Province, on the Rájpútána border, and under the central and western hills. Among the village menial castes who perform so large a part of the agricultural labour in the Panjáb, namely the leather-workers, scavengers and watermen, the leather-workers prevail throughout the eastern districts, the hills and the great Sikh states. In the centre of the Panjáb, and to a less degree in the Western Plains, their place is taken by the scavengers, and partly by the watermen. The menial and industrial class as a whole is most numerous in the hills where they have much of the cultivation in their hands, and in the sub-montane and central districts where wealth is greatest and the standard of cultivation highest. It is curiously scanty in the west, and particularly on the Indus frontier; and this partly because, as I have already pointed out, the hereditary restrictions upon occupation are more lax, and the poor Pathán thinks it no shame to earn his bread by callings which would involve social degradation where caste-feeling is stronger; but also very largely because on the lower Indus the menial who cultivates becomes a Jat by mere virtue of the fact, and is classed as such, whereas in the rest of the Panjáb he would have retained his menial caste unaltered. In Sirsa, and to a less degree in Hissár, the exact opposite is the case. There the menial classes are more numerous than in the neighbouring districts because the tract is to a great extent newly settled, and land is so plentiful and the demand for agricultural labour so great that the lower classes have flocked into these districts, and though retaining at present their caste unaltered, have risen in the social scale by the acquisition of land or at least by the substitution of husbandry for menial callings.

363. Arrangement and contents of the caste-chapter.—The rough classification adopted in Abstract No. 64 on the opposite page will serve as a clue to the arrangement of the detailed description of the various castes. A complete index of castes and tribes will be found at the end of the volume. I shall close this part of the chapter by discussing the system adopted for the record of castes and tribes and their sub-division at the present Census, and the nature of the results obtained. The matter is one of considerable moment, and the system followed has been the subject of adverse criticism both within and without the Province. The tribal constitution of the population possesses much more political and administrative importance in the Panjáb than in most other parts of Northern India, and indeed it may be said that the statistics which display it are almost the most valuable results of a Panjáb Census. The remaining parts of the chapter will be devoted to an examination of the figures for each caste, and a description of the caste so far as my knowledge enables me to describe it. The crudeness and imperfection of this portion of the work are to me a source of great regret. It is not only that our knowledge is as nothing compared with our ignorance of the subject; that is unavoidable. But I have to feel that of the information that I have collected only a portion has been utilised, while even that portion has been hastily put on record without any attempt to arrange or digest the material. I had intended to make some attempt at a classification of the various castes based in some measure upon what appeared to be their ethnic affinities, and to examine carefully the question of the probable origin of each with the help of the whole of my material; and indeed I have carried out this intention to some extent with regard to the Biloch and Pathán tribes, the sections on which were written before orders regarding the early completion of the report were received. But as regards the remaining castes and tribes the time allowed me was too short to permit of any such treatment of the subject; and I was compelled to arrange the castes roughly in classes, and to content myself with stating the leading facts regarding each. The chapter has been written backwards, beginning from the end, and I have not been able even to read over again what I had written before sending it to press. As I proceeded with the work faults in the classification became only too apparent, new lights were thrown upon what had gone before, and new facts were brought to light. There was no time to re-write what had once been written, and all that I could do was to add the new to the old. Thus I shall often be found to repeat myself, the sequence of ideas will often appear to be broken and irregular, and even conflicting statements may have escaped my notice. But the present chapter must be taken as only a rough preliminary outline of the subject. Detailed tables of tribes and clans are now in course of preparation which will embody all the sub-divisions of castes entered in the schedules of the present Census. Maps showing the distribution of the landowning castes and tribes have been prepared for each district and state, and though it would have been impossible without great delay and expense to re-produce them with the present Report, I hope that the material thus collected will be more fully utilised on some future occasion. One apparent omission in my treatment of the subject calls for a word of explanation. I had prepared tables comparing the caste figures of the present with those of the last Census. But I found that the classification followed in 1868 had so evidently varied from district to district that the figures were devoid of any determinate meaning, and it would have been sheer waste of time to attempt any such comparison. To take one instance only, I find that in the Census of 1868, of 2,05,000 Musalmán Jats returned for the

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Multán division, 159,000 are in Muzaffargarh, 29,000 in Montgomery, 17,000 in Jhang, and only 63 in Multán. In Derah Ismáil Khán and Sháhpur this column is actually blank.

364. Scheme adopted for the record of castes and tribes.—Unless I have utterly failed to express the facts, a perusal of the foregoing paragraphs will have made it clear that we have three main units of social and ethnic classification to deal with in the Panjáb; the caste or race, the tribe proper, and what I have for want of a better word called the section of the caste. Now these three units are of very different value in different parts of the Province and among various classes of the community. In the east caste is of primary importance; among the landowning communities of the west it is little more than a tradition of ancient origin. Among the agricultural classes the tribe is most important, and in the west it is the one great fact to be ascertained; among the priestly and mercantile classes it is almost meaningless, and what we want is the section of the caste. What we did was to attempt to record all three facts, where they existed, intending afterwards to select our figures. If we had asked for two only we should have run the risk of getting one we did not want and missing one that we did want. Of two Khatri brothers one would have returned himself as Khatri Kapúr and the other as Khatri Chárzáti; of two Bráhman brothers one would have appeared as Bráhman Sársút and the other as Bráhman Gautama; of two Biloch brothers one would have been recorded as Biloch Rind and the other as Biloch Laghári; tabulation would have given us wholly meaningless and imperfect figures. We therefore divided our caste column into three sub-columns headed "original caste or tribe," "clan," and "*got* or sept". Now the first difficulty we encountered was the translation of these headings. In the east *qaum* is used for religion and *zát* for caste; in the west *qaum* for caste, *zát* for tribe or clan. In the east *got* is the universal word for tribe among the peasantry, insomuch that the Rájpúts call their royal races not *kuls* but *gots;* everywhere it is used by Bráhmans, Banyas and the like for the Brahminical *gotra;* in the west it is unknown save in the latter sense. As for the local term for smaller tribes or clans they vary almost from district to district and from caste to caste. After consulting Commissioners we translated our headings '*asl qaum,*' '*zát ya firqah,*' '*got ya shákh.*' The instructions issued for filling up these columns will be found in general letter C., Appendix D., section 5, at section 13 of the enclosed instructions to enumerators and at section 25 of the enclosed instructions to supervisors. Their general tenour was that the caste or race such as Rájpút or Pathán was to be shown in the first, its principal section such as Rind, Gaur, Agarwál in the second, and its secondary sub-section such as Chauhán, Ghatwál, Bháradwáj in the third column; that the *got* if there was any was always to go into the third column; and that where there was only one division the second column was to be left empty. The staff was warned against the loose use of the terms Jat and Gújar as names of occupations, and it was explained that the 'original caste' column was intended to contain, not the caste of traditional origin, but the actual caste to which the people were recognized as now belonging. To these instructions was appended a sample schedule filled up by way of example.

365. Errors in the record of castes and tribes.—I should explain that when I drafted these instructions I knew nothing of any portion of the Panjáb except the Jamna districts, and had no conception how utterly different the divisions of the population and the relations between tribe and caste were in the west of the Province. For my sample schedule I procured specimens filled up by District and Settlement Officers from all parts of the Province, and consulted many natives of different castes, yet there were several mistakes in the schedule; in fact I believe it would be impossible to frame a set of entries which should not contain errors if judged by the varying standards current in different parts of the Panjáb. More than this, there were errors in the very examples given in the instructions; for I had not properly apprehended the nature of what I have called "sections," and I did not rightly estimate the relation between the Rájpút tribes of the Panjáb and the great *kuls* or royal races. But the worst mistake of all was the use of the word *asl* or "original" with caste, and the use of the word "*got.*" The addition of *asl* induced many of the tribes of the western districts and Salt-range Tract to return, not their caste or tribe as it now stands, but the Mughal, Qureshi, or other stock from which they are so fond of claiming descent; and it doubtless tempted many undoubted Jats to record their Rájpút origin. And the use of the word *got* set people to find out what was the Brahminical *gotra* of the person under enumeration. In the eastern districts the word was perfectly understood. But in the hills and in the Western Plains it is only used in the sense of *gotra.* It did not matter that I had asked for *got* or *shákh.* The latter word is not commonly used in connection with family or tribe; the former is; and every enumerator insisted upon each person having a *got.* In Plách Mr. Anderson found a village all entered as of one *gotra,* and that an uncommon one. "On inquiry from the people themselves they said they "really did not know what was their *got,* but that some one in the village had consulted the Bráhmans at Nirmand, who told him "he was of the Pethinesi *got,* and the whole village followed him. The headman of the village when asked of what *got* he was, "could not even pronounce the word. The better and more intelligent classes know their *gots,* and others did not wish to be "behind them." Now all this trouble was obviously caused by asking for the *gotra.* What I wanted, and what I said I wanted plainly enough in the instructions, was the tribe or sub-division of the caste; and that the people could probably have given readily enough. What was needed was to substitute the local term, whatever it might have been, for *got* or *shákh;* but the people knew what a *got* was, even if they did not know what was their *got,* and hence the confusion. Another great cause of error was the insistence with which the Census Staff demanded that all three columns should be filled up for each person. I had said that I only wanted two entries where there was no second sub-division, as is the case in a very large number of cases, but that did not matter; the columns were there with separate headings, and one after another the District Officers in their reports point out the difficulty of getting entries for all three, the reason being that in many cases there were only facts enough for two. The result is that many of the Jats entered as the third heading the name of the Rájpút tribe from which they claim to have sprung. And another *most* fertile cause of error must have been the efforts that were made to attain uniformity. In many districts committees were held and a scheme of entries decided upon and prescribed for the guidance of all enumerators. I have discussed the danger of all such attempts in my section on Difficulties and Suggestions in chapter XIII under the head 'Discretion to be allowed in enumeration.' Educated natives are almost more apt than we ourselves to go wrong in such matters, for we at least are free from prejudice and are ready to admit our ignorance; and a committee composed of the Tahsildárs and Extra Assistants of a district with power to decide upon the entries of castes and tribes, would ensure with absolute certainty the ruin of a caste Census as an independent means of acquiring information.

366. Inherent difficulties of a record of caste.—But even supposing that I had not made any mistakes in my instructions and examples, and supposing that they had been rigidly followed according to their intention, the difficulties inherent in the case are still so enormous that a really accurate record which should be correct in all its details would have been quite beyond hope of attainment. I have attempted to show in the preceding pages that it is almost impossible to define a caste and difficult to define a tribe, and that it is often impossible to draw a clearly marked line between two castes of similar standing. In fact the tribe proper is a far more definite and permanent unit than the caste. Mr. Steedman, who has criticised the scheme more severely and at greater length than any other officer, sets forth the difficulties so ably and completely that I quote the passage in full:—

"With the exception of the three columns relating to caste no difficulty was found in filling the schedules up. It will be under- "stood that my remarks regarding these three columns are solely applicable to the Western Panjáb I have had no experience in "the Panjáb east of the Rávi. Having spent three years in Gujrát, 3½ in Jhang, and 2 in Dera Ismaíl Khán, I think that my "remarks will apply to the Mahomedan population of most districts west of the Chenáb.

"These three columns assume, as Mr. Finlay very truly wrote, that the zemindars know far more about their ancestry and tribal "divisions than they actually do. I do not deny that the three columns could be filled up correctly for each caste by an intelligent "enumerator who understood exactly what was wanted, and who was acquainted with the tribes whose members he had to enumerate; "but the Census economy prohibited the employment of men of this stamp. There are a considerable number of Mahomedan Rájpúts "in the Western Panjáb, known as Syáls or Chaddhars in Jhang, Janjúhas, Bhakhráls, Budháls, Satis, Dhunds, Alpiáls, Jodras, &c. "&c., in the Ráwalpindi Division. Now any member of these tribes if asked what his 'kaum' was, would reply Bhakhrál or Sati, &c., "as the case might be. Or he might very probably give the sub-division to which he belonged. A Syál would be sure to answer "thus. You would in nine cases out of ten have to put some distinctly leading question before you ascertained whether he claimed to "be a Rájpút or not. The result is that sometimes Rájpút the "asl kaum," sometimes "Syal" the clan, and sometimes Chachkana "the sept or family, is entered in the first of the three sub-divisions of column 7: I noticed many entries of this description. In fact "most of the Rájpúts of this district would give Rájpút as their '*got,*' placing their tribe as the 'asl kaum'. Entries of this description naturally depreciate the tabulation results considerably.

"Similar errors crept into the entries of the village artisans. A man may ply the trade of a weaver, oil-presser, or shoe-maker

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" without being a weaver, oil-presser, or shoe-maker by caste. In Jhang weaving had been taken to as a livelihood by many persons " who were not of the weaver tribe. Yet many of these I have no doubt will be put down as weavers in the 'asl kaum' column. " Again men of these low castes are very fond of claiming relationship with the higher tribes, especially those of Rajput origin. " I saw many entries such as these—'asl kaum' Mochi 'zát' Janjuha, Bhatti, Awan, &c. Now Janjuhas and Bhattis are Rajputs. " If the Mochi was a Janjuha originally his 'asl kaum' is Rajput, his zat Janjuha, and shoe-making is his trade. If he is a Janjuha " by fiction then Janjuha must be put down as he states. Shekhs, *i.e.* converted Hindus, or men of low caste who have risen in the " world, also advance most ungrounded claims in the way of descent. Apparently there is no escape from these difficulties in the " case of village artisans, Shekhs, and other similar tribes; but in the case of agriculturists I think more definite instructions " would have left the tabulation entries much more trustworthy.

" I now venture to criticise some of the specimen entries attached to the enumerator's instructions. The entries opposite the " name of Mahomed Ibrahim are 1, Rajput; 2, Syál; 3, Panwár [1]. I can confidently assert that not one man in a hundred of the " Syals is aware that he is a Panwar Rajput. I wonder if there are ten men who have heard they are descended from this *got* of " the Rajput tribe. I know exactly what answers an enumerator would get from a representative Syal zemindar. *Question.*—What is your tribe (*kaum*)? *Answer*—Bharwana: *Question*—What is your clan (*zát*)? *Answer*—Syál. *Question*—What is your " family (*got or shákh*)? *Answer*—God only knows. He will inevitably give his sub-division as his *asl kaum* and his clan as his " *zát*. Nothing less than a direct question as to whether he is a Rájpút or a Ját will elicit from him the fact that he is a Rájpút " As for '*got*' he probably has never heard the word. The truth is that the present Mahomedan tribes of the Western Panjáb, " though immigrants from Hindustan, have forgotten their '*gots*' entirely and very often their '*asl kaum*.' In some few instances " only is the name of the '*got*' preserved, and then the tribesmen are quite unaware that their tribal name is that of their old '*got*.'

"The next question is, What are the *asl kaums* in each district? I notice that in one of the specimen entries Gújar is so entered. " There are various theories as to whether the Gujar is a separate tribe of Tartar or Hindu origin, or whether it is an offshoot of the " great Jat tribe. In Jhang and Dera Ismail Khan and Shahpur the Mahomedan agriculturists are usually divided into Rájpúts and " Jats in local parlance. I mean that if a Rajpút is asked whether he is a Jat he will at once deny it, while a Jat admits that he " is a member of the tribe. I do not mean to assert that, excluding Rajpúts and other tribes who have migrated from the other side " of the Indus, all other agriculturists must be Jats; but if they are not I ask who are the numerous tribes who reside in the " Chach and Sind Sagar Doabs and along the left bank of the Chanab? What is their *asl kaum?* Their Hindu origin is un- " doubted. They are not Rájpúts. If they were they would claim their relationship. I have not room here to go fully into this " question. I have noticed it in the Final Report of the Jhang Settlement. But my object is I think attained, and that is to " indicate how very necessary it is that instructions should be given separately for each district as to what tribes are to be considered " 'Asl kaum.' Take the Khokhars. They are an influential tribe in Jhelam, Shahpur, and Gujrát. Are they converted Rájputs " as many claim, or descendants of the son-in-law of the prophet as the Shahpur Khokhars state, or mere Jats as their enemies " allege. In the second case only can they be an asl kaum. If in the tabulation of different districts the tribe is sometimes " entered as an 'asl kaum' and at others as a branch of the Rájpút and Jat tribes, the results are likely to be misleading. Then " again there are tribes who are admitedly of ancient standing and yet have no traditions. Who are these? It is not unlikely " that they were the original inhabitants before the immigration of the Hindu settlers. As far as my limited experience goes I " think it would be an easy matter to settle this point beforehand for all the main tribes of each district, and also to give a few gene- " ral instructions as to how doubtful tribes were be treated. The question Are you a Rajput or a Jat? would clear up most cases of " doubt where the tribe was originally Hindu, the enumerator being warned of the custom of calling all agriculturists Jats. Then all " tribes who came from the other side of the Indus would also be 'asl kaum,' the Patháns, Biloches, Mughals, &c. The village " Kamins would also be included in the same list. Here the enumerators would be warned to ask the individual whether he was a " Kamin by trade only or both by trade and tribe[2]. I would arbitrarily class all agriculturists who admitted that they were not " Rájpúts and who were of undoubted Hindu origin, as Jats. This classification is perhaps not ethnologically accurate, but every Pat- " wari and most zemindars would understand what it meant. I think too for the Mahomedan population two columns would have " been enough. It seems unnecessary to ascertain the numbers of each sub-division. We want to know the total Syál, Ghakkar, " and Awan population. I do not think much is gained by working out returns showing the total population of the Bharwána, " Chuchkana, Admál, Firozál, and Bugdial families. There are no restrictions on intermarriage between members of the different " families."

I have already explained the reason why three columns were taken instead of two. We wanted two facts only; but we wanted to make sure of getting them in the many cases where three facts were available and one was not wanted, by recording all three and rejecting for ourselves the useless one; otherwise if we had had two columns only, one of them might have been wasted on the useless fact. As it was, one of our three columns was commonly occupied by the name of some wholly unimportant sept or family. And I do not agree with Mr. Steedman in his proposal to issue detailed instructions concerning the agricultural tribes of each district. Who is to issue them; and how is it to be ensured that the same tribe is classed similarly in two different districts?

367. **Reasons why the scheme did not work.**—I think that on the whole the scheme was the best that could have been adopted; and if it had been possible to carry it out to the end as it had been intended to do when the instructions were framed, I believe that results of very considerable accuracy would have been obtained. What was intended was this—to record everything, to tabulate all the entries, and *then* to classify them throughout and produce the results as the final caste table. Thus, supposing one man had entered himself as Jat Bhatti and another as Rájpút Bhatti, or one man as Qureshi Khattar, another as Awán Khattar, and a third as Qutbsháhi Khattar, we should have tabulated them all separately, and then classed them as might be decided upon after consideration and inquiry. It was not expected that the material would be properly arranged in the schedules; but we hoped that it would all be recorded there, to be arranged afterwards. But when we came to examine the schedules we found that the separate entries in the caste column alone were numbered by thousands, while the sub-divisions were numbered by tens of thousands. I certainly had not, and I do not believe that anybody else concerned had, the very faintest conception of how numerous the entries would be. At any rate it was obviously quite out of the question to tabulate and examine them all before compilation; and what was done was to deal with the entries in the first or caste column only, so far as the compilation of the final Census Table VIII was concerned. Even those entries I was compelled, for reasons given in the Chapter on Tabulation, to allow the Divisional Officers to classify for themselves where there appeared to be no reasonable doubt as to the classification. With the headings for which they returned separate figures I dealt as is described in the Chapter on Compilation. The figures for the sub-divisional entries were tabulated in detail; but only certain selected entries were taken out to be used in the Census Report, the principles on which the selection was made being explained in the Chapter on Compilation.

368. **Nature and degree of error in the final figures.**—Thus the figures as now given in the abstracts and appendices of this report are liable to error in several ways. In the first place many members of a caste or tribe entered as their caste some race to which they are pleased to refer their origin in remote antiquity. For instance, some Gakkhars returned themselves as Gakkhar and others as Mughal, and are shown under those headings respectively in the final tables, which therefore do not give the total number of Gakkhars in the Panjáb. So some low caste men returned their caste as Rájpút or Mughal or Quresh 'out of joke,' as several Deputy Commissioner's note. On the other hand some men of good caste, such as Siál, Khokhar, or Mughal, who were following the trade of weaver or carpenter, returned their *caste* as Páoli or Tarkhán, though the adoption of that hereditary occupation had been in many cases too recent to have brought about a change of caste. This last error was for the most part confined to the Western Plains. Again, persons who belonged to the same tribe and returned that tribe as their caste will have been differently classed in different divisional offices, or classed under one heading in one division and returned separately and then classed by myself under another heading in another division. Thus the Bhattis will have been classed as Jats by the Deraját and as Rájpúts by the Ráwalpindi office. So the Langáhs were classed ~~as Jats in Multán,~~ while the Deraját returned them separately and I classed them as Patháns. These errors however affect only those cases where the tribe was returned and not the caste. Where a man

[1] This is one of the mistakes I have already referred to. The entry should have been "*Rájpút—Punwár—Siál.*"

[2] Would not this suggest to the artisan the setting up for himself of a mythical origin from some caste of glorious renown?

Part I.—Caste in the Panjab.

returned himself as Jat, Rájpút, Pathán and so forth, he was treated as such although the tribe he gave might raise suspicion as to the correctness of the returns. Moreover the errors, if they must be so called, do represent actual facts. The Bhatti is a Rájpút in Káwalpindi because there Rájpúts are recognised. In the Derajót he is a Jat, because there no distinction is drawn between Jat and Rájpút. And it must be remembered that though the cases in which the errors detailed above occurred are numerous, the total figures affected are seldom large. There were certainly hundreds, I believe there were thousands of so-called castes returned in the Multán division which only included ten or fifteen people in the whole division. The great mass of each caste returned themselves rightly, and are shown correctly in our tables: the items that are wrongly classed are wholly insignificant in their total amount as compared with the items that are rightly classed. But there are exceptions to this statement. The distinction between Jat and Rájpút is so indefinite and so variable that it can hardly be called a mistake to class a tribe as Jat in one place and Rájpút in another. This however has been done. But I have picked out the figures in each case and put them side by side in the abstracts contained in the section on these two castes, and I think the error which has not been corrected may be taken as exceedingly small. It is now in each man's power to transfer the figures for any tribe from Jat to Rájpút or *vice versá*, according to individual taste. The other chief exceptions are in the case of Mughals and Shekhs. For Shekhs I was prepared. I knew that all sorts of low caste men, recent converts to Islám, would return themselves as Shekh; and I had the figures examined with a view to separate these, and the details will be found in the text of this chapter. But I did not know that in some parts of the western Panjáb Mughal was as favourite a supposititious origin as Shekh is in other parts of the Province, and I have not had the details worked out so carefully. Still almost all the large numbers have been separated from these two entries. So with Patháns. Many people, such as Dilazák, have returned themselves as Patháns who do not really belong to the race; but their claim to the name is often admitted, and they have become in a way affiliated to the nation. Thus the considerable errors in the caste tables, as corrected in this chapter, amount to this; that there is a confusion between Jat and Rájpút and between Pathán and certain allied races, which exists in actual fact fully as much as in the figures; that some tribes or castes have been wrongly shown as Mughal and Shekh; and that some of the artisan castes have been shown as belonging to the higher castes, while some of the higher castes have been included in the artisan castes merely because they followed their occupation. Taking the Province as a whole the errors are probably insignificant, and hardly affect the general distribution of the population by caste. They are probably greatest in the cis-Indus Salt-range Tract, where the tendency to claim Mughal origin is strongest.

369. Error in the figures for tribes and sub-divisions.—The figures for tribes and sub-divisions given in this chapter are professedly only rough approximations. The manner in which they were tabulated and the final figures compiled will be explained in Book II under the heads Tabulation and Compilation. The whole process was intended to be merely a rough one. The detailed tabulation is now in progress, and I hope within the next few years to bring out detailed tables of tribes and clans for the whole Panjáb. But besides inaccuracies that will have crept into the work of tabulation, there are several causes of error inherent in the material. In the first place the spelling of local names of tribes, as rendered by the enumerating staff, varied extraordinarily. Some were evidently mere variations, as Dharíwál, Dhálíwál and Dhaníwál; some I knew to represent separate tribes, as Sidhu and Sindhu, Chhína and Chíma; some I am still in doubt about, as Búta and Bhutta, Sará and Sarai. In working with a staff not always acquainted with the names of the clans, figures referring to two different tribes must often have been joined together, and other figures wrongly omitted because of some variation in the spelling. Another source of error doubtless was the uncertainty regarding the woman's clans discussed in section 354. On a future occasion I would tabulate sub-divisions of castes for males only. Again many of the people are presented twice over in two columns. Thus the Siál are Punwár Rájpúts by origin. Suppose that 1,000 Siáls returned themselves as Rájpút Punwár Siál, another thousand as Siál Punwár, another 1,000 as Rájpút Siál, and a fourth 1,000 as Rájpút Punwár. All the 4,000 people would be shown in Table VIII as Rájpút; but in the details of tribes we should have 3,000 Siál and 3,000 Punwár or 6,000 in all. This was quite unavoidable so long as only one tribal division was tabulated; but as a fact the cases in which this happened were few, or at least the numbers affected small. I had all cases in which the same people were entered twice over shown in a separate memorandum attached to the tribes table, and wherever the numbers were at all considerable I have mentioned the fact of their double inclusion in the text. This double entry occurred most often with the Jat tribes, who, in order to fill up their three columns, entered the Rájpút tribe from which they claimed origin as well as their own Jat tribe, so that we had people returning themselves as Jat Sidhú Bhatti, and such people appear among the Jat tribes both as Sidhú and as Bhatti.

370. Proposals for next Census.—What then is best to be done at next Census? It will be seen that many of the difficulties are due to the intrinsic difficulty of the question and to the varying nature of caste in the Panjáb. So far as this is the case no scheme will help us. In one respect, however, I hope that the task will be made much easier by next Census. I hope by then to have brought out classified lists of all the tribes and clans returned in the present Census. The way in which they will facilitate the treatment of the subject is explained in the section on Tabulation. If I had had such a classified list my task on this occasion would have been easy enough; and it is I think one of the most valuable results of the present Census that it has given us materials for the preparation of such a list. With such a list the three columns of the schedule of 1881 are almost perfect in theory. But I do not think they worked as well in practice. I believe that the three columns which they erroneously thought they were bound to fill up, puzzled both people and staff, and caused a good many of our difficulties. Thus in future I would have but two columns, and would head them *Qaum* and *Shákh*. I would not care whether caste or tribe was entered in the first column, as the classified list would show the tabulator how to class the tribe; and I would hope that the second column at any rate would generally give tribe. In very many cases it would not. There would be entries like Biloch Rind instead of Biloch Laghári, Bráhman Bashisht instead of Bráhman Sársút, Banya Kásib instead of Banya Agarwál, and so forth. But on the whole I think it would be better to accept the fact that the entries must be incomplete, whatever scheme be adopted; and would prefer the certainty of error of the two columns, rather than the confusion and perplexity which the three columns cause to those concerned in the enumeration. Above all things I would avoid the words *asl* and *got*. I would let the patwaris, who should make the preliminary record, exercise their discretion about entering high castes for menials or artisans, directing them to show the caste by which the people were commonly known in the village. I would tabulate both males and females for tribes and clans, and arrange them in order of numbers; and I would have the Deputy Superintendent personally examine the tribal tables for all above say 500, before compiling his final caste tables. Such an examination would do an immense deal towards increasing the accuracy of the caste figures; but it was impossible in the present Census owing to the double sub-division. I would show in my tribal tables the figures for males only, though those for females must be tabulated in the first instance in order to allow of transfer of entries from one caste heading to another.

371. Bibliography.—The most detailed and accurate information available in print regarding certain, and those the most important from an administrative point of view, of the Panjáb castes is to be found in the numerous Settlement Reports, and more especially in those of recent years. Unfortunately they deal almost exclusively with the landowning and cultivating castes. Sir H. Elliott's *Races of the N.-W.-P.*, edited by Mr. Beames, is, so far as it goes, a mine of information regarding the castes of the eastern districts. Sherring's *Hindu Castes* contains much information of a sort, the first volume being really valuable, but the second and third being infinitely less so; while the whole is rendered much less useful than it might be by the absence of any index save one that maddens the anxious inquirer. On the ancient form of the Institution of Caste, Wilson's treatise on *Indian Caste*, and Vol. I of Muir's *Sanskrit Texts* are the authorities. The second volume of General Cunningham's *Archæological Reports* has a dissertation on Panjáb Ethnology by way of introduction, and there are many small pamphlets which contain useful information. But on the whole it is wonderful how little has been published regarding the specially Panjáb castes, or indeed regarding any of the menial and outcast classes. Sir Geo. Campbell's *Indian Ethnology* I have not seen; but it should be instructive. At the head of the section on Patháns and Biloches I have noticed the books which may be most usefully consulted. In the case of the other castes I know of no works that deal with any one in particular, or indeed with our Panjáb castes in general save those specified above.

PART II.—THE BILOCH, PATHAN, AND ALLIED RACES.

372. Introductory and General.—Of the Panjáb castes and tribes I shall first discuss the Biloch and Pathán who hold all our trans-Indus frontier, and with them two or three races found in the Province only in small numbers which, though not Pathán by origin or indeed in name, have by long association with the Patháns become so closely assimilated to them that it is best to take them here. The figures will be found in Abstract No. 65 below:—

Abstract No. 65, *showing* **Biloches, Pathans, and Allied Races** *for* **Districts and States.**

	FIGURES.					PROPORTION PER 1,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.						
	18	6	54	145	183	18	6	54	145	183		
	Biloch.	Pathán.	Tanáoli.	Tájik.	Hazára.	Biloch.	Pathán.	Tanáoli.	Tájik.	Hazára.	TOTAL.	GRAND TOTAL.
Dehli	1,318	15,969	...	1	...	2	25	...	...	...	25	27
Gurgaon	2,166	4,945	...	...	...	3	8	...	...	...	8	11
Karnal	440	5,898	...	...	...	1	9	...	...	...	9	10
Hissár	554	2,416	...	...	...	1	5	...	...	...	5	6
Rohtak	1,986	5,155	...	...	...	4	9	...	...	...	9	13
Sirsa	1,380	1,554	...	...	...	5	6	...	...	...	6	11
Ambala	1,070	9,845	...	...	...	1	9	...	...	...	9	10
Lúdhiána	425	3,629	...	...	...	1	6	...	...	...	6	7
Simla	...	1,420	...	...	...	...	33	...	...	...	33	33
Jalandhar	379	4,808	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	6	6
Hushyarpur	94	7,514	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	8	8
Kángra	40	1,095	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1
Amritsar	548	4,349	...	...	...	1	5	...	...	...	5	6
Gurdaspur	124	9,784	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	12	12
Sialkot	339	4,118	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	4	4
Lahore	5,247	6,976	...	...	1	6	8	...	...	...	8	14
Gujranwala	2,800	912	...	...	...	5	1	...	...	...	1	6
Firozpur	1,766	3,122	...	...	...	3	5	...	...	...	5	8
Ráwalpindi	906	36,465	3	11	...	1	44	...	...	...	44	45
Jahlam	2,840	4,618	1	...	...	5	8	...	...	...	8	13
Gujrat	886	2,033	...	...	...	1	3	...	...	...	3	4
Shahpur	8,865	3,076	...	...	...	21	7	...	...	...	7	28
Multán	18,547	9,067	...	...	...	34	16	...	...	...	16	50
Jhang	15,093	1,710	...	...	...	38	4	...	...	...	4	42
Montgomery	13,513	1,987	...	...	...	32	5	...	...	...	5	37
Muzaffargarh	58,356	3,959	...	...	...	172	12	...	...	...	12	184
Derah Ismail Khan	41,356	73,022	...	...	...	94	165	...	...	...	165	259
Derah Ghazi Khan	115,749	9,871	...	...	...	319	27	...	...	...	27	346
Bannu	2,189	141,022	...	...	...	7	424	...	...	...	424	431
Peshávar	449	276,656	1,366	1,889	358	1	467	2	3	1	473	474
Hazara	33	64,695	39,981	147	...	...	159	98	...	...	257	257
Kohat	504	116,431	37	...	...	3	640	...	...	...	640	643
British Territory	**299,962**	**838,233**	**41,388**	**2,048**	**359**	**16**	**44**	**2**	...	...	**46**	**62**
Patiala	1,134	6,647	...	...	...	1	5	...	...	...	5	6
Nabha	295	1,691	...	...	...	1	7	...	...	...	7	8
Kapurthala	80	1,125	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	4	4
Jind	193	1,126	...	...	...	1	5	...	...	...	5	6
Maler Kotla	...	1,165	...	...	...	...	16	...	...	...	16	16
Total East. Plains	2,099	14,196	...	...	...	1	6	...	...	...	6	7
Bahawalpur	53,175	5,567	...	...	...	93	10	...	...	...	10	103
Total Hill States	2	1,586	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	2	2
British Territory	**299,962**	**838,233**	**41,388**	**2,048**	**359**	**16**	**44**	**2**	...	...	**46**	**62**
Native States	**55,276**	**21,349**	...	...	...	**14**	**6**	...	...	...	**6**	**20**
Province	**355,238**	**859,582**	**41,388**	**2,048**	**359**	**16**	**38**	**2**	...	...	**40**	**56**

These two great nations, the Pathán and Biloch, hold the whole country to the west of the Panjáb, the latter lying to the south and the former to the north of a line drawn from the western face of the Sulemáns opposite Derah Ghází Khán almost due west to Quetta. But in the trans-Indus valley and on the Panjáb face of the Sulemán Range the Biloches have pushed much further north than this, and the southern border of the Derah Ismáíl Khán tahsíl roughly marks the common boundary, while on this side the river the Biloches again stretch somewhat further to the north than on the other. On either bank their common frontier is held by a tribe of mixed affinities, the Khetrán being Biloch in Derah Ghází, Pathán

in Derah Ismáíl, and probably of Jat origin in both; while in the *thal* the southernmost Pathán tribe is the Baluch, which is probably of Biloch descent.

These two great races present many features of unusual interest. Among both the tribal organisation still survives, in parts at least, in the most complete integrity, and affords us examples of one extreme of that series which terminates at the other in the compact village communities of our eastern districts. Moreover the intense tribal feeling of the Biloch and Pathán and the care with which they keep up their genealogies, enable us to point to both nations for undoubted examples of the process by which a race possessed of pride of blood in an extreme degree affiliates to itself sections of other races, gives them a place in its tribal organisation on condition only of subjection to the supreme authority, and after a time invents a fiction of common descent by which to account for their presence. There can be little doubt that the process which we know has taken place among the Pathán and Biloch has not been without examples among the other races of the Panjáb, and that aboriginal, Mongol, and other elements have in a similar manner been absorbed into the tribal or caste organisation of the Aryan stock.

373. The Patháns and the Biloches are both foreigners in the Panjáb proper, and have entered its political boundaries within the last few hundred years, though it is not impossible that in doing so the Patháns only re-entered a country which their ancestors had left more than a thousand years ago. Yet their freedom from the irksome and artificial restrictions of caste, and the comparative license which their tribal customs permit them in the matter of intermarriage, have caused their example to produce a wonderful effect upon the neighbouring Indian races; and it is the proximity of these races, and the force of that example daily set before them by nations living next door, to which, far more than to the mere political supremacy of a Mahomedan dynasty or adoption of the Mahomedan creed, I attribute the laxity of caste rules and observances which characterises the people of our Western Plains. The point has already been noticed in section 347. Some of the social and tribal customs of these people are exceedingly curious. Unfortunately we know but little of them, and what little information I have been able to collect I have not had leisure to record in the following pages. I may however mention two of their most striking customs. One is the prevalence of the *vesh* or periodical distribution of land among the component households of a clan, which we found to be the practice on some parts of the frontier when we annexed the Panjáb, while it still exists in full force among both the Biloches and the Patháns of Independent Territory. The second custom is also one common to both nations, though not I believe to all their tribes. It is the existence of a Levitical clan, often called Mírkhel among the Patháns, who have the exclusive privilege of performing certain priestly functions connected, not with the Mahomedan religion but with tribal ceremonies, such for instance as the dedication by passing under spears of the fighting men of the tribe when about to go to war.

374. **Tabulation of tribal statistics.**—Political considerations rendered it far more important to obtain for administrative purposes fairly correct statistics of the Biloch and Pathán tribes than of the more settled tribes of the cis-Indus Panjáb. But when I took up the question I found the difficulties so great, and my own ignorance of the subject so complete, that I obtained the sanction of Government to have these figures compiled by the Deputy Commissioners of the frontier districts. The difficulties mainly arose from three causes. In the first place the same word is, especially among the Patháns, constantly recurring among the various tribes as the name of clans who are wholly distinct from one another. Secondly, the same clan, especially among the Biloches, is affiliated to a larger tribe in one district while in another it forms a distinct tribe of itself. Thirdly, many of the entries did not show full details of the tribe and clan, often only giving the names of the sept or family; and the only hope of classing such entries rightly lay in having the classification made on the spot. The system adopted was as follows. Each Deputy Commissioner drew up a list of the tribes and clans for which he wished to obtain separate figures for his own district. Of this list he sent copies to all the other districts concerned. A joint list was then drawn up including all tribes or clans mentioned in any one of these district lists, and the figures were tabulated in accordance with that joint list. The Biloch tribal figures were then compiled on the spot in the two Derahs and Muzaffargarh, and those for Patháns in the Peshawar Division, Derah Ismáíl Khán, and Bannu. For other districts and for Native States the figures were compiled to the best of our ability in the Central Office in accordance with the joint list already mentioned.

THE BILOCH—(CASTE No. 18).

375. **Meaning of Biloch—Bibliography**[1].—The word Biloch is variously used in the Panjáb to denote the following people:—

(1) The Biloch proper, a nation which traces its origin from the direction of Makrán, and now holds the lower Sulemáns;
(2) A criminal tribe settled in the great jungles below Thánesar;
(3) Any Musulmán camelman except in the extreme east and the extreme west of the Panjáb;
(4) A small Pathán tribe of Derah Ismáíl Khán, more properly called Balúch.

The criminal tribe will be described under vagrant and gipsy tribes. It is almost certainly of true Biloch stock. The Pathán tribe will be noticed under the Patháns of Derah Ismáíl. It also is in all probability a small body of true Biloches who have become affiliated to the Patháns. Our figures for the most part refer to the true Biloch of the lower frontier and to their representatives who are scattered throughout the Panjáb. But in the upper grazing grounds of the Western Plains the Biloch settlers have taken to the grazing and breeding of camels rather than to husbandry; and thus the word Biloch has become associated with the care of camels, insomuch that throughout the Peshawar, Ráwalpindi, Lahore, Amritsar, and Jálandhar divisions, the word Biloch is used for any Musalmán camelman whatever be his caste, every Biloch being supposed to be a camelman and every Mahomedan camelman to be a Biloch. In Sirsa we have Punwár Rájpúts from Multán who are known as Biloch because they keep camels, and several Deputy Commissioners recommended that Untwál, Sárbán, and Biloch should be taken together as one caste. The headmen of these people are called *Malik*, and I have classed some five hundred Musalmáns who returned themselves under this name, chiefly in the Lahore division, as Biloch. It is impossible to say how many of the men returned as Biloch because they keep camels are of true Biloch origin. Settlements of Biloches proper are, excluding the Multán and Deraját divisions, and Sháhpur, reported in Dehli, Gurgáon, Karnál, Hissár, Rohtak, Lúdhiána, Amritsar, Gújránwála, Fírozpur, and Ráwalpindi; but in all these districts except the first five the word is used for camelmen also, and the figures cannot be separated.

Bibliography.—The following books will be found to contain information regarding the Biloch nation: Hughes' *Bilochistán*, a useful compilation of perhaps somewhat doubtful authority; Bruce's *Memorandum on the Derah Ghâzi District* (*Panjáb Selections, IX 1871*) chiefly statistical, and by no means free from error; Douies' *Bilochi Námah* translated, and Dames' *Biloch Vocabulary* (*J. A. S. B., 1880*), both including collections of Bilochi folklore; Pottinger's *Travels in Bilochistán and Sindh*

[1] I had, with the valuable assistance of Mr. Douie, written a far more complete account of the Biloch than that given in the following pages. But after Mr. Douie had left India and many of my notes had been destroyed, a great part of the MS. was lost in the office; and I had to rewrite it as best I could with very incomplete materials, and a very short time in which to complete it.

Part II.—The Biloch, Pathan, and Allied Races.

and Masson's Travels in the same countries. Fryers' *Settlement Report of Derah Ghází Khán* and Macgregor's *Gazetteer of the N. W. Frontier* give most valuable accounts of the Biloch tribes; while the Settlement Reports of those other districts in which Biloches are found in any numbers contain much useful information.

376. Description of the Biloch.—The Biloch presents in many respects a very strong contrast with his neighbour the Pathán. The political organisation of each is tribal; but while the one yields a very large measure of obedience to a chief who is a sort of limited monarch, the other recognises no authority save that of a council of the tribe. Both have most of the virtues and many of the vices peculiar to a wild and semi-civilised life. To both hospitality is a sacred duty and the safety of the guest inviolable; both look upon the exaction of "blood for blood" as the first duty of man; both follow strictly a code of honour of their own, though one very different from that of modern Europe; both believe in one God whose name is Alláh, and whose prophet is Mahomet. But the one attacks his enemy from in front, the other from behind; the one is bound by his promises[1], the other by his interests; in short, the Biloch is less turbulent, less treacherous, less bloodthirsty, and less fanatical than the Pathán: he has less of God in his creed and less of the devil in his nature.

His frame is shorter and more spare and wiry than that of his neighbour to the north; though generations of independence have given to him too a bold and manly bearing. Frank and open in his manners and without servility, fairly truthful when not corrupted by our Courts, faithful to his word, temperate and enduring, and looking upon courage as the highest virtue, the true Biloch of the Deraját frontier is one of the pleasantest men we have to deal with in the Panjáb. As a revenue payer he is not so satisfactory, his want of industry, and the pride which looks upon manual labour as degrading, making him but a poor husbandman. He is an expert rider, horse-racing is his national amusement, and the Biloch breed of horses is celebrated throughout Northern India. Till quite lately he killed his colts as soon as they were born; and his preference for mares is expressed in the proverb—"A man with his saddle "on a mare has his saddle on a horse; a man with his saddle on a horse has his saddle on his head." If he cannot afford a whole mare he will own as many legs of one as he can manage; and, the Biloch mare having four legs, will keep her a quarter of each year for each leg of which he is master, after which she passes on to the owner of the remaining legs. He is a thief by tradition and descent, for he says, "God "will not favour a Biloch who does not steal and rob" and "the Biloch who steals secures heaven to seven "generations of his ancestors." But he has become much more honest under the civilising influences of our rule.

His face is long and oval, his features finely cut, and his nose aquiline; he wears his hair long and usually in oily curls and lets his beard and whiskers grow, and he is very filthy in person, considering cleanliness as a mark of effeminacy. He usually carries a sword, knife and shield; he wears a smock frock reaching to his heels and pleated about the waist, loose drawers and a long cotton scarf; and all these must be white or as near it as dirt will allow of, insomuch that he will not enter our army because he would there be obliged to wear a coloured uniform. His wife wears a sheet over her head, a long sort of nightgown reaching to her ankles, and wide drawers; her clothes may be red or white; and she plaits her hair in a long queue.

377. As the true Biloch is nomad in his habits he does not seclude his women; but he is extremely jealous of female honour. In cases of detected adultery the man is killed, and the woman hangs herself by order. Even when on the war-trail, the women and children of his enemy are safe from him. The Biloch of the hills lives in huts or temporary camps, and wanders with his herds from place to place. In the plains he has settled in small villages; but the houses are of the poorest possible description. When a male child is born to him, ass's dung in water, symbolical of pertinacity, is dropped into his mouth from the point of a sword before he is given the breast. A tally of lives due is kept between the various tribes or families; but when the account grows complicated it can be settled by betrothals, or even by payment of cattle. The rules of inheritance do not follow the Islamic law, but tend to keep property in the family by confining succession to agnates; though some of the leading and more educated men are said to be trying to introduce the *shara* into their tribes.

The Biloches are nominally Musalmáns, but singularly ignorant of their religion and neglectful of its rites and observances; and though they once called themselves, and were called by old historians "friends of Ali," and though, if their account of their ejection from Arabia be true, they must have originally been Shiah, they now belong almost without exception to the Sunni sect. Like many other Musalmán races of the frontier they claim to be Qureshi Arabs by origin, while some hold them to be of Túrkomán stock; their customs are said to support the latter theory; their features certainly favour the former. The question is discussed at pages 19*ff* of Mr. Fryer's Settlement Report of Derah Ghází. Their language is a branch of the old Persian, and apparently contains many archaic forms which throw light upon other modern developments from the same source. It is described in the Chapter on Languages. It is now hardly spoken, so far as the Panjáb is concerned, beyond the tribal organisation of the Derah Ghází Biloches; and even among them it is being gradually superseded by Multáni or Jatki, the language of the plains, and a Biloch Chief has been known to learn the language in order to talk it to English officials. They have no written character, and no literature; but they are passionately fond of poetry, chiefly consisting of ballads describing the events of national or tribal history, and of love-songs; and local poets are still common among them.

378. Early history of the Biloch.—Their account of their origin is that they are descended from Mír Hamzah, a Qureshi Arab and an uncle of the Prophet, and were settled at Halab or Aleppo, till, siding with Husen, they were expelled by Yazíz the second of the Umeyid Caliphs. This would be about 680 A.D. They fled to the hill country of Kirmán in Persia, where they lived quietly for some time, and so increased in numbers that the King became desirous of binding them to himself by ties of marriage. He accordingly demanded a wife from each of the forty-four *bolaks* or tribes into which they

[1] There is, in the hills above Harand, a "stone or cairn of cursing," erected as a perpetual memorial of the treachery of one who betrayed his fellow.

Part II.—The Biloch, Pathan, and Allied Races.

are said to have then been divided, though all traces of them have long since been lost. But their fathers had never given their daughters in wedlock to a stranger, and they therefore sent forty-four boys dressed up in girl's clothes, and fled before the deception could be discovered. They moved south-eastwards into Kech Makrán or the tract between Afghánistán and the coast of the Arabian Sea, then but partially inhabited, and there finally settled in the country which is now known as Bilochistán [1].

From Jalál Khán, the Chief under whose leadership they made their last migration, sprang four sons, Rind, Hot, Lashári, and Korai, and a daughter Jato. Five of their tribes still bear these names, but the Rind and Lashári appear to have been pre-eminent; and the Biloches, or at least that portion of the nation which later on moved northwards to our border, were divided into two great sections under those names, and I believe that all Biloch tribes still consider themselves as belonging to one or other of these sections. Thus the Mazári and Drishak, who trace their descent from Hot, claim to belong to the Rind section. Some five hundred years after their settlement in Kech Makrán, the Rind, Lashári, and Jatoi moved northwards into the country about Kelát, to the west of the lower Sulemáns, "the Rind settling in Shorán, the "Lashári in Gandáva, and the Jatoi in Sevi and Dhádon, while the Khosa remained in Kech and the Hot "in Makrán" [2]. They are said to have dispossessed and driven into Sindh a Jat people, ruled over by a Hindu prince with the Sindhi title of Jám and the name of Nindáva, whose capital was at Kelát. After a time the charms of a woman led to jealousy between the nephews of Mír Chákar and Mír Gwáhrám Khán, the Chiefs of the Rind and Lashári sections. Their claims were to be decided by a horse-race held in Rind Territory, in which the hosts loosened the girths of their rival's saddle. A fight resulted, and the Rind, who were at first worsted, called to their aid Sultán Husen [3] King of Khorásán, and drove the Lashári out into Haidarábád and Tatta in Sindh, where they no longer exist as an individual tribe. From this event the Biloches date the growth of their present tribal organisation; and as there is now no localised tribe bearing the name of Rind, and as almost all the great tribes of our frontier claim to be of Rind extraction, it is probable that the Rind, left sole possessors of the hill country of Kelát (for the Jatoi also consider themselves as belonging to the Rind section of the nation), gradually split up into the tribes which we now find on the Derah Gházi border. Several of these tribes have taken their names from the localities which they now hold, which shows that their names are not older than their occupation of their present territories [4].

379. Advance of the Biloches into the Panjab.—The Biloches had thus spread as far north as the Bolán; but apparently they had not yet encroached upon the Sulemán range which lay to the east of them, and which was held by Patháns, while a Jat population occupied the valley of the Indus and the country between the Sulemáns and the river. But about the middle of the 15th century, the Túrks or Mughals under their Arghún leader invaded Kachhi and Sindh, and twice took Sibi, in 1479 and in 1511 A.D. About the same time the Brahoi, a tribe believed to be of Dravidian origin [5], and who appear to have followed in their tracks, drove the Biloch out of the fertile valley of Kelát and established a supremacy over their northern tribes. Yielding to the pressure thus put upon them, the Kelát tribes moved eastwards into the lower Sulemáns [6] driving the Patháns before them along the range, while the Biloches from Sindh began to spread up the Indus. Many of these latter took service with the Langáh rulers of Multán and were granted lands along the river; and about 1480 A.D. Ismáíl Khán and Fatah Khán the two sons of Malik Sohráb Khán, and Gházi Khán son of Háji Khán, all Dodai Biloches and of Rind extraction, founded the three Derahs which still bear their names, overcame the Lodis of Sítpur, and established themselves as independent rulers of the lower Deraját and Muzaffargarh, which position they and their descendants maintained for nearly 300 years [7]. Thus the Southern Biloches gradually spread up the valleys of the Indus, Chanáb, and Satluj; while the Derah Gházi tribes came down from their hills into the *pachhád* or sub-montane tract, displacing a Jat population and driving them down to the river, where they still form an important element of the population even in tracts owned by Biloches. In 1555 a large body of Biloches accompanied Humáyún, whom they had previously harassed in his retreat, in his victorious re-entry into India, under the leadership of Mír Chákar, the great Rind hero of Biloch story. They are said to have consisted chiefly of Laghári, Drishak, Gopáng, and Jatoi. Mír Chákar eventually settled in Montgomery, where a considerable tract, still partly held by Biloches, was granted to him by the grateful sovereign, and died and was buried at Satgarh in that district. It is probable that many of the Biloch settlements in the eastern districts of the Province sprang from Humáyún's attendants.

The tribal organisation of the Biloches now covers the whole of our southern frontier as far north as the boundary bewteen the two Derahs, being confined for the most part to the hills and the land immediately under them, but stretching east to the Indus in the neighbourhood of Rájanpur. There is also a large Biloch element throughout the river lands of the Indus in both the Derahs, more especially in the southern and northern portion of Derah Gházi and just above the Derah Ismáíl border; while in Baháwalpur and Muzaffargarh they form a large proportion of the whole population, and they hold considerable areas on the Satluj in Multán, to the north of the Ravi in Montgomery, on the right bank

[1] Mr. Fryer quotes authorities for the occupation of the Makrán Mountains by Biloches at least as early as (1) the beginning of the fifth century; (2) the middle of the seventh century. (Derah Gházi Settlement Report, p. 19).

[2] Shorán is probably another reading of Saráwan, the country between Quetta and Kelát; Gandáva is on the northern frontier of Sindh, south-east of Saráwan; Sevi and Dhádon are doubtless other forms of Sibi and Dádar, north of Gandáva and south-east of Quetta.

[3] This name should fix the date of the contest; but I have been unable to identify the sovereign in question, who is also described as Sultán Sháh Husen, King of Persia. Mír Chákar lived in the time of Humáyún, about the middle of the 16th century; but it is probable that these events took place at least two centuries earlier. Mír Chákar and Mír Gwáhrám are renowned in Biloch story as the national heroes, and it is not unnatural that any great event should be referred to them.

[4] When the name applies to a tract, the tract may have been called after the tribe; but where the name belongs to a mountain, river, or other natural feature, the converse seems more probable.

[5] It is thought probable by some that the Brahoi language will be found, when we learn more about it, to be Iranian and not Dravidian.

[6] One account postpones the occupation of the lower Sulemáns by Biloches to the expedition with Humáyún to be mentioned presently. It is true that about the time of Humáyún's conquest of India the Patháns of the Derah Ismáíl frontier were at their weakest, as will be explained when those tribes come under discussion. But it is also true that there is a tendency to refer all past events to the time of any famous incident, such as the march to Dehli with Humáyún.

[7] The subsequent history of these tribes is related in section 385.

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of the Chanáb and along the Jahlam in Jhang, and on the latter river in Sháhpur. But outside the Derah Ghází Khán district, and indeed along the greater part of the river border of that district, the Biloch settlers own no allegiance to any tribal Chief, are altogether external to the political organisation of the nation, and do not hold that dominant position among their neighbours which is enjoyed by the organised tribes of Derah Ghází. Many of them have been settled in their present holdings within comparatively recent times or, to use the words of Mr. Tucker, have acquired them "as cultivating proprietors, rather than as a military caste which ruled the country but left the occupation of the land to the Jats." Figures showing the distribution of the Biloches will be found in Abstract No. 65, page 191.

380. Tribal organisation of the Biloches.—Sohráb Khán the chief of the Dumki, a Rind tribe, is the nominal head of the Biloches, or at any rate of those on our frontier; while all the northern tribes beyond our border acknowledge the supremacy of the Brahoi Khán of Kelát, a supremacy the reality of which has always varied with the personal character of the Khán, and which it is probable that our own frontier policy has lately saved from total extinction. But for all practical purposes the frontier tribes are independent both of foreigners and of one another, and are held together by a common nationality against outsiders only. The tribe, at least in its present form, is a political and not an ethnic unit, and consists of a conglomeration of clans bound together by allegiance to a common Chief. Probably every tribe contains a nucleus of two, three, or more clans descended from a single ancestor. But round these have collected a number of affiliated sections; for the cohesion between the various parts of a tribe or clan is not always of the strongest, and is not very uncommon for a clan or a portion of a clan to quarrel with its brethren, and leaving its tribe to claim the protection of a neighbouring Chief. They then become his *hamsáyaks* or dwellers beneath the same shade, and he is bound to protect them and they to obey him. In this manner a small section formerly belonging to the Laghári tribe, and still bearing its name, has attached itself to the Qasráni; while there is a Jiskáni section in both the Drishak and the Gurcháni tribes. Thus too, Rind tribes are sometimes found to include Lashári clans. So when Násir Khán, the great Khán of Kelát who assisted Ahmad Sháh in his invasion of Dehli, reduced the Hasanni tribe and drove them from their territory, they took refuge with the Khetrán, of which tribe they now form a clan. Even strangers are often affiliated in this manner. Thus the Laghári tribe includes a section of Náhar Patháns (the family from which sprung the Lodi dynasty of Dehli), who are not Biloch but who are Khetrán. And the Gurcháni tribe includes sections which, though bearing a Biloch name and talking the Bilochi language, are not allowed to be of Biloch race and are almost certainly Jat.

The tribe (*tuman*[1]) under its chief or *tumandár* is sub-divided into a small number of clans (*pára*) with their *muqaddams* or headmen, and each clan into more numerous septs (*phalli*). Below the *phalli* come the families, of which it will sometimes contain as few as a dozen. The clans are based upon common descent; and identity of clan name, even in two different tribes, almost certainly indicates a common ancestor. The sept is of course only an extended family. The tribal names are often patronymics ending in the Bilochi termination *áni*, such as Gurcháni, Bálacháni; or in some few cases in the Pashto *zai*. An individual is commonly known by the name of his clan, the sept being comparatively unimportant. Marriage within the sept is forbidden[2], and this appears to be the only restriction. The Biloches freely marry Jat women, though the first wife of a Chief will always be a Bilochni. They say that they never give their daughters to Jats; but this assertion, though probably true on the frontier, is most certainly not so beyond the tribal limits.

The tract occupied by each division of a Biloch tribe is sufficiently well defined; but within this area the people are either wholly nomad or, as is the case within our frontier, live in small hamlets, each inhabited by only a few families, having property in their cultivated lands and irrigation works, but without any actual demarcation of the surrounding pasture lands. Thus the large and compact village community of the Eastern Panjáb is unknown, and our village or *mauzah* is in these parts merely a collection of hamlets included within a common boundary for administrative purposes.

381. Tribal statistics.—Abstract No. 66 on the next page shows the figures for the main Biloch tribes, Abstract No. 67 gives those for minor tribes for certain districts only, while Abstract No. 68 shows the principal clans.

The percentage of the Biloch population not included in these details is small in the districts where the Biloch element has any importance, being only 9 per cent. in Derah Ghází Khán, 13 per cent. in Derah Ismáíl Khán, 15 per cent. in Muzaffargarh, and 19 per cent. in Multán. In other districts it is much larger. As has already been explained, sections of the same name occur in different tribes; while a clan of one tribe will bear the tribal name of another tribe. Thus, where the columns for sub-divisions of caste have not been filled up with sufficient care, errors in tabulation are almost unavoidable. For this reason the tribal and clan figures were tabulated in the district offices. Unfortunately, the Deputy Commissioner of Derah Ghází, from whom I had hoped for great assistance, was so busy that he was unable to pay any attention to the matter; and one or two of the results which the Derah Ghází figures give are patently absurd. It is to be regretted that the opportunity which a Census affords only at long intervals of obtaining an accurate detail of the Ghází tribes, should not have been made the most of. The points in which the figures are untrustworthy are indicated below.

382. The organised Biloch tribes of the Derajat.—It is only in Derah Ghází Khán and on its frontier that we have to do with Biloch tribes having a distinct tribal and political organisation. Elsewhere in the Panjáb the tribal tie is merely that of common descent, and the tribe possesses no corporate coherence. The Derah Ghází tribes are in the main of Rind origin. They are, beginning from the south, Mazári, Bugti, Marri, Drishak, Gurcháni, Tibbi Lund, Laghári, Khetrán, Khosa, Sori Lund, Bozdár, Qasráni, and Nutkáni; and of these the Marri, Bugti and Khetrán are wholly, and the Gurcháni and the Laghári partly independent, while the Nutkáni has recently lost its individuality as a tribe. The figures for both the Lunds are certainly, and those for the Gurcháni possibly wrong, as is noted under the respective tribes.

[1] A Persian (? Túrkomán) word meaning 10,000; a body of 10,000 troops; a district or *tribe* furnishing a body of 10,000 troops.
[2] But Mr. Fryer says that cousins commonly intermarry.

Part II.—The Biloch, Pathan, and Allied Races.

Abstract No. 66, *showing the* principal Biloch Tribes *for* Districts and States.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
	Rind.	Laghári.	Jatoi.	Gurchání.	Lashári.	Khosa.	Korái.	Tibbi-Lund.	Chándia.	Gopáng.	Mazári.	Hot.	Nutkáni.	Gurmáni.	Kuláchi.	Qasráni.	Jiskáni.	Drishak.
Lahore	2,351	...	1,045	...	86	...	56	...	...	...	...	78	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gujranwala	...	...	147	...	78	...	...	...	...	...	...	148	...	...	...	...	...	...
Firozpur	36	...	595	...	80	...	30	...	...	...	...	58	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rawalpindi	48	...	...	...	16	...	102	...	...	...	...	21	...	...	...	...	13	...
Jhelam	87	...	400	...	148	...	916	...	49	...	...	121	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gujrat	...	...	13	...	14	...	71	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shahpur	1,350	...	2,229	...	1,053	...	402	...	35	...	...	176	...	...	...	...	...	...
Multan	6,008	35	506	...	1,865	...	2,691	...	872	992	2	842	...	62	457	4	78	...
Jhang	5,223	167	1,849	...	696	...	197	...	187	17	...	774	21	...	53	59	270	...
Montgomery	1,460	...	4,106	...	754	...	805	...	4	1	...	654	...	...	41	...	...	...
Muzaffargarh	4,536	1,159	4,574	...	2,629	106	3,385	...	7,290	8,460	7	1,105	257	2,522	977	...	317	374
Derah Ismail Khan	2,233	2,195	1,232	42	4,270	32	1,234	...	1,812	24	5	1,072	597	1,076	3,724	1,675	3,705	...
Derah Ghazi Khan	6,136	22,980	2,819	17,099	1,354	11,308	727	10,888	412	1,230	8,649	282	4,671	1,666	...	2,615	13	3,796
Bannu	237	75	1	...	325	...	70	..	124	...	...	66	...	1	14	...	2	...
Dehli Division	158	...	...	...	...	...	15	...	...	...	...	11	...	...	2	7	...	...
Hissar Division	108	...	504	...	467	...	59	...	...	14	...	317	...	...	...	58	...	...
Ambala Division	...	...	65	...	18	...	23	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jalandhar Division	1	...	48	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
Amritsar Division	...	...	9	...	46	...	29	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...
Peshawar Division	16	25	7	...	3	...	179	..	...	...	...	35	...	...	...	...	...	...
British Territory	27,988	26 636	20,159	17,141	13,902	11,446	10,903	10,888	10,785	10,738	8,663	5,783	5,516	5,327	5,268	4,4[illegible]8	4,3[illegible]8	4,170
Nabha and Faridkot	68	...	163	...	98	...	30	...	...	...	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bahawalpur	8,287	97	4,272	...	3,295	1,011	4,435	...	1,263	5,437	548	3,343	...	...	371	...	323	74
Total Province	36,343	26,733	24,598	17,141	17,295	12,457	15,481	10,838	12,048	16,175	9,211	9,138	5,546	5,327	5,639	4,4[illegible]8	4,731	4,244

Abstract No. 67, *showing* minor Biloch Tribes.

Districts and States, &c.	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
	Petáfi.	Gashkori.	Mitráni.	Bozdár.	Mastoi.	Mashori.	Dasti.	Hajáni.	Sahráni.	Sanjráni.	Laskáni.	Magassi.	Ahmadáni.	Gabol.	Qandráni.	Kupcháni.	Aliáni.
Derah Ismail Khan	1,344	1,752	2,188	285	28	140	813	...	...	10	271	748	...	...	...	795	612
Derah Ghazi Khan	133	92	91	1,715	1,300	53	610	1,017	...	1,094	528	33	1,132	...	...	...	...
Muzaffargarh	1,441	893	...	107	685	1,743	405	655	1,629	293	505	303	...	960	842	...	...
Other districts	16	118	...	4	77	151	255	...	...	...	40	175	...	2	...	...	135
Total British Territory	2,934	2,855	2,279	2,111	2,090	2,087	2,083	1,672	1,629	1,397	1,344	1,259	1,132	962	842	795	747
Bahawalpur	810	62	...	73	686	...	1,808	...	...	...	...	42	...	42	6	...	...
Total Province	3,744	2,917	2,279	2,184	2,776	2,087	3,891	1,672	1,629	1,397	1,344	1,301	1,132	1,004	848	795	747

Districts and States, &c.	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51
	Kashak.	Khetrán.	Bugti.	Bujráni.	Badál.	Pachár.	Tanwári.	Jáfar.	Hijbáni.	Sargáni.	Shekháni.	Sháháni.	Lund.	Mariáni.	Sakháni.	Mazkáni.
Derah Ismail Khan	...	340	234	504	...	28	13	24	363	...	12	...	84	15	99	2
Derah Ghazi Khan	...	246	295	...	...	...	...	22	64	21	...	23	...	...	...	...
Muzaffargarh	580	...	...	...	291	369	151	...	45	57	...	...	98	...	...	...
Other districts	106	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total British Territory	686	586	529	504	291	397	164	46	472	78	12	23	182	15	99	28
Bahawalpur	...	19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total Province	686	605	529	504	291	397	164	46	472	78	12	23	182	15	99	284

Abstract No. 68, *showing the* principal Biloch Clans.

District.	2. Laghari.						3. Jatoi.				
	Aliáni.	Haddiáni.	Bughláni.	Haibatáni.	Other Lagháris.	Total.	Bhund.	Zangeja.	Vadáni.	Other Jatoi.	Total.
Derah Ghazi Khan	3,031	54	1,753	1,031	17,111	22,980	...	...	...	...	...
Derah Ismail Khan	...	567	...	...	1,628	2,19[illegible]	272	891	24	45	1,232
Muzaffargarh	89	...	...	...	1,070	1,15[illegible]	...	...	...	...	...
Total	3,120	621	1,753	1,031	19,809	26,33[illegible]	272	891	24	45	1,232

District.	4. Gurchani.						6. Khosa.				8. Tibbi Lund.		
	Sháháni.	Lashári.	Petáfi.	Durkáni.	Other Gurcháni.	Total.	Babeláni.	Isáni.	Other Khosa.	Total.	Lund.	Other Tibbi Lund.	Total.
Derah Ghazi Khan	659	9,525	1,798	51	5,066	17,099	1,797	2,619	6,892	11,308	7,188	3,700	10,888
Derah Ismail Khan	...	...	...	42	...	42	...	...	32	32	...	...	...
Muzaffargarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	106	106	...	...	...
Total	659	9,525	1,798	93	5,066	17,741	1,797	2,619	7,030	11,446	7,188	3,700	10,888

District.	11. Mazari.						17. Jiskani.					
	Bálacháni.	Rustamáni.	Masidáni.	Sargáni.	Other Mazári.	Total.	Sargáni.	Sháháni.	Lashkaráni.	Mamdáni.	Other Jiskáni.	Total.
Derah Ghazi Khan	1,179	2,772	2,760	1,257	681	8,649	...	...	...	...	..	...
Derah Ismail Khan	...	...	...	...	5	5	1,020	506	910	813	456	3,705
Muzaffargarh	...	...	..	...	7	7	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	1,179	2,772	2,760	1,257	693	8,661	1,020	506	910	8:3	456	3,705

District.	18. Drishak.				38. Bugti.		
	Kirmáni.	Gulfaz.	Other Drishak.	Total.	Shambáni.	Other Bugti.	Total.
Derah Ghazi Khan	210	724	2,862	3,796	160	135	295
Derah Ismail Khan	...	...	...	...	...	234	234
Muzaffargarh	..	52	322	374	...	..	...
Total	210	776	3,184	4,170	160	369	529

Part II.—The Biloch, Pathan, and Allied Races.

The Mazari (No. 11) are practically found only in Derah Gházi Khán, of which they occupy the southernmost portion, their western boundary being the hills and their eastern the river. Their country extends over the Sindh frontier into Jacobábád, and stretches northwards as far as Umrkot and the Pitok pass. Rojhán is their headquarters. They say that about the middle of the 17th century they quarrelled with the Chándis of Sindh, and moved into the Siáháf valley and Maráo plain, and the hill country to the west now occupied by the Bugti; but obtaining grants of land in the lowlands gradually shifted eastwards towards the river. Mr. Fryer puts their fighting strength at 4,000, but our returns show only 9,000 souls in the Province and there are very few beyond our border, the Shambáni territory lying just behind it. The tribe traces its descent from Hot, son of Jalál, and is divided into four clans, Rustamáni, Masidáni, Bálachání, and Sargáni; of which the first two are the more numerous, though the chief is a Bálachání.

The Marri, and the Bugti or Zarkanni (No. 38) hold the country beyond our southern border; and are wholly independent, or rather nominally subject to the Khán of Kelát, not being found within the Panjáb. They are both of Rind origin. The Marri, who hold a large area bounded by the Khetrán on the east, the Bugti on the south, Kachhi of Kelát on the west, and Afghánistán on the north, are the most powerful and consequently the most troublesome of all the Biloch tribes. They have four clans, the Ghazani, Loharáni, Mazaráni, and Bijaráni, of which the Mazaráni live beyond Sibi and the Bolán and are almost independent of the tribe. The tribe is wholly nomad and prædatory. The Bugti, who occupy the angle between the frontiers of the Panjáb and Upper Sindh, are also called Zarkanni[1], and their clans are the Raheja, Nutháni, Musúri, Kalpúr, Phong, and Shambáni or Kíazai. The last, which is an almost independent section, separates the main tribe from our border; while the Marri lie still further west. Both these tribes are pure Rind.

The Drishak (No. 18) are the most scattered of all the Derah Gházi tribes, many of their villages lying among a Jat population on the bank of the Indus; and this fact renders the tribe less powerful than it should be from its numbers. They hold no portion of the hills, and are practically confined to the Gházi district, lying scattered about between the Pitok pass on the north and the Sori pass on the south. The tribe belongs to the Rind section; but claims descent from Hot, son of Jalál Khán. Its sections are the Kirmáni, Mingwáni, Gulfáz, Sargáni, Arbáni, and Jiskáni, the chief belonging to the first of these. Their head quarters are at Asni close to Rájanpur. They are said to have descended into the plains after the Mazári, or towards the end of the 17th century.

The Gurchani (No. 4) own the Mári and Drágal hills, and their boundary extends further into the mountains than that of any other of the tribes subject to us; while their territory does not extend much to the east of the Sulemáns. They are divided into eleven clans, of which the chief are the Durkáni, Shekháni, Lashári, Petáfi, Jiskáni, and Sabzáni. The last four are true Biloches and the last three Rinds; the remainder of the tribe being said to have descended from Gorish, a grandson of Rája Bhimsen of Haidarábád, who was adopted by the Biloches and married among them. He is said to have accompanied Humáyún to Dehli, and on his return to have collected a Biloch following and ejected the Pathán holders from the present Gurcháni holdings. It is not impossible that a considerable number of the Lashári clan, who are not too proud of their affiliation to the Gurcháni, may have returned themselves as Lashári simply, and so have been included in the Lashári tribe. The whole of the Durkáni and about half of the Lashári live beyond our border, and are not subject to us save through their connection with the tribe. The latter is the most turbulent of all the clans, and they and the Petáfi used to rival the Khosa tribe in lawlessness of conduct. They have lately been given fresh lands and are gradually settling down. The Gurcháni tribe is said to possess 2,600 fighting men. They are not found in any other part of the Panjáb than Derah Gházi.

The Tibbi Lund (No. 8) are also wholly confined to the Gházi district, where they occupy a small area in the midst of the Gurcháni country. They are composed of Lunds, Rinds, and Khosas, all of true Rind origin, the Lund clan comprising some two-thirds of their whole numbers. These three sections were only quite recently united under the authority of the Tibbi Lund *tumandár*. Unfortunately, the figures given for this tribe evidently include those of the Sori Lund mentioned below.

The Laghari (No. 22) occupy the country from the Kúra pass, which is the Gurcháni northern border, to the Sakhi Sarwar pass a little to the north of Derah, which divides them from the Khosa. They are of pure Rind origin and are divided into four sections, the Haddiáni, Aliáni, Bughláni, and Haibatáni, of which the first inhabit the hills beyond our border and are not subject to our rule, and are, or were in 1860, nomadic and inveterate thieves. The chief belongs to the Aliáni clan. Their head-quarters are at Chhoti Zerín, where they are said to have settled after their return from accompanying Humáyún, expelling the Ahmadánis who then held the present Laghári country. The tribe numbers some 5,000 fighting men. They are also found in considerable numbers in Derah Ismáíl and Muzaffargarh; but these outlying settlements own no allegiance to the tribe. The Tálpúr dynasty of Sindh belonged to this tribe[2], and there is still a considerable Laghári colony in that Province. It appears probable that the representatives of several of the Northern Biloch tribes which are now found in Sindh, are descended from people who went there during the Tálpúr rule.

383. **The Khetran (No. 37)** are an independent tribe living beyond our border at the back of the Laghári, Khosa, and Lund country. Their original settlement was at Vahoa in the country of the Qasráni of Derah Ismáíl Khán, where many of them still live and hold land between the Qasráni and the river. But the Emperor Akbar drove out the main body of the tribe, and they took refuge in the Bárkhán valley of the Laghári hills, and still hold the surrounding tract and look to the Laghári chief as their protector. They are certainly not pure Biloch, and are held by many to be Patháns, descended from Miána (No. 87 in the Pathán table of tribes, page 205), brother of Tarín the ancestor of the Abdáli; and they do in some cases intermarry with Patháns. But they confessedly resemble Biloches in features, habits, and general appearance, the names of their septs end in the Biloch patronymic termination *áni*, and they are now for all practical purposes a Biloch tribe. It is probable that they are in reality a remnant of the original Jat population; they speak a dialect of their own called Khetránki which is an Indian dialect closely allied with Sindhi, and in fact probably a form of the Jatki speech of the lower Indus. They are the least warlike of all the Biloch tribes, capital cultivators, and in consequence exceedingly wealthy. In this Census they returned themselves as follows within British Territory:—

	Pathans.	Biloches.	Total.
Derah Ismáíl Khán	1,324	340	1,664
Derah Gházi Khán	32	246	278
Total Province	1,558	605	2,163

The tribe as it now stands is composed of four clans, of which the Ganjúra represents the original Khetrán nucleus, while to them are affiliated the Dháríwál[3] or Chácha who say that they are Dodai Biloches, the Hasanni, once an important Biloch tribe which was crushed by Násir Khán, the great Khán of Kelát, and took refuge with the Khetrán of whom they are now almost independent, and the Náhar or Bábar, who are by origin Lodi Patháns.

The Khosa (No. 6) occupy the country between the Laghári and the Qasráni, their territory being divided into a northern and a southern portion by the territory of the Lunds, and stretching from the foot of the hills nearly across to the river. They are said to have settled originally in Kech; but with the exception of a certain number in Baháwalpur, they are, so far as the Panjáb is concerned, only found in Derah Gházi. They hold, however, extensive lands in Sindh, which were granted them by Humáyún in return for military service. They are one of the most powerful tribes on the border, and very independent of their Chief, and are "admitted to be among the bravest of the Biloches." They are true Rinds and are divided into six clans, of which the Babeláni and Isáni are the most important, the latter being an offshoot of the Khetrán affiliated to the Khosa. The other four are Jaggel, Jandáni, Jarwár, and Mahrwáni. The Chief belongs to the Bátel clan. The Khosa is the most industrious of the organised tribes; and at the same time the one which next to the Gurcháni bears the worst character for lawlessness. In 1859 Major Pollock wrote: "It is rare to find a Khosa who has not been in prison for cattle-stealing, or deserved to be; and a Khosa who has not "committed a murder or debauched his neighbour's wife or destroyed his neighbour's landmark is a decidedly creditable specimen." And even now the description is not very much exaggerated.

[1] A sept of their Raheja clan is also called Zarkanni.
[2] See Macgregor's *Gazetteer of the North-West Frontier*, Vol. II, page 259, for an account of its origin.
[3] Dháríwál is the name of an important Jat tribe.

The Lund (No. 49) or Sori Lund, as they are called to distinguish them from the Tibbi Lund, are a small tribe which has only lately risen to importance. Their territory divides that of the Khosa into two parts, and extends to the bank of the Indus. They are not pure Biloches, and are divided into six clans, the Haidaráni, Bakráni, Zariáni, Garzwáni, Nuháni, and Gurcháni, none of which are important. The figures given for this tribe are obviously absurd, and they have apparently been included with the Tibbi Lund (No. 8).

The Bozdar (No. 22) are an independent tribe situated beyond our frontier at the back of the Qasráni Territory. They hold from the Sanghar Pass on the north to the Khosa and Khetrán country on the south; and they have the Lúni and Músa Khel Patháns on their western border. Abstract No. 67 shows over 2,000 men as having been within the Panjáb at the time of the Census, almost all of them in the Ghází district. These live in scattered villages about Rájanpur and among the Lagharí tribe, and have no connection with the parent tribe. The Bozdár are of Rind extraction, and are divided into the Duláni, Ladwáni, Ghulámáni, Chakráni, Siháni, Sháhwáni, Jaláláni, Jáfiráni, and Rustamáni clans. They are more civilized than most of the trans-frontier tribes and are of all the Biloches the strictest Musalmáns. Unlike all other Biloches they fight with the matchlock rather than with the sword. They are great graziers, and their name is said to be derived from the Persian *buz*, a goat."

The Qasrani (No. 16) are the northernmost of the tribes which retain their political organisation, their territory lying on either side of the boundary between the two Derahs, and being confined to the hills both within and beyond our frontier and the sub-montane strip. Their name is written Qaizaráni or Imperial. The tribe is a poor one, and is divided into seven clans, the Lashkaráni, Khubdín, Budáni, Vaswáni, Laghári, Jarwár, and Rustamáni, none of which are important. They are of Rind origin, and are not found in the Panjáb in any number beyond the Derah district.

The Nutkani (No. 13) are a tribe peculiar to Derah Gházi Khán, which holds a compact territory stretching eastward to the Indus and between the Northern Khosa and the Qasráni. The tribe once enjoyed considerable influence and importance, holding rights of superior ownership over the whole of the Sanghar country. But it no longer possesses a political organization, having been crushed out of tribal existence in the early days of Ranjít Singh's rule. But the event is so recent that it still retains much of its tribal coherence and of the characteristics of its race.

384. The broken Biloch tribes of Derah Ghazi.—The tribes above enumerated are the only ones to be found within or immediately upon our border which have a regular tribal organisation. But there are many other Biloch tribes, and among them some of those most numerously represented in the Panjáb, which occupy large areas in the south-western districts of the Province. They no longer hold compact territories exclusively as their own, while to a great extent in the Deraját itself, and still more outside it, they have lost their peculiar language and habits, and can hardly be distinguished from the Jat population with whom they are more or less intermixed, and from whom they differ in little but race. The history of the Biloches of the Derah Ghāzi lowlands is briefly sketched in the next paragraph. Their most important tribes are the Rind[1], the Jatoi, who still hold as a tribe, though without political organisation, a compact tract in Sindh between Shikárpur and the Indus, the Lashári[1], Gopáng, Gurmáni, Mastoi, Hajáni, Sanjráni, and Ahmadáni. These all lie scattered along the edge of the Indus, intermingled with the Jats of the Kachi or low riverain tract.

385. Biloch tribes of Derah Ismail.—I have already stated that the three sons of Malik Sohráb Khán and Gházi Khán, Dodais, founded Derah Gházi, Derah Ismáíl, and Derah Fatah Khán. The tribal name of Dodai seems to have been soon dropped, or perhaps the leaders were of a different tribe from their followers; for the representatives and tribesmen of Gházi Khán are locally known as Mihráni, those of Ismáíl Khán as Hot, and those of Fatah Khán as Kuláchi. The party of Fatah Khán never seems to have attained to any importance, and was almost from the beginning subject to the Hot. With Gházi Khán came the Jiskáni, who occupied the cis-Indus tract above Bhakkar, while with the Hots came the Korái whose name is associated with them in an old Biloch verse. "The Hots and Korái are joined together; they are equal with the Rind." The Korái do not appear to have exercised independent rule. At the zenith of their power the Hot, Mihráni, and Jiskáni held sway over almost the whole of the Indus valley and of the *thal* between the Indus and the Chanáb, from the centre of the Muzaffargarh district to the Salt-range Tract, the northern boundary of Sanghar and Leiah being the northern boundary of the Mihráni, while the Indus separated the Hot from the Jiskáni. During the latter half of the 16th century Dáúd Khán, a Jiskáni and the descendant of one of Gházi Khán's followers, moved southwards and subjugated to himself the greater part of the Leiah country. Akbar dispersed his tribe, but early in the 17th century the independence of the Jiskáni under Biloch Khán was recognised, and it is from Biloch Khán that the Jiskáni, Mandráni, Mamdáni, Sargáni, Qandráni, and Maliáni, who still occupy the Bhakkar and Leiah tahsíls, trace their descent. In about 1750—1770 A.D. the Mihráni, who sided with the Kalhoras or Saráis of Sindh in their struggle with Ahmad Sháh Durráni, were driven out of Derah Ghâzi by the Jiskáni and fled to Leiah, where many of them are still to be found; and a few years later the Kalhoras, expelled from Sindh, joined with the always turbulent Sargáni to crush the Jiskáni rule. About the same time the Hot were overthrown after a desperate struggle by the Gandápur Patháns.

The Biloches of Derah Ismáíl are now confined to the low lands, with the exception of the Qasráni and Khetrán of the southern border who have already been noticed in section 383. The upper hills are held by Patháns. The principal tribes are the Lashári[2] the Kuláchi and the Jiskáni. After them come the Rind, the Laghári, the Jatoi, the Korái, the Chándia, the Hot, the Gurmáni, the Petáfi, the Gashkori, and the Mihráni. Of the four last all but the Petáfi seem almost confined to Derah Ismáíl.

386. The Biloch tribes of Muzaffargarh.—In Muzaffargarh more perhaps than in any other district the Biloch is intermingled with the Jat population, and the tribal name merely denotes common descent, its common owners possess no sort of tribal coherence. The reason doubtless is that since the Biloch immigration the district has formed the border land between the Lodi of Sítpur, the Dáúdpotra of Baháwalpur, the Mihráni of Derah Gházi, and the Langáh of Multán. The Gopáng, the Chándia, the Rind, the Jatoi, and the Korái are the tribes most numerously represented Then came the Laghári, the Lashári, the Hot, the Gurmáni, the Petáfi, the Mashori, and the Sahráni, of which the last two are hardly found elsewhere.

387. The Biloch tribes of the Lower Indus and Satluj.—A very considerable number of Biloches are scattered along the lower Indus and Satluj in Baháwalpur and Multán, and especially in the former.

[1] It is possible that some Biloches may have returned themselves as Rind or Lashári with reference to their original stock rather than to their present tribe, and that some of the Lashári clan of the Gurcháni tribe may have been included in the Lashári tribe.

[2] See note to the preceding paragraph.

The most important are the Rind[1], the Korái, the Gopáng, the Jatoi, the Lashári[1], and the Hot, while less numerous but still important are the Chándia, the Khosa, and the Dasti.

388. The Biloch tribes of the Ravi, upper Jahlam, and Chanab.—The Biloches of the Rávi are chiefly found in the *bár* of the Montgomery and Jhang districts, where they occupy themselves in camel-breeding, holding but little land as cultivators. They consist almost wholly of Jatoi and Rind, which latter tribe has penetrated in some numbers as high up as Lahore. They are probably descendants of the men who under Mír Chákar accompanied Humáyún and received a grant of land in Montgomery in return for their services. In the Jhang and Sháhpur districts, on the Jahlam and the right bank of the Chanáb, the principal tribes to be found are the Rind, the Jatoi, the Lashári, and the Korái.

389. Course of migration of the Biloch tribes.—Of the original location of the tribes I know next to nothing, and what information I have been able to collect is given in section 378. But the above sketch of their existing distribution enables us to follow with some certainty the later routes by which they arrived at their present settlements. The organised tribes of Derah Gházi, including the Nutkáni, would appear to have descended from the hills eastwards towards the river; and the four most insignificant of the broken tribes, the Mastoi, the Hajáni, the Sanjráni, and the Ahmadáni, seem to have followed the same course. A few Laghári are found in Derah Ismáíl and Muzaffargarh, and a few Khosa in Baháwalpur; but with these exceptions not one of the above tribes is represented in the Panjáb outside the Ghází district, except the Qasráni whose hill territory extends into Derah Ismáíl. On the other hand all the larger broken tribes of Derah Ghází, with the single exception of the Nutkáni which was till lately organised, and all the remaining tribes which possess any numerical importance in the Panjáb except four Derah Ismáíl tribes to be mentioned presently, seem to have spread up the Indus from below, as they are without exception strongly represented on the lower course of the river, and not at all in the hill country. The Rind and the Jatoi seem to have come up the Indus in very great numbers, and to have spread high up that river, the Chanáb, the Jahlam, the Rávi, and the Satluj. The Lashári and the Korái followed in their track in slightly smaller numbers, but avoided to a great extent the Rávi valley. The Chándia, the Gopáng, the Hot, and the Gurmáni seem to have confined themselves chiefly to the valley of the Indus, the Chándia having perhaps passed up the left bank, as they are found in Derah Ismáíl but not in Derah Ghází. So indeed are the Hot, but that is accounted for by their seat of Government having been Derah Ismáíl. Four tribes, the Kuláchi, the Jiskáni, the Gashkori, and the Mihráni, the two last of which are comparatively insignificant, are found in Derah Ismáíl and nowhere else save in Muzaffargarh, where the first three occur in small numbers. As already stated in section 385, the Jiskáni and Kuláchi apparently had their origin as tribes in Leiah and Derah Fatah Khán, while the Mihráni were driven there from Derah Ghází. It would seem probable that the Gashkori either came across the hills in the south of the district, or are a local sub-division of some larger tribe which followed the usual track along the river. The Korái are Rind; the Gopáng and the Dasti are not pure Biloch, but are said to have accompanied the Rind in their wanderings.

THE PATHAN (CASTE No. 6).

390. Figures and Bibliography for Pathans.—The figures given in Table VIII A., under the head Pathán, almost certainly include many persons whose Pathán origin is to say the least doubtful; while the figures to be discussed in the following pages show that such tribes as Tanáoli, Jadún, Dilazák, Tájik, Khetrán, and even Mughals have returned themselves as Patháns. Major Wace writes: "The tribes in the west and north-west of the Panjáb, who during the last three centuries were frequently raided "upon by Afgháns, got into the habit of inventing histories of Afghán origin as a protection against ill-treatment;" and even where this motive was absent, the general tendency to claim kinship with the dominant race would produce the same effect. Moreover the origin of some of the tribes on the Peshásar frontier is doubtful, and their affiliation with the Patháns incomplete, and thus they would set up a claim to be Pathán which the true Pathán would indignantly repudiate. Mr. Thorburn notices the many and bitter disputes caused by the preparation of the genealogical trees during the Bannu Settlement, and the attempts made by Jat clans to be recorded as Patháns. He writes: "A low-caste man born and brought up in a Pathán "country, if serving away from his home, invariably affixes Khán to his name and dubs himself Pathán. It goes down if he "can talk Pashto, and his honour proportionally goes up." Still the great mass of those returned as Patháns are probably really so, and the figures represent very fairly the general distribution of the race.

In the second place, it must be remembered that of those who are really Pathán and returned as such, many are not British subjects at all. Such tribes as the Bar Mohmand of the Peshâwar frontier, who, while essentially independent tribes, hold land within our border, come down in considerable numbers in the winter to cultivate their fields; while in the summer they retreat to their cool valleys in independent territory. So too the very numerous *Pawindahs* of Derah Ismáíl only winter in the Panjáb, and the number thus temporarily added to our Pathán population is exceedingly large (section 398). Again, almost the whole of the local trade across the border is in the hands of independent tribes whose members come into our districts in considerable numbers with merchandize of sorts; while the seasons of drought and distress which preceded the Census drove many of the frontier hill-men into our districts in search of employment, and especially on the Bannu border, and on the Thal road in Kohát and the Swát canal in Peshâwar.

As for the figures for the separate tribes, they were classified, not by my central office, but by the Deputy Commissioners of the several frontier districts, at least so far as regards the figures of those districts. Thus far greater accuracy will have been secured than would otherwise have been possible. But the lists of tribes received from some of the districts, on which the selection of tribes for tabulation was based (see Chapter on Tabulation, Book II), were in some instances very imperfect and the classification exceedingly faulty; tribes of considerable numerical importance in British Territory being omitted, frontier tribes represented in the Panjáb by only a few score of persons being included, and tribes, clans, and septs being mixed up in a perfect chaos of cross-classification. So too the constant recurrence of the same clan name among the various tribes was a certain source of error. Such names as Daulat Khel, Fíroz Khel, Usmánzai, and Muhammadzai recur in many separate tribes; and where the schedule entry of sub-divisions did not specify the tribe, no certain classification could be made.

The best authorities on the subject of the Pathán nation as a whole are Dorn's translation of Niámat Ullah's *History of the Afgháns (Oriental Translation Committee, London, 1829)*, Priestley's translation of the Haiyát-i-Afgháni called *Afghánistán and its Inhabitants (Lahore, 1874)*, Elphinstone's *Kábul*, and Bellew's *Races of Afghánistán*. Bellew's *Yúsufzai*, Plowden's translation of the *Kalíd-i-Afgháni*, and the Settlement Reports of the districts of the northern frontier contain full information concerning the Patháns of the Panjáb border, as do Macgregor's *Gazetteer of the N. W. Frontier*, and Paget's *Expeditions against the N. W. Frontier Tribes.*

[1] See note to section 384.

Part II.—The Biloch, Pathan, and Allied Races.

391. Description of the Pathans.—The true Pathán is perhaps the most barbaric of all the races with which we are brought into contact in the Panjáb. His life is not so primitive as that of the gipsy tribes. But he is bloodthirsty, cruel, and vindictive in the highest degree; he does not know what truth or faith is, insomuch that the saying *Afghán be imán* has passed into a proverb among his neighbours; and though he is not without courage of a sort and is often curiously reckless of his life, he would scorn to face an enemy whom he could stab from behind, or to meet him on equal terms if it were possible to take advantage of him, however meanly. It is easy to convict him out of his own mouth; here are some of his proverbs: "A Pathán's enmity smoulders like a dung-fire."—"A cousin's tooth breaks upon a cousin."—"Keep a cousin poor, but use him."—"When he is little play with him: when he is grown up he is a "cousin; fight him."—"Speak good words to an enemy very softly: gradually destroy him root and branch."[1] At the same time he has his code of honour which he observes strictly, and which he quotes with pride under the name of Pakhtúnwáli. It imposes upon him three chief obligations, *Nanawátai* or the right of asylum, which compels him to shelter and protect even an enemy who comes as a suppliant; *Badal* or the necessity to revenge by retaliation; and *Melmastia* or open-handed hospitality to all who may demand it. And of these three perhaps the last is greatest. And there is a sort of charm about him, especially about the leading men, which almost makes one forget his treacherous nature. As the proverb says—"The Pathán is one moment a saint, and the next a devil." For centuries he has been, on our frontier at least, subject to no man. He leads a wild, free, active life in the rugged fastnesses of his mountains; and there is an air of masculine independence about him which is refreshing in a country like India. He is a bigot of the most fanatical type, exceedingly proud, and extraordinarily superstitious. He is of stalwart make, and his features are often of a markedly Semitic type. His hair, plentifully oiled, hangs long and straight to his shoulder[2]; he wears a loose tunic, baggy drawers, a sheet or blanket, sandals, and a sheepskin coat with its wool inside; his favourite colour is dark-blue[3], and his national arms the long heavy Afghán knife and the matchlock or *jazail*. His women wear a loose shift, wide wrinkled drawers down to their ankles, and a wrap over the head; and are as a rule jealously secluded. Both sexes are filthy in their persons.

Such is the Pathán in his home among the fastnesses of the frontier ranges. But the Patháns of our territory have been much softened by our rule and by the agricultural life of the plains, so that they look down upon the Patháns of the hills, and their proverbs have it—"A hill man is no man," and again, "Don't "class burrs as grass or a hill man as a human being." The nearer he is to the frontier the more closely the Pathán assimilates to the original type; while on this side of the Indus, even in the riverain itself, there is little or nothing, not even language, to distinguish him from his neighbours of the same religion as himself. The Patháns are extraordinarily jealous of female honour, and most of the blood feuds for which they are so famous originate in quarrels about women. As a race they strictly seclude their females, but the poorer tribes and the poorer members of all tribes are prevented from doing so by their poverty. Among the tribes of our territory a woman's nose is cut off if she be detected in adultery; and it is a favourite joke to induce a Pathán woman to unveil by saying to her suddenly "You have no nose!" The Pathán pretends to be purely endogamous and beyond the border he probably is so; while even in British Territory the first wife will generally be a Pathán, except among the poorest classes. At the same time Pathán women are beyond the Indus seldom if ever married to any but Patháns. They intermarry very closely, avoiding only the prohibited degrees of Islám. Their rules of inheritance are tribal and not Mahomedan, and tend to keep property within the agnatic society, though some few of the more educated families have lately begun to follow the Musalmán law. Their social customs differ much from tribe to tribe, or rather perhaps from the wilder to the more civilised sections of the nation. The Patháns beyond and upon our frontier live in fortified villages, to which are attached stone towers in commanding positions which serve as watch-towers and places of refuge for the inhabitants. Small raids from the hills into the plains below are still common; and beyond the Indus the people, even in British Territory, seldom sleep far from the walls of the village.

The figures showing the distribution of Patháns are given in Abstract No. 65 on page 191. They are the dominant race throughout the whole tract west of the Indus as far south as the southern border of the tahsíl of Derah Ismáíl Khán, which roughly divides the Pathán from the Biloch. On this side of the Indus they hold much of the Chach country of Hazára and Ráwalpindi, they have considerable colonies along the left bank of the Indus till it finally leaves the Salt-range, and they hold the northern portion of the Bhakkar *thal*. Besides those tracts which are territorially held by Patháns, there are numerous Pathán colonies scattered about the Province, most of them descendants of men who rose to power during the Pathán dynasties of Dehli, and received grants of land-revenue which their children often increased at the expense of their neighbours during the turmoil of the 18th century.

392. Origin of the Pathan.—The Afgháns proper claim descent from Saul the first Jewish King, and there is a formidable array of weighty authority in favour of their Semitic origin. The question of their descent is discussed and authorities quoted in Chapter VI of the Pesháwar Settlement Report, and in Dr. Bellew's *Races of Afghánistán*[4]. Mr. Thorburn quotes in support of their Jewish extraction, "some peculiar customs "obtaining among the tribes of purest blood, for instance the Passover-like practice of sacrificing an ani-"mal and smearing the doorway with its blood in order to avert calamity, the offering up of sacrifices, "the stoning to death of blasphemers, the periodical distribution of land, and so forth;" and he points out that most of the learned men who reject the tradition of Jewish descent have no personal acquaintance with the Afghán people. The Afghán proper is said still to call himself indifferently Ban-i-Afghán or Ban-i-Isráíl to distinguish himself from the Pathán proper who is of Indian, and the Ghilzai who is probably of mixed Turkish and Persian extraction. Pashto, the common language of all three, is distinctly Aryan, being a branch of the old Persian stock. It is described in Chapter V, sections 322-3 of this Report.

[1] The Pashto word *tarbúr* is used indifferently for "cousin" or for "enemy"; and tarbúrwáli either for "cousinhood" or for "enmity."

[2] This is not true of the northern Pathans, who shave their heads, and often their beards also.

[3] The colour and cut of the clothes vary greatly with the tribe.

[4] Dr. Bellew suggests that the original Afgháns were the Solymi of Herodotus, and were Qureshi Arabs who lived in Syria and there became intermingled with the Jews, or who migrated to Ghor where the fugitive Jews took refuge with them. This supposition would explain the name Sulemáni which is often applied to the Afgháns, and their own assertion that Khalíd ibn Walíd the Qureshi was of the same stock with themselves.

Part II.—The Biloch, Pathan, and Allied Races.

There is great conflict of opinion concerning both the origin and constitution of the Pathán nation. Not a few deny that there is any distinction whatever between the original Afghán and Pathán stocks, though these are for the most part officers of our frontier who are not brought into contact with the original Afgháns. I have however been obliged to adopt some one theory of the constitution of the nation as a basis for my classification of tribes; and I have therefore adopted that of Dr. Bellew, who probably has a greater knowledge of the Afgháns of Afghánistán as distinct from the Panjáb frontier, and especially of the old histories of the nation, than any other of the authorities who have treated of the matter. The constitution and early history of the nation according to Dr. Bellew's account are discussed in the paragraphs presently following. But whatever the origin of the Afgháns and Patháns proper may be, the nation to which the two names are now applied indifferently in Persian and Pashto respectively, occupying as it does the mountain country lying between the Persian empire on the west, the Indian on the east, the Mongol on the north, and the Biloch on the south, includes as at present constituted many tribes of very diverse origin. They are without exception Musalmáns, and for the most part bigoted followers of the Sunni sect, hating and persecuting Shíahs, or as they call them Ráfazis[1].

393. Tribal organisation of the Pathans.—The tribe is probably far more homogeneous in its constitution among the Patháns than among the Biloches. Saiyad, Túrk, and other clans have occasionally been affiliated to it; but as a rule people of foreign descent preserve their tribal individuality, becoming merely associated, and not intermingled, with the tribes among whom they have settled. Even then they generally claim Pathán origin on the female side, and the tribe is usually descended in theory at least from a common ancestor. The *hamsáyah* custom described in section 380, by which strangers are protected by the tribe with which they dwell, is in full force among the Patháns as among the Biloches. But with the former, though it does protect in many cases families of one tribe who have settled with another, it seldom accounts for any considerable portion of the tribe; and its action is chiefly confined to traders, menials, and other dependants of foreign extraction, who are protected by but not received into the tribe. Thus a blacksmith living in an Utmánzai village will give his clan as Utmánzai; but his caste will of course remain Lohár. The nation is divided genealogically into a few great sections which have no corporate existence, and the tribe is now the practical unit, though the common name and tradition of common descent are still carefully preserved in the memory of the people. Each section of a tribe, however small, has its leading man who is known as Malik, a specially Pathán title. In many, but by no means in all tribes, there is a Khán Khel or Chief House, usually the eldest branch of the tribe, whose Malik is known as Khán, and acts as chief of the whole tribe. But he is seldom more than their leader in war and their agent in dealings with others; he possesses influence rather than power; and the real authority rests with the *jirgah*, a democratic council composed of all the Maliks. The tribe is split up into numerous clans, and these again into septs. The tribe, clan, and sept are alike distinguished by patronymics formed from the name of the common ancestor by the addition of the word *Zai* or *Khel*, *Zai* being the corruption of the Pashto *zoe* meaning "son," while *Khel* is an Arabic word meaning an association or company. Both terms are used indifferently for both the larger and smaller divisions[2]. The stock of names being limited, the nomenclature is exceedingly puzzling, certain names recurring in very different tribes in the most maddening manner. Moreover the title which genealogical accuracy would allot to a tribe or clan is often very different from that by which it is known for practical purposes, the people having preferred to be called by the name of a junior ancestor who had acquired local renown. The frontier tribe whether within or beyond our border has almost without exception a very distinct corporate existence, each tribe and within the tribe each clan occupying a clearly defined tract of country, though they are in the Indus Valley often the owners merely rather than the occupiers of the country, the land and smaller villages being largely in the hands of a mixed population of Hindu origin who cultivate subject to the superior rights of the Patháns. These people are included by the Patháns under the generic and semi-contemptuous name of Hindki; a term very analogous to the Jat of the Biloch frontier, and which includes all Mahomedans who, being of Hindu origin, have been converted to Islám in comparatively recent times[3].

394. Constitution of the Pathan nation.—The words Pathán and Afghán are used indifferently by the natives of India to designate the nation under discussion[4]. But the two words are not used as synonyms by the people themselves. The original Afgháns are a race of probably Jewish or Arab extraction; and they, together with a tribe of Indian origin with which they have long been blended, still distinguish themselves as the true Afgháns, or since the rise of Ahmad Sháh Durráni as Durránis[5], and class all non-Durráni Pashto-speakers as Opra. But they have lately given their name to Afghánistán, the country formerly known as Khorásán, over which they have now held sway for more than a century, and which is bounded on the north by the Oxus, on the south by Bilochistán, on the east by the middle course of the Indus, and on the west by the Persian desert; and, just as the English and Scotch who early in the 17th century settled among and intermarried with the Irish are now called Irish, though still a very distinct section of the population, so all inhabitants of Afghánistán are now in common parlance known as Afghán, the races thus included being the Afghán proper, the Pathán proper, the Ghilzai, the Tájik, and the Hazára, besides tribes of less importance living on the confines of the country.

The true Patháns are apparently of Indian origin. Their language is called Pashto or Pakhto and they call themselves Pukhtána[6] or Pakhto speakers; and it is this word of which Pathán is the Indian corruption. They held in the early centuries of our æra the whole of the Safed Koh and Northern

[1] The 52 Hindus shown in the tables are probably traders living under Pathán protection, or due to errors in enumeration. There are several Shíah clans among the Orakzai of Tiráh on the Kohát border. The people of the Sámilzai *tapah* of the Kohát district, which is conterminous with the territory of these clans, are also Shíahs. All own allegiance to the Shíah Saiyads of the Orakzai Tiráh; while everywhere many of the tribes which claim Saiyad origin are Shíahs.

[2] When our ill-fated Resident Major Cavagnari was lately living at Kábul under the Amír Yákúb Khán, those who favoured the British were known as Cavagnarizai, and the national party as Yákúbzai. The ending *zai* is never used by the Afrídi.

[3] The Diläzák are often called Hindkis by the true Patháns, as having come from India and not from Afghánistán.

[4] In Hindústán they are often called Rohillahs, or Highlanders, from Rohi the mountain country of the Patháns (*Roh=Koh*, a mountain.)

[5] Either from *Durr-i-daurán* "pearl of the age" or from *durr-i-durrán* "pearl of pearls." The title was adopted by Ahmad Sháh Abdáli when he ascended the throne, in allusion to the Abdáli custom of wearing a pearl stud in the right ear.

[6] Dr. Bellew and Major James identify them with the Pactiyans of Herodotus, and seem half inclined to connect them with the Picts of Britain, as also the Scyths with the Scots, and certain Pathán and Brahoi tribes with Cambrians and Ligurians!

Sulemán systems, from the Indus to the Helmand and from the sources of the Swát river and Jalálábád to Peshín and Quetta. The Afgháns and Ghilzais spread into their country and adopted their language and customs; and just as Irish, Scotch, and Welsh speaking the English language are commonly called Englishmen, so all who speak the Pakhto tongue came to be included under the name Pathán. Thus the Afgháns and Ghilzais are Patháns by virtue of their language, though not of Pathán origin; the Tájiks and Hazáras, who have retained their Persian speech, are not Patháns; while all five are Afgháns by virtue of location, though only one of them is of Afghán race.

395. Early history of the Afghans.—The origin and early history of the various tribes which compose the Afghán nation are much disputed by authorities of weight who hold very different views. I have in the following sketch followed the account given by Dr. Bellew, as it affords a convenient framework on which to base a description of those tribes. But it is said to be doubtful whether the distinction which he so strongly insists upon between Pathán proper and Afghán proper really exists or is recognised by the people; while the Jewish origin of any portion of the nation is most uncertain. But the division of the nation into tribes, the internal affinities of those tribes, and the general account of their wanderings are all beyond question; and the theories which account for them are only accepted by me to serve as connecting links which shall bind them into a consecutive story. The traditions of the true Afgháns who trace their name and descent from Afgháná, the son of Jeremiah, the son of Saul, and Solomon's commander-in-chief and the builder of his temple, say that they were carried away from Syria by Nebuchadnezzar and planted as colonists in Media and Persia. Thence they emigrated eastwards into the mountains of Ghor and the modern Hazára country. The Afgháns early embraced the creed of Islám, to which they were converted by a small body of their tribe on their return from Arabia, where they had fought for Mahomet under their leader Kais. It is from this Kais or Kish, namesake of Saul's father, who married a daughter of Khalíd-ibn-Wálid a Qureshi Arab and Mahomet's first apostle to the Afgháns, that the modern genealogists trace the descent alike of Patháns, Afgháns, and Ghilzai, or at any rate of such tribes of these races as we have here to deal with; and to him they say that the Prophet, pleased with his eminent services, gave the title of *Pathán*, the Syrian word for rudder, and bade him direct his people in the true path. Meanwhile, about the 5th and 6th century of our æra, an irruption of Scythic tribes from beyond the Hindu Kush into the Indus valley drove a colony of the Buddhist Gandhári, the Gandarii of Herodotus and one of the four great divisions of that Pactyan nation which is now represented by the Patháns proper, from their homes in the Pesháwar valley north of the Kábul river and in the hills circling it to the north; and they emigrated *en masse* to a kindred people on the banks of the Helmand, where they established themselves and founded the city which they named Gandhár after their native capital, and which is now called Kandahár.

It is not certain when the Afgháns of Ghor moved down into the Kandahár country where the Gandhári colony was settled; but they probably came as conquerors with the Arab invaders of the 1st century of the Mahomedan æra. They soon settled as the dominant race in their new homes, intermarried with and converted the Gandhári, and adopted their language; and in course of time the two races became fused together into one nation under the name of Afgháns, as distinguished from the neighbouring Patháns of whom I shall presently speak, though the original stock of Ghor still called themselves Ban-i-Isráíl to mark the fact that their origin was distinct from that of their Gandhári kinsmen. It is probable that this tradition of Jewish origin was little more distinct than is the similar tradition of Norman descent which some of our English families still preserve. Thus the Afghán proper includes, firstly the original Afgháns of Jewish race whose principal tribes are the Tarín, Abdáli or Durráni, and Shiráni, and secondly the descendants of the fugitive Gandhári, who include the Yúsufzai, Mohmand, and other tribes of Pesháwar. These latter returned about the first half of the 15th century of our æra to their original seat in the Pesháwar valley which they had left nearly ten centuries before; while the original Afgháns remained in Kandahár, where in the middle of the 18th century they made themselves rulers of the country since known as Afghánistán, and shortly afterwards moved their capital to Kábul. The tribes that returned to the Pesháwar country were given by Ahmad Sháh the title of Bar or "upper" Durráni, to distinguish them from the Abdáli Durráni who remained at Kandahár.

396. I have said that the Gandhári were one of the four great divisions of the Pactiyæ of Herodotus. The other three nations included under that name were the Aparytœ or Afrídi[1], the Satragyddæ or Khatak, and the Dadicæ or Dádi, all alike of Indian origin. At the beginning of the Mahomedan æra the Afrídi held all the country of the Safed Koh, the Satragyddæ held the Sulemán range and the northern part of the plains between it and the Indus, while the Dádi held modern Sewestán and the country between the Kandahár Province and the Sulemáns. These three nations constitute the nucleus of the Patháns proper. But around this nucleus have collected many tribes of foreign origin, such as the Scythic Kákar, the Rájpút Wazíri, and the many tribes of Túrk extraction included in the Karlánri section who came in with Sabuktagin and Taimur[2]; and these foreigners have so encroached upon the original territories of the Pactyan nation that the Khatak and Afrídi now hold but a small portion of the countries which they once occupied, while the Dádi have been practically absorbed by their Kákar invaders. The whole have now become blended into one nation by long association and intermarriage, the invaders have adopted the Pakhto language, and all alike have accepted Islám and have invented traditions of common descent which express their present state of association. The Afrídi were nominally converted to Islám by Mahmúd of Ghazni; but the real conversion of the Pathán tribes dates from the time of Shaháb-ul-dín Ghori, when Arab apostles with the title of Saiyad and Indian converts who were called Shekh spread through the country, and settled among, married with, and converted the Patháns. The descendants of these holy men still preserve distinct tribal identity, and as a rule claim Saiyad origin.

The Ghilzai are a race probably of Turkish origin, their name being another form of Khilchi the Turkish word for "swordsman," who early settled, perhaps as mercenaries rather than as a corporate tribe, in the Siáh-band range of the Ghor mountains where they received a large admixture of Persian blood. The official spelling of the name is still Ghaleji at Kábul and Kandahár. They first rose into notice in the time of Mahmúd Ghaznavi, whom they accompanied in his invasions of India. Not long afterwards they

[1] The Afrídi still call themselves Aparíde. There is no *f* in Pashto proper.

[2] The various accounts given of Karlán's origin all recognise the fact that he was not a Pathán by birth; and even the affiliation of the Karlánri is doubtful, some classing them as Sarbani and not Ghurghushti.

conquered the tract between Jalálábád and Kelát-i-Ghilzai, and spread east and west over the country they now hold. In the beginning of the 18th century they revolted against their Persian rulers, established themselves under Mír Wais as independent rulers at Kandahár, and overran Persia. But a quarter of a century later they were reduced by Nádir Sháh, and their rule disappeared, to be succeeded not long after by that of the Durráni.

With the remaining races of the Tájik and Hazára which form part of the Pathán nation in its widest sense, we have little concern in the Panjáb. The former are the remnants of the old Persian inhabitants of Afghánistán, and the word is now loosely used to express all Patháns who speak Persian and are neither true Afgháns, Saiyads, nor Hazáras. They are scattered through Afghánistán, Persia, and Túrkistán, in which last they hold some hill fastnesses in independent sovereignty. The Hazáras are Tartar by origin, and are supposed to have accompanied Chengiz Khán in his invasion. They occupy all the mountain country formed by the western extensions of the Hindu Kush between Ghazni, Balkh, Hírát, and Kandahár. I have included in my account of the Patháns a few allied races, who though not usually acknowledged as Patháns, have by long association become closely assimilated with them in manners, customs, and character. They chiefly occupy Hazára, and are called Dilazák, Swáti, Jadún, Tanáoli, and Shilmáni.

397. Tribal affinities and statistics.—The Pathán genealogies, which were probably concocted not more than 400 years ago, teem with obvious absurdities. But they are based upon the existing affinities of the people whom they trace back to Kais; and they will therefore afford a useful basis for a discussion of the tribes with which we in the Panjáb are concerned. I give in Abstract No. 69 on pages 204 and 205 a table showing the traditional grouping of the divisions of the Pathán nation. This grouping corresponds fairly well with their present distribution by locality, and I shall therefore take the tribes in order as they lie along our border, beginning from the south where they march with the Biloches. Unfortunately the figured details for the various tribes which I give in Abstract No. 70, on page 206 are in many ways unsatisfactory. I have already explained that the Deputy Commissioners of the frontier districts were asked to prepare lists of the tribes for which figures should be separately tabulated for each district, and it is now apparent that these lists were drawn up far more with regard to the political needs of each district than with reference to any ethnic or tribal system of classification. The figures given, however, will probably satisfy all administrative requirements; though they are so full of double or incomplete classification that they are of little use to me in the description of the tribes, and I have hardly alluded to them in the following pages. I have however grouped the figures on the basis of the tribal classification adopted in Abstract No. 69, and have added below each heading in Abstract No. 70 the serial numbers of the tribes shown in Abstract No. 69 which it may be considered to include, so that the information contained in the figures is connected as closely as possible with the grouping of the tribes which I have followed. The figures being tabulated on the spot by a local staff are probably as accurate as the material will permit of. But errors must have occurred, both from the constant recurrence of the same clan name in different tribes, and from the difficulty pointed out in the following quotation from Mr. Beckett's Peshávar Census Report:—

"Among Muhammadans, especially among Afgháns, tribes or sections multiply with generations; for instance as the descendants increase their branches or sections increase with them, so the mistake which has occurred is that, of a few men whose origin was the same, some were placed under the name of the old ancestor of the family, some under the name of an intermediate ancestor, and others under the name of a more modern or lower generation. Similarly those who should have been entered under the original branch were shown under numerous branches."

398. Pathan tribes of Derah Ismail Khan.—The tribes of our lower frontier belong almost exclusively to the lineage of Shekh Baitan[1], third son of Kais. His descendants in the male line are known as Bitanni, and are comparatively unimportant. But while, in the early part of the 8th century, Baitan was living in his original home on the western slopes of the Siáh-band range of the Ghor mountains, a prince of Persian origin flying before the Arab invaders took refuge with him, and there seduced and married his daughter Bibi Matto. From him are descended the Matti section of the nation, which embraces the Ghilzai, Lodi, and Sarwáni Patháns. The Ghilzai were the most famous of all the Afghán tribes till the rise of the Durráni power, while the Lodi section gave to Dehli the Lodi and Súr dynasties. The Sarwáni never rose to prominence, and are now hardly known in Afghánistán. To the Ghilzai and Lodi, and especially to the former, belong almost all the tribes of warrior traders who are included under the term *Pawindah*, from *parwindah*, the Persian word for a bale of goods or, perhaps more probably, from the same root as *powal*, a Pashto word for "to graze."[2] They are almost wholly engaged in the carrying trade between India and Afghánistán and the Northern States of Central Asia, a trade which is almost entirely in their hands. They assemble every autumn in the plains east of Ghazni, with their families, flocks, herds, and long strings of camels laden with the goods of Bukhára and Kandahár; and forming enormous caravans numbering many thousands, march in military order through the Kákar and Wazíri country to the Gomal and Zhob passes through the Sulemáns. Entering the Derah Ismáíl Khán district, they leave their families, flocks, and some two-thirds of their fighting men in the great grazing grounds which lie on either side of the Indus, and while some wander off in search of employment, others pass on with their laden camels and merchandise to Multán, Rájpútána, Lahore, Amritsar, Dehli, Cawnpore, Benares, and even Patna. In the spring they again assemble, and return by the same route to their homes in the hills about Ghazni and Kelát-i-Ghilzai. When the hot weather begins the men, leaving their belongings behind them, move off to Kandahár, Hírát, and Bukhára with the Indian and European merchandize which they have brought from Hindústán. In October they return and prepare to start once more for India. In 1877 the number of these traders which passed into the district of Derah Ismáíl Khán was 76,400, of which nearly half were grown men. In the year of the Census, the number was 49,392. These Pawindah tribes speak the soft or western Pashto, and have little connection with the settled tribes of the same stock[3].

[1] Dr. Bellew points out that Baitan has an Indian sound; while Shekh is the title given, in contradistinction to Sáiyad, to Indian converts in Afghánistán. Thus the Ghilzai (the Túrk term for swordsman) are probably of Túrk extraction, with Indian and Persian admixtures.

[2] The pronunciation is Powindah, rather than Pawindah.

[3] The *Pawindahs* are well described at pages 103*ff* of Dr. Bellew's *Races of Afghánistán*, and at pages 18*ff* of Priestley's translation of the *Haiyát-i-Afgháni*, while Mr. Tucker gives much detailed information concerning them at pages 184*ff* of his Settlement Report of Derah Ismáíl Khán.

Abstract No. 69 *showing the* Principal Divisions *of the* Pathan Nation.

Serial No.	Origin, and natural Divisions and Affinities.			Tribal Divisions.				Serial No.	Notes.	Present Holdings.	Country, district, or frontier to which each tribe appertains.	Sections of the report in which each tribe is described.	Serial No.
1	A Túrk stock (Khilchi or Ghilzai) combined with Persian blood; the two fused together under a traditional descent from a Persian father and an Afghán mother.	GHILZAI NATION. The Ghilzai proper, combined with tribes of Persian origin, in the male line at least, all claiming descent from the Pathán progenitor Kais.	Baitani Patháns, descended from Baitan, son of Kais.	Matti tribe, descended from Sháh Husen, a Persian prince. By Musammat Mahiya.	Sarwáni		Sarwáni	1	No longer found in Afghánistán. Maler Kotla family belongs to the Sarípál clan	Scattered through Hindústán	Hindústán.	398-9	1
2	Doubtful.			By Bibi Matto, daughter of Baitan. Lodi.	Khasor		Khasor	2	A small tribe of doubtful origin	Trans-Indus Salt Range of Derah Ismáíl Khán	D. I. Khán.	399-402	2
3					Siáni.	Prángi	Prángi	3	Gave Lodi dynasty to Dehli } Migrated to Hindústán	Scattered through Hindústán	Hindústán.	399	3
4						Ismáíl. Súr.	Súr	4	Gave Súr dynasty to Dehli } Migrated to Hindústán			398-9	4
5						Lohání.	Pátor	5	Insignificant, since crushed by Nádir Sháh	Tánk in Derah Ismáíl Khán	Derah Ismáíl Khán District.	401	5
6	Doubtful.						Balúch	6	Small, and of uncertain origin. Affiliated to No. 7	Derah Ismáíl Khán Salt Range and cis-Indus plain		399-402	6
7							Daulat Khel	7	A sept of the Mámú Khel, to the whole of which it has given its name. Rulers of Tánk are of the Katti Khel sept.	Part of Tánk in Derah Ismáíl Khán		401	7
8							Mián Khel	8	Often held to include Bakhtiár, No. 9	The central part of trans-Indus Derah Ismáíl Khán		401-2	8
9	Saiyad.						Bakhtiár (*a*)	9	A Saiyad tribe from Persia, affiliated to No. 8. See also No. 29			401	9
10							Marwat	10	Known as Spín Lohání, Nos. 5 to 9 being called Túr Lohání	South-west portion of Bannu district	Bannu.	404	10
11					Niázi		Niázi (proper)	11	Chief clans, Isákhel, Sarhang, Musháni	Both banks of Indus in north of Bannu		403	11
12							Kundi	12	The Niázi descent not always admitted	Part of Tánk in Derah Ismáíl Khán	Derah Ismáíl Khán District.	402	12
13					Dutanni		Dutanni	13	Unimportant			402	13
14				Ghilzai (proper).	Turán		Hotak	14	Gave the Ghilzai kings to Kandahár. Crushed by Nádir Sháh	*Pawindah* tribes with homes in the Ghilzai country, between Jalálábád and Kelát-i-Ghilzai. Their families spend the winter there, and the summer in the Derah Ismáíl Khán plains. For a description of the *Pawindah* traffic, see Section 398.		402	14
15							Tokhi	15	Once the principal Ghilzai tribe			402	15
16	Doubtful.						Násar	16	Their Ghilzai origin is doubtful			402	16
17							Kharoti	17	Their Ghilzai origin is doubtful			402	17
18					Ibráhímzai		Sulemán Khel	18	Now the principal Ghilzai tribe			402	18
19							Ali Khel	19	Unimportant				19
20							Aka Khel	20	Unimportant			1	20
21							Isháq	21	Chief clan is Yúsuf Khel				21
22							Andar	22	The Músa Khel Kákar are affiliated to this tribe			402	22
23							Tarakki	23				402	23
24	...three of the four Pactiyan nations of Herodotus; but with a very large admixture of ... Jats and Scyths in 5th and 6th centuries, the former by Sabuktagin and Changiz in end			Bitanni.			Bitanni	24	Clans Warshpún and Kajín (septs Dhanne and Tatte)	North-west of Derah Ismáíl Khán		401	24
25	SarbanniAfghán, affiliated with the Patháns.	The Kákar, a Scythic stock, with affiliated tribes of Indian origin.	Kákar and affiliated tribes.	Shiráni and affiliated tribes.	Shiráni		Shiráni (proper)	25	Descended from Sharkabún by a Kákar mother. Shiráni quarrelled with his brothers, and allied himself to the Kákar branch of the Ghurghusht section, with which his descendants are still associated. See No. 86	Country round and west of the Takht-i-Sulemán on the Derah Ismáíl Khán border.		402	25
26							Haripál	26				402	26
27							Jalwáni	27				402	27
28							Bábar	28		South of Derah Ismáíl Khán, and adjoining parts of Sulemán mountains.		401	28
29	Saiyad origin.				Saiyad tribes affiliated to Shiráni.	Bakhtiár.	Bakhtiár (*b*)	29	Saiyad tribes affiliated to the Shiráni. No. 31 includes several clans of true Pathán origin	*Pawindah* tribe in the Ghilzai country		401	29
30						Ushtaráni.	Ushtaráni (proper)	30		South-west of Derah Ismáíl Khán		401	30
31							Gandápur	31		North-west of Derah Ismáíl Khán		401	31
32	Probably Scythic.				Kákar		Kákar proper	32	Bellew allies the Kákar to the Gakkhars. They include several clans of distinct origin, all called Kákar after the chief tribe	Kákaristán in south-east of Afghánistán, between the Ghilzai, Spín Tarín, and Biloch territories and the Sulemán mountains.	Afghánistán.	396	32
33							Bábe Khel	33					33
34							Mandu Khel	34					34
35	? Rájpút, old Indian.						Panni	35	Of Rájpút origin. The larger portion of them is still settled in Shekháwatti and Haidarábád			412	35
36							Nághar	36					36
37							Dádi or Khundi	37	The representatives of the ancient Dadicæ			396	37
38		PROPER.	...mixture of Túrk tribes.	Gharghasht, son of Kais.	Wazíri		Lálai	38	Ancestor separated from his brother through a feud	Northern slopes of Western Safed Koh		405	38
39							Mahsúd	39	Chief clans Alízai and Bahlolzai	Hills on north-west frontier of Derah Ismáíl Khán	Bannu and Dera Ismáíl Khán border.	405	39
40							Gurbuz	40	Unimportant. Practically a separate tribe			405	40
41							Darvesh Khel	41	Chief clan Utmánzai and Ahmadzai	Hills on the Bannu border		405	41
42					Shitak married Musammát Bannu.		Bannúchi	42	Hybrid tribe, with many clans of mixed origin	North-west of Bannu district	Bannu.	404	42
43							Daur	43	Unimportant	Both banks of River Tochi on Bannu border		403	43
44	Doubtful.						[illegible]	44	Pathán origin doubtful	South-west corner of Khost			44

No.	Origin	Race	Division	Descent	Stock	Tribe group	Branch	Section	Tribe	No.	Remarks	Locality	Country	Page	No.
44												South-west corner of Khost			44
45	An ancient Indian stock, including the Afridi (Aparytæ), Khatak (Sattagydæ), and Dadi Túrk (Karlanri) and Scythic (Kákar) blood; probably introduced, the latter by immigration of tenth and beginning of 13th centuries.	Túrk tribes.	PATHANS. The Karlanri, Indian in the mass (Afridi, Khatak, Wazíri, &c.) but with a large	Ghurghushti Pathans, descended from	Karlanri.	Kakai.	Khugiani		Jaji	45	Claim descent from Khugiáni; but of doubtful Pathán origin, and now separate tribes. Very probably Túrks who came in with Changiz and Taimur.	Head of Kurram valley	Afghánistán.	406	45
46									Túri	46		Kurram valley		406	46
47									Khostwál	47					47
48									Darman	48		Khost			48
49									Parba	49					49
50									Khugiáni (proper)	50	Should perhaps be classed as Durráni (Nos. 82, 83).	North-west slopes of Safed Koh, west of Shinwári	Kohát and Peshawar.	405	50
51							Burhán		Khatak	51	Chief clans Buláqi, Tari, Tarkai. Two territorial sections, Akora or Eastern and Teri or Western.	South, centre, and east of Kohát; south-east of Peshawar, and west of Baizai valley; north-east of Bannu.		407	51
52									Afridi	52	Chief clans Adam Khel, Aka Khel, and Khaibar Afridi (Kúki Khel, Malik din Khel, Qambar Khel, Kamar Khel, Zakha Khel, Sepáh).	Khaibar range, hills on south-west border of Peshawar south of Kábul river, and north-east border of Kohát.	Peshawar border.	411	52
53									Utmán Khel	53	Accompanied Yúsufzai to Peshawar	Banks of Swát river to Arang Barang and in Baizai valley	Afghánistán.	411	53
54		? Túrk.							Jadrán	54	Perhaps of Túrk origin	Hills between Khost and Zurmat			54
55		?? Túrk.				Kodai.	Kodai		Mangal	55	Formerly closely associated with No. 56	Mountains west of Khost and Kurram		403	55
56		Saiyad.							Wardag	56	This and No. 57 affiliated to Karlánri	Between Hazára and North Ghilzai countries			56
57									Hanni	57	No longer a separate tribe	Scattered	Scattered.	403	57
58		Rájpút or Scythic.							Dilazák	58	Ditto ditto Probably of Scythic origin	Scattered through India		408-9	58
59		? Scythic.							Orakzai	59	Includes clans of distinct origin. Begam of Bhopál belongs to this tribe	Mountains of Tiráh west of Adam Khel	Kohát.	407	59
60		Arab or Scythic.				Bangash.			Bangash	60	Chief clans Gár (clans Baizai and Miránzai) and Sámil. Nawábs of Farrukhábád are Bangash.	Miránzai and Kohát valleys in north-west of Kohát district, and in Kurram.		407	60
61	Sprung from the fusion of a Jewish or Arab stock (original Afghán) with a colony of Gandhári, an ancient Indian race, into one nation. The descent in the male lines has probably been kept distinct, as shown below.		AFGHANS PROPER. Representatives of the ancient Gandhari emigrants from Peshawar to Kandahár. Blended with the original Afgháns of Ghor.	Sarbani Patháns, descended from Sarban, son of Kais.	Descended from Kharshabún.	Zamand			Khweshgi	61	Scattered. Some in Multán	Some in Ghorband Mountains	Afghánistán	413	61
62									Muhammadzai	62	Accompanied Yúsufzai to Peshawar	Hashtnaghar, in Peshawar	Peshawar District and border.	408-10	62
63		? Persian.				Kánsi			Shinwári	63	Probably accompanied Yúsufzai to Peshawar. Connected with Ghilzai	Northern slopes of Safed Koh, east of Khugiáni		411	63
64						Descended from Kand.	Khakhai Khel. Yúsufzai (from Mand.)	Mandanr.	Usmánzai	64	Clans Kamálzai and Amázai	Yúsufzai plains in Peshawar, the Chamlah valley, and the left bank of Indus in Hazara.		409-10	64
65									Utmánzai	65	Both Usmánzai by descent, though now separate			409-12	65
66									Saddozai	66				409-10	66
67									Razar	67	Brother of Mandan, but now included in Mandanr			409-10	67
68								Yúsufzai (proper).	Bádi Khel	68	Almost extinct	Swát, Buner, and the hills north of Peshawar, and a part of the Lundkhwár valley in Peshawar.		411	68
69									Isázai	69	Clans Hasanzai, Akázai, Maddo Khel			411	69
70									Iliászai	70				411	70
71									Malizai	71	Clans Daulatzai, Chagharzai, Núrazai			411	71
72									Akozai	72	Clans Ránízai, Khwájazai, Baizai			410	72
73							Tarklánri		Gugiáni	73	Descended from Mak, a brother of Mand	Doába of Peshawar, between Swát and Kábul rivers.		408-10	73
74							Surgláni		Tarklánri	74	Descended from Mak, a brother of Mand	Bajaur, north-west of Peshawar.		408-9	74
75		Doubtful.					Ghoria Khel.		Mullágori	75	Pathán origin doubtful. Vassals of No. 76	Hills west of Peshawar border along both banks of Kábul river.		411	75
76									Bar Mohmand	76	Of common descent, but now separate tribes			409-11	76
77									Plain Mohmand	77		South-west plain of Peshawar, south of Kábul river.		409-10	77
78									Dáúdzai	78				409-10	78
79									Khalil	79				409-10	79
80		? Persian.							Chamkanni	80	Early separated from kinsmen. Perhaps Persians	South-eastern Safed Koh, north of Kurram		406	80
81									Ziráni	81	Insignificant, often confounded with Tájik	Scattered through Afghánistán		409	81
82			Original Afgháns from Ghor; of Jewish or Arab descent, or both.		Descended from Sharkabún.	Abdáli or Durráni			Zírak	82	Clans Popalzai (sept Saddozai), Bárakzai, Alikozai. Saddozai gave Sháhs to Kandahár; and Barakzai, Amírs to Kábul.	All the Kandahár country in south of Afghánistán. The Multáni Patháns are Abdáli.	Afghánistán.	395	82
83									Panjpai	83	Clans Isháqzai, Núrzai, Khakwáni, Máhu			395	83
84						Tarín			Tor Tarín	84		Peshín, south of Abdáli country		408,11	84
85									Spín Tarín	85	The Zaimusht clan is in Kurram on Kohát border	Sewestán, in south-east of Afghánistán		408,11	85
86						Shiráni			Shiráni	86	Classed with Ghurghushti Patháns, Nos. 25—28	Takht-i-Sulemán. See Nos. 25—28	D. I. Khán.	402	86
87						Miána			Miána	87	Only the Khetrán of the Derajat exists as a tribe	Scattered through Afghánistán	Afghánistán.	383	87
88						Baraich			Baraich	88	Insignificant tribe	Lóhra river between Abdáli and Biloch territory			88
89						Urmar			Urmar	89	Speak Hindki. Probably of Hindu origin	Scattered through Afghánistán			89

Abstract No. 70, *showing the* distribution *of the principal* Pathan Tribes *for* Districts *and* States.

Serial No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	GHILZAI NATION.												
	Lodi Section.									Ghilzai Section.			
			Loháni.				Niázi.						
Tribal Divisions.	Lodi.	Khasor.	Baitch.	Daulat Khel.	Mián Khel.	Marwat.	Niázi.	Kundi.	Dotanni.	Ghilzai.	Sulemán Khel.	Násar.	Kharote.
Numbers of Abstract No. 69, page 204.	2 to 13	2	6	7	8	10	11	12	13	14 to 23	18	16	17
Dehli	536	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	38	...	...	...
Gurgaon	81	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	...	...	...
Karnál	456	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rohtak	32	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ambala	1,910	...	...	...	...	...	117	...	...	25	...	...	...
Jalandhar	1,147	...	...	...	...	...	65	...	...	21	...	...	...
Hushyárpur	884	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	298	...	...	...
Lahore	536	...	...	33	...	...	30	...	...	23	...	...	...
Ráwalpindi	1,035	...	...	9	...	1	71	...	...	1,768	...	...	...
Derah Ismail Khan	192	2,092	3,203	888	3,646	6,771	2,377	3,590	1,328	2,453	2,861	8,419	5,136
Derah Ghazi Khan	67	...	2	6	140	1	201	5	...	100	..	...	...
Bannu	15	6	544	193	10	40,765	30,199	21	35	3,280	1,970	570	2,003
Peshávar	294	...	...	97	1,085	...	1	...	...	2,643	374	16	5
Hazara	279	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kohát	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,677	...	...	2,962	...	...	...
British Territory	11,793	2,099	3,749	1,386	5 498	47,546	36,314	3,667	1,363	14,011	5,205	9,00	7,144
Native States	1,368	...	...	1	63	...	57	...	...	155	...	...	5
Province	13,161	2,099	3,749	1,387	5,561	47,546	36,371	3,667	1,363	14,166	5,205	9,005	7,149

Serial No.	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
	PATHAN NATION.									
		Kakar Section.								
		Shiráni.					Kákar.			
Tribal Divisions.	Bitanni.	Shiráni.	Miáni.	Bábar.	Ushtaráni.	Gandápur.	Kákar.	Músa Khel.	Ghorezai.	Panni.
Numbers of Abstract No. 69, page 204.	24	25		28	30	31	32			
Dehli	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gurgaon	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	12	...	...
Karnál	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rohtak	...	...	6	..	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ambala	...	...	12	...	...	...	117	...	7	...
Jalandhar	...	...	106	14	...	...	2	...	324	...
Hushyárpur	24	...	...	...	...	...	11	11	...	...
Lahore	...	...	...	...	...	...	211	4	138	...
Ráwalpindi	...	...	5	...	...	...	496	201	1	...
Derah Ismail Khan	2,671	1,252	1,716	1,223	1,517	7,875	666	683	470	...
Derah Ghazi Khan	10	21	89	36	87	75	732	979	11	...
Bannu	806	7	16	21	16	44	113	...	17	...
Peshávar	14	...	...	465	...	...	716	2	84	...
Hazara	...	...	...	...	...	...	256	...	...	1,241
Kohát	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
British Territory	3,574	1,310	2,202	2,222	1,42	8,08 2	4,748	1,998	1,256	1,241
Native States	...	...	9	209	4	13	11	...	553	...
Province	3,574	1,310	2,211	2,431	1,646	8,095	4,759	1,998	1,809	1,241

Serial No.	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
	PATHAN NATION.						
	Karlanri Section.						
Tribal Divisions.	Wazíri.	Bannúchi.	Khatak.	Afridi.	Utmán Khel.	Orakzai.	Bangash.
Numbers of Abstract No. 69, page 204.	38 to 4	42	51	52	53	59	60
Dehli	100	...	4	785	...	...	291
Gurgaon	...	...	983	10	...	...	19
Karnál	...	...	11	236	...	...	...
Rohtak	...	...	...	4	...	...	...
Ambala	...	...	1	20	...	...	91
Jalandhar	...	...	14	...	...	...	1
Hushyárpur	...	...	9	...	...	...	...
Lahore	...	...	13	117	...	3	37
Ráwalpindi	...	...	347	52	148	14	360
Derah Ismail Khan	454	123	144	64	...	4	3
Derah Ghazi Khan	7	2	41	52	...	...	54
Bannu	19,262	20,182	13,265	151	...	1	191
Peshávar	...	...	36,447	6,590	6,768	874	...
Hazara	...	...	333	46	...	...	5
Kohát	909	...	66,278	8,715	...	6,245	16,437
British Territory	20,741	20,307	118,048	17,323	6,923	7,157	17,565
Native States	2	...	2	103	1	...	...
Province	20,743	20,307	118,050	17,426	6,924	7,157	17,565

Serial No.	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43
	AFGHAN NATION.												
	Original Indian Section.							Original Afghan Section.					
		Yúsufzai.							Tarín.				
Tribal Divisions.	Muhammadzai.	Yúsufzai.	Utmánzai.	Mullágori.	Mohmand.	Dáúdzai.	Khalil.	Abdáli.	Tarín.	Zaimusht.	Khetrán.	Urmar.	Sargáni.
Numbers of Abstract No. 69, page 204.	62	64 to 72	65	75	76 to 77	78	79	82 and 83	84 and 85	85	87	89	*
Dehli	111	3,901	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	1
Gurgaon	31	1,083	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Karnál	79	1,890	...	...	...	6	...	4	36	...	...	...	429
Rohtak	27	1,854	...	...	...	...	...	4	7	...	...	...	140
Ambala	60	4,641	...	...	1	...	3	12	205	...	...	...	153
Jalandhar	94	478	...	36	1	...	...	...	36	...	...	...	9
Hushyárpur	13	921	...	26	...	10	5	...	114	...	...	...	...
Lahore	38	1,466	...	11	215	24	44	78	60	...	...	...	1
Ráwalpindi	212	1,550	296	27	400	1	107	60	608	...	...	...	674
Derah Ismail Khan	6	204	41	...	96	...	...	1,029	90	...	1,324	34	16
Derah Ghazi Khan	15	595	27	...	12	3	22	21	192	...	32	...	...
Bannu	8	992	1	...	33	...	...	476	20	...	...	340	...
Peshávar	18,035	70,235	...	652	40,080	4,949	13,268	7,231	660	...	...	3,187	795
Hazara	12	929	5,156	...	41	5	5	272	1,355	...	...	...	...
Kohát	...	637	...	...	2,414	...	...	264	...	1,335	...	176	...
British Territory	19,426	95,426	5,547	1,249	43,960	5,890	13,595	9,738	4,902	1,335	1,558	3,737	3,159
Native States	178	3,551	..	...	49	8	...	...	910	...	...	...	781
Province	19,604	98,977	5,547	1,249	44,009	5,898	13,595	9,738	5,812	1,335	1,558	3,737	3,940

Part II.—The Biloch, Pathan, and Allied Races.

399. It is not to be wondered at that these warlike tribes cast covetous eyes on the rich plains of the Indus, held as they were by a peaceful Jat population. Early in the 13th century, about the time of Shaháb-ud-dín Ghori, the Prángi and Súr tribes of the Lodi branch, with their kinsmen the Sarwáni, settled in the northern part of the district immediately under the Sulemáns, the Prángi and Súr holding Tánk and Rori, while the Sarwáni settled south of the Lúni in Drában and Chandhwán. With them came the Balúch, Khasor, and other tribes who occupied the branch of the Salt-range which runs along the right bank of the river, and still hold their original location. In the early part of the 15th century the Niázi, another Lodi tribe, followed their kinsmen from Ghazni into Tánk, where they lived quietly as *Pawindahs* for nearly a century, when they crossed the trans-Indus Salt-range and settled in the country now held by the Marwat in the south of the Bannu district, then almost uninhabited save by a sprinkling of pastoral Jats, where Bábar mentions them as cultivators in 1505.

During the reign of the Lodi and Súr Sultáns of Dehli (1450 to 1555 A.D.), the Prángi and Súr tribes from which these dynasties sprang, and their neighbours the Niázi, seem to have migrated almost bodily from Afghánistán into Hindústán, where the Niázi rose to great power, one of their tribe being Súbahdár of Lahore. These last waxed insolent and revolted in alliance with the Gakkhars, and in 1547 Sultán Salím Sháh Súri crushed the rebellion, and with it the tribe. At any rate, when in the early days of Akbar's reign the Loháni, another Lodi tribe, who had been expelled by the Sulemán Khel Ghilzai from their homes in Katawáz in the Ghazni mountains, crossed the Sulemáns, the Lodi tribes were too weak to resist them; and they expelled the remaining Prángi and Súr from Tánk, killing many, while the remainder fled into Hindústán. The Loháni are divided into four great tribes, the Marwat, Daulat Khel [1], Mián Khel, and Tátor [2]. About the beginning of the 17th century the Daulat Khel quarrelled with the Marwats and Mián Khel and drove them out of Tánk. The Marwats moved northwards across the Salt-range and drove the Niázi eastwards across the Kurram and Salt-range into Isa Khel on the banks of the Indus, where they found a mixed Awán and Jat population, expelled the former, and reduced the latter to servitude. The Mián Khel passed southward across the Lúni river and, with the assistance of the Bakhtiár, a small Persian tribe of Ispahán origin who had became associated with them in their nomad life [3], drove the Sarwáni, already weakened by feuds with the Súr, out of their country into Hindústán. In this quarrel the Daulat Khel were assisted by the Gandápur, a Saiyad tribe of Ushtaráni stock (see next paragraph); and the latter were settled by them at Rori and gradually spread over their present country.

400. The Shiráni Afgháns had been settled from of old in the mountains about the Takht-i-Sulemán. They are by descent Sarbani Afgháns; but their ancestor, having quarrelled with his brothers, left them and joined the Kákar from whom his mother had come; and his descendants are now classed as Ghurghushti and not as Sarbani. About the time that the Loháni came into the district, the Bábar, a Shiráni tribe, descended from the hills into the plains below and subjugated the Jat and Biloch population. Finally, about a century ago, the Ushtaráni proper, a Saiyad tribe affiliated to the Shiráni Afgháns, having quarrelled with the Músa Khel, acquired a good deal of the plain country below the hills at the foot of which they still live, subjugating the Biloch inhabitants and encroaching northwards upon the Bábar. These are the most recently located of the trans-Indus tribes of Derah Ismáíl Khán. Thus the Patháns hold a broad strip of the trans-Indus portion of the district, running northwards from the border of the Khetrán and Qasráni Biloches (see section 383) along the foot of the hills and including the western half of the plain country between them and the Indus, and turning eastwards below the Salt-range to the river. They also hold the trans-Indus Salt-range, and the Sulemáns as far south as the Biloch border. But while in the extreme northern portion of the tract the population is almost exclusively Pathán, the proportion lessens southwards, the Patháns holding only the superior property in the land, which is cultivated by a subject population of Jat and Biloch. Beyond the Indus the Balúch who hold the north of the Bhakkar *thal* are the only Pathán tribe of importance. Their head-quarters are at Paniála in the trans-Indus Salt-range, and they seem to have spread across the river below Miánwáli, and then to have turned southwards down the left bank. Although living at a distance from the frontier, they still talk Pashto and are fairly pure Patháns. The other Patháns of the Khasor hills, though trans-Indus, are, like all the cis-Indus Patháns, so much intermixed with Jats as to have forgotten their native tongue. The Mián Khel and Gandápur were deprived of many of their eastern villages in the beginning of this century by Nawáb Muhammad Khán Saddozai, Governor of Leiah.

401. The Pathan tribes of Derah Ismail Khan continued.—I now proceed to give a brief description of the various tribes, beginning from the south :—

The Ushtarani.—The Ushtaráni proper are the descendants of Hannar one of the sons of Ustaryáni, a Saiyad who settled among and married into the Shiráni section of Afgháns, and whose progeny are shown in the margin. They were settled with the Shiránis to the south of the Takht-i-Sulemán, and till about a century ago they were wholly pastoral and *pawindah*. But a quarrel with their neighbours the Músa Khel put a stop to their annual westward migration, and they were forced to take to agriculture. Their descent into the plains has been described in section 400. They still own a large tract of hill country, in which indeed most of them live, cultivating land immediately under the hills and pasturing their flocks beyond the border. Their territory only includes the eastern slopes of the Sulemáns, the crest of the range being held by the Músa Khel and Zmari. They are divided into two main clans, the Ahmadzai or Amazai and the Gagalzai, and these again into numerous septs. They are a fine manly race, many of them are in our army and police, and they are quiet and well behaved, cultivating largely with their own hands. A few of them are still *pawindahs*. They are much harassed by the independent Bozdár (Biloch). They are all Sunnis. The boundary between the Ushtaráni and Bábar was originally the Ramak stream. But in a war between them the former drove the latter back beyond the Shiran stream which now forms their common boundary.

Ustaryáni	Hannar	Ushtaráni.
	Amarkhel	Gandápur.
	Gandápur	
	Marere	
	Shekhi	

The Babar are a tribe of the Shiráni stock whose affinities have been described in section 400, though they are now quite

[1] The Daulat Khel is really only a clan of the Mámu Khel tribe; but it has become so prominent as practically to absorb the other clans, and to give its name to the whole tribe.

[2] Wrongly spelt Játor throughout Mr. Tucker's settlement report.

[3] They are a section of the Bakhtiári of Persia. They first settled with the Shiráni Afgháns; and a section now lives at Margha in the Ghilzai country, and isengaged in the *pawindah* trade, but has little or no connection with the Bakhtiár of Derah Ismáíl.

Part II.—The Biloch, Pathan, and Allied Races.

separate from the Shiráni proper. They are divided into two sections, one living wholly within our border, while the other holds the hill country opposite, but on the other side of the Sulemáns. The two have now little connection with each other. The Bábar of the plains hold some 180 square miles between the Ushtaráni and Mián Khel; Chandwán being their chief town; and include the Mahsúd and Ghora Khel clans of the tribe. The result of their quarrels with the Ushtaráni has just been mentioned, while their advent in the plains has been described in section 400. They are a civilised tribe, most of them being able to read and write, and are much addicted to commerce, being the richest, quietest, and most honest tribe of the sub-Sulemán plains. Sir Herbert Edwardes considered them "the most superior race in the whole of the trans-Indus districts," and their intelligence has given rise to the saying "A Bábar fool is a Gandápur sage." They are extremely democratic, and have never had any recognized Chief. Indeed the tribe is a scattered one, many of them still residing in Kandahár and other parts of Khorásán. Some of them are still engaged in the *pawindah* traffic. They cultivate but little themselves.

The Mian Khel are a Loháni tribe whose coming to the district and subsequent movements have already been described in section 339. They hold some 260 square miles of plain country between the Gandápur and the Bábar. With them are associated the Bakhtiár (see section 339) who, though of Persian origin, now form one of their principal sections. The greater number of them still engage in the trans-Indus trade; and they are the richest of all the *pawindah* tribes, dealing in the more costly descriptions of merchandize. They are divided by locality into the Draban and Músa Khel sections, the latter of which hold the south-west quarter of their tract. They are a peaceable people with pleasant faces, and more civilised than most of the *pawindah* tribes. They seldom take military service, and cultivate but little themselves, leaving the business of agriculture to their Jat tenants. They have a hereditary Khán who has never possessed much power.

The Gandapur.—The origin of the Gandápur has been described in section 399. Besides the original stock, they include by affiliation some offshoots of the Shiráni, the Múshezai section of the Ghurghushti Patháns, and the Ránízai section of the Yúsufzai tribe. The manner in which they obtained their present country is described in section 339. They hold the whole of the north-western part of trans-Indus Derah Ismáíl east of Tánk and south of the Nila Koh ridge of the Salt-range, comprising an area of 460 square miles abutting on the Sulemáns to the west; and the town of Kuláchi is their head-quarters. They were originally a poor *pawindah* and pastoral tribe, but they now cultivate more largely than any other Derah Ismáíl Patháns. They reached the height of their prosperity about the middle of the 18th century, but lost their eastern possessions some seventy years later, they being confiscated by the Saddozai Governor of Leiah. They still engage in the *pawindah* traffic. They are lawless, brutal and uncivilised; and their hereditary Khán has but little power.

The Bitanni include all the descendants in the male line of Baitan the third son of Kais. They originally occupied the western slopes of the northern Sulemáns; but being hard pressed by the Ghilzai, moved, in the time of Bahlol Lodi, through the Gomal Pass and occupied the eastern side of the north of the range, as far north on its junction with the Salt-range and as far west as Kánigurám. Some time after the Wazíri drove them back to beyond Garangi, while the Gurbuz contested with them the possession of the Ghabbar mountain. They now hold the hills on the west border of Tánk and Bannu, from the Ghabbar on the north to the Gomal valley on the south. In their disputes many of the tribe left for Hindústán where their Lodi kinsmen occupied the throne of Dehli, and the tribe has thus been much weakened. Shekh Baitan had four sons, Tajín, Kajín, Ismáíl, and Warshpún. The tribe consists chiefly of the descendants of Kajín, with a few of those of Warshpún. Ismáíl was adopted by Sarban, and his descendants still live with the Sarbani Afgháns. The Tajín branch is chiefly represented by the clans Dhanne and Tatte, said to be descended from slaves of Tajín. A small Saiyad clan called Koti is affiliated to the Bitanni. Till some fifty years ago they lived wholly beyond our border; but of late they have spread into the Tánk plains where they now form a large proportion of the Pathan population, occupying some 550 square miles, chiefly south of the Takwára. They also hold some land in the Bannu district at the mouth of the passes which lead up into their hills. They are a rude people just emerging from barbarism, but keen-witted. They are of medium weight, wiry, and active, and inveterate thieves and abettors of thieves; and they have been called the jackals of the Wazíri. They have no common Chief. The proverbial wit of the country-side thus expresses their stupidity and thriftlessness.—"The drum was beating in the plains and the Bitanni were dancing on the hills;" and "A hundred Bitanni eat a hundred sheep."

The Daulat Khel.—The coming of this tribe to the district has been described in section 399. Their principal clan was the Katti Khel; and under their Chief Katál Khan the Daulat Khel ruled Tánk and were numerous and powerful about the middle of the 18th century. They accompanied the Durráni into Hindústán, and brought back much wealth. But since that time the Bitanni and other tribes have encroached, and they are now small and feeble. The Nawáb of Tánk, the principal jágírdár of the district, is a Katti Khel.

The Tator have been mentioned in section 399. They were very roughly treated by Nádir Sháh, and the Daulat Khel completed their ruin. They are now almost extinct. Their two clans, the Bára Khel and Dari Khel, hold a small area on the Tánk and Kuláchi frontier.

402. Pawindah, Border, and other tribes.—The tribes not possessing sufficient importance to merit detailed description are—

The Zarkanni, a small colony of Shekhs who settled some 500 years ago in a corner between the Gandápur and Mián Khel country, under the foot of the Sulemáns.

The Baluch, a small tribe of uncertain origin affiliated to the Lodi tribes[1]. They seem to have come in with the earliest Pathán invaders. They hold the country round Paniála, at the foot of the Salt-range where it leaves the Indus to turn northwards, and are the dominant race in the north of the cis-Indus portion of the district.

The Khasor, with the **Nur Khel** and **Malli Khel** form a small tribe which claims kinship with the Lodi, who repudiate the claim. They hold the Khasor range, or the ridge of the lower Salt-range which runs down the right bank of the Indus.

The Ghorezai, a petty clan of the Tabarak Káka, and the **Miani** an insignificant *pawindah* clan of the Shiráni tribe, hold lands in the Gomal valley, the former lying south and the latter north of the Lúni river. They graze their flocks during summer on the western slopes of the Sulemáns. A portion of the Miáni are independent *pawindahs*, but closely allied to those of our plains.

The Kundi are a small *pawindah* clan who claim descent from the ancestor of the Niázi. They settled in Tánk with the Daulat Khel Loháni, and originally held the tract along the Suheli stream in the north-east corner of Tánk. But within the last fifty years Marwat immigrants have encroached largely on their eastern lands. They are a lawless set and great robbers, and the proverb runs —"A dead Kundi is better than a live one"[2].

The Pawindah Tribes.—These tribes, which have been described generally in section 398, although not holding lands in the district, are of considerable administrative interest, as enormous numbers of them spend the cold weather in the pastures on either side of the Indus. The principal tribes are noticed below:—

The Nasar claim descent from Hotak, a grandson of Ghilzai; but the Hotak say that they are a Biloch clan, and merely dependent on them[3]. They speak Pashto, but differ from the Ghilzai in physique. They are the least settled of all the *pawindahs*, and winter in the Deraját and summer in the Ghilzai country, having no home of their own. Their chief wealth is in flocks and herds, and they act as carriers rather than as traders. They are a rough sturdy lot, but fairly well behaved.

The Kharoti say they are an offshoot of Tokhi, mother of Hotak mentioned above. But the Tokhi say they are descended from a foundling whom the tribe adopted. They hold the country about the sources of the Gomal river in Warghún south by east of Ghazni, and they winter in the Tánk tahsíl. They are a poor tribe, and many of them work as labourers or carriers. Dr. Bellew identifies them with the Arachoti of Alexander's historians, and points out that they still live in the ancient Arachosia. He considers them and the Násar to be of different origin from the mass of the Ghilzai.

The Suleman Khel are the most numerous, powerful, and warlike of all the Ghilzai tribes, and hold a large tract stretching

[1] It is not perhaps impossible that these may be of Biloch origin. The Khetrán, perhaps of Pathán origin, have become the nucleus of a Biloch tribe; while 351 men of Derah Ismáíl returned themselves in this Census as caste Biloch, tribe Andar, which latter is one of the *Pawindah* tribes of Patháns.

[2] Macgregor says they are quiet and inoffensive.

[3] One story makes them the descendants of a gang of blacksmiths who in the 14th century accompanied the Mián Khel on one of their return journeys to Khorásán and settled there.

nearly the whole length of the Ghilzai country. Those who trade with India come chiefly from the hills east of Ghazni and winter in the northern trans-Indus tract. They bring but little merchandize with them, but go down country in great numbers, where they act as brokers or *dallâls* between the merchants and other *pawindahs*. They are fine strong men and fairly well behaved, though not bearing the best of characters.

The Mian Khels have already been described in section 401. The trading and landowning sections are still closely connected and in fact to some extent indistinguishable.

The Dotanni inhabit the Warrak valley and the country between the Wazíri hills and Gomal. They are a small, but well-to-do tribe, and trade with Bukhára.

The Tokhi were the most prominent of all the Ghilzai tribes till the Hotak gave rulers to Kandahár about 1700 A.D. They hold the valley of the Tarnak and the north valley of the Argandáb, with Kelát-i-Ghilzai as their principal centre.

The Andar occupy nearly the whole of the extensive district of Shálgar south of Ghazni. With them are associated the Músa Khel Kákar, who are descended from an Andar woman, and live south and west of Shálgar[1].

The Tarakki winter about Kandahár. They are largely nomad.

The Border Tribes.—The most important tribes on the Derah Ismáil border are, beginning from the south, the Qasráni Biloch and the Ushtaráni, already described in sections 383 and 401, the Shiráni, and the Mahsúd Wazíri. The Wazíri will be described when I come to the border tribes of Bannu (section 404).

The Shirani have already been mentioned and their origin described in section 400. They occupy the country round the Takht-i-Sulemán, bounded to the north by the Zarkanni stream and to the south by the Ushtaráni border, their principal habitat being the low valleys to the east of the Takht. They are divided into the Shiráni proper who hold the greater part of the tract, the Bábar of our plains described in section 401, and the small tribes of Haripál and Jalwáni lying to the south of the Shiráni proper. They are of medium height, wiry, and active, and wild and manly in their appearance. Their dress consists of a couple of coarse blankets, and their principal occupation is agriculture.

403. The Pathan tribes of Bannu.—On the southern border of the Bannu district, marching with Derah Ismáil, we find the Márwat and the Niázi, the northernmost of the Indian descendants of Baitan, while further north lie the Wazíri and Bannúchi, of the great Karlánri section of Patháns. The migration of the Niázi from Tánk across the Salt-range, and how the Marwat followed them and drove them across the Kurram, have already been described in section 399. Their ancester Niázai had three sons, Bahái, Jamál, and Kháku. The descendants of the first are no longer distinguishable; while the Isa Khel among the Jamál, and the Musháni and Sarhang clans among the Kháku, have overshadowed the other clans and given their names to the most important existing divisions of the tribe. The Isa Khel settled in the south and the Musháni in the north of the country between the Kohát Salt-range and the Indus, while the Sarhang crossed the river[2], and after a struggle lasting nearly a century and a half with their quondam allies the Gakkhars and their Jat and Awán subjects, finally drove the Gakkhars, whose stronghold on the Indus was destroyed by Ahmad Sháh in 1748, eastwards across the Salt-range, and established themselves in Miánwáli.

Towards the close of the 13th century[3] the Mangal, a tribe of the Kodai Karlánri, and the Hanni, an affiliated tribe of Saiyad origin, left their Karlánri home in Birmil, crossed the Sulemáns into the Bannu district, and settled in the valleys of the Kurram and Gambíla rivers. About a century later the Bannúchi, the descendants of Shitak a Kakai Karlánri by his wife Musammát Bannu, who with their Daur kinsmen then held the hills lying east of the Khost range in the angle between the Kohát and Bannu districts, with their head-quarters at Shawál, were driven from their homes by the Wazíri, and, sweeping down the Kurram valley, drove the Mangal and Hanni back again into the mountains of Kohát and Kurram where they still dwell, and occupied the country between the Kurram and Tochi rivers which they now hold in the north-western corner of the district. At the same time the Daur, a tribe of evil repute in every sense of the word, occupied the banks of the Tochi beyond our border, which they still hold. Some 400 years ago the Bangi Khel Khatak, whose history will be sketched in sections 406-7, occupied the trans-Indus portion of the district above Kálábágh and the spur which the Salt-range throws out at that point. This they have since held without disturbance.

When the Darvesh Khel Wazíri, (see above), moving from their ancestral homes in Birmil drove the Bannúchi out of the Shawál hills, they occupied the country thus vacated, and for 350 years confined themselves to the hills beyond our border. But during the latter half of last century they began to encroach upon the plain country of the Marwat on the right bank of the Tochi, and of the Bannúchi on the left bank of the Kurram. At first their visits were confined to the cold season; but early in the present century, in the period of anarchy which accompanied the establishment of the Sikh rule in Bannu, they finally made good their footing in the lands which they had thus acquired and still hold.

The latest comers are the Bitanni (*see section 401*), who have within the last 60 years occupied a small tract on the north-eastern border of the Marwat at the foot of the hills. Thus Páthans hold all trans-Indus Bannu, and as much of the cis-Indus portion of the district as lies north of a line ioining the junction of the Kurram and Indus with Sakesar, the peak at which the Salt-range enters the district and turns northwards. The trans-Indus Patháns, with the partial exception of the Niázi, speak Pashto of the soft and western dialect; the Niázi speak Hindko, especially east of the Indus.

404. I now proceed to a detailed description of the different tribes, beginning from the south:—

The Marwat hold almost the whole of the Lakki tahsil, that is to say the south-eastern half and the whole central portion of the country between the trans-Indus Salt-range and the Wazíri hills. Within the last fifty years they have begun to retrace their footsteps and have passed southwards over the Salt-range into Derah Ismáil, where they occupy small tracts wrested from the Kundi in the northern corner of Tánk and along the foot of the hills, and from the Bahlch in the Paniála country. Their most important clans are the Músa Khel, Acha Khel, Khuda Khel, Bahrám, and Tapi. With them are associated a few of the Niázi who remained behind when the main body of the tribe was expelled. The Marwat are as fine and law-abiding a body of men as are to be found on our border. They are a simple, manly, and slow-witted people, strongly attached to their homes, good cultivators, and of pleasing appearance. Their women are not secluded. Their history has been sketched in section 399. Their hereditary enemies the Khatak say of them: "*Keep a Marwat to look after asses; his stomach well filled and his feet well worn.*"

The Bannuchi hold the central portion of the Bannu tahsil, between the Kurram and Tochi rivers. Their history is narrated in section 403. They are at present perhaps more hybrid than any other Patháu tribe. They have attracted to them-

[1] The figures for Biloch include 351 Andar in this district, who returned themselves as Biloch Andar.

[2] The *Kalid-i-Afghâni* says that they held Lakki and were driven out across the river by the Khatak. This seems improbable.

[3] The *Kalid-i-Afghâni* fixes this date at the middle of the 12th century, and that of the Bannúchi invasion at about 1,300 A.D.

selves Saiyads and other doctors of Islám in great numbers, and have not hesitated to intermarry with these, with the scattered representatives of the former inhabitants of their tract who remained with them as *hamsáyah*, and with the families of the various adventurers who have at different times settled amongst them; insomuch that "Bannúchi in its broadest sense now means all Mahomedans, and by a stretch, even Hindus long domiciled within the limits of the irrigated tract originally occupied by the tribe."* The descendants of Shitak, however, still preserve the memory of their separate origin and distinguish themselves as Bannúchi proper. They are of inferior physique, envious, secretive, cowardly, lying, great bigots, inoffensive, and capital cultivators. Sir Herbert Edwardes says of them: "The Bannúchis are bad specimens of Afghâns; can worse be said of any race? They have all the vices of Patháns rankly luxuriant, their virtues stunted." Their Isakhi clan, however, is famed for the beauty of its women. "Who marries not an Isakhi woman deserves an ass for a bride."

The Niazi hold all the southern portion of Isa Khel and the country between Miánwáli and the hills; in other words so much of the Bannu district as is contained between the Salt-range on either side the Indus, and the Kurram and a line drawn from its mouth due east across the Indus. Their history and distribution have been related in sections 399 and 403. They are indifferent cultivators, and still retain much of the Pathán pride of race. The cis-Indus branch is the more orderly and skilful in agriculture. The Isa Khel is the predominant and most warlike section; but they all make good soldiers. A section of them is still independent and engaged in *pawindah* traffic, spending the summer about Kandahár and wintering in Derah Ismáil. They are strict Sunnis. They seem to be a quarrelsome people, for the proverb says—"The Niázi like rows."

Minor tribes are the **Mughal Khel** clan of Yúsufzai who conquered a small tract round Ghoriwál some seven centuries ago, and still show their origin in speech and physiognomy. The Khatak will be described when I discuss the Kohát tribes.

405. The Waziri.—The whole of the Bannu portion beyond our border is occupied by the Darvesh Khel Wazíri, while south of them, along the Derah Ismáil border, behind the Bitanni country, and as far south as the Gomal pass, lie the Mahsúd clan of the same tribe. The Wazíri are descended from Sulemán son of Kakai, and are one of the Karlánri tribes[1]. The original seat of the tribe was in the Birmil hills, west of the Khost range which separates them from their kinsmen the Bannúchi descendants of Shitak. Sulemán had two sons, Lálai and Khizrai. Lálai had to fly by reason of a blood feud, and settled in Ningrahár on the northern slopes of the western Safed Koh, where his descendants the Lálai Wazíri are still settled. Khizrai had three sons, Músa, Mahsúd, and Gurbuz. From Mahsúd are descended the Mahsúd Wazíri, divided into the Alizai and Bahlolzai; while from Músa Darvesh are descended the Utmánzai and Ahmadzai clans, usually joined under the title of Darvesh Khel Wazíri.

About the close of the 14th century the Wazíri began to move eastwards. They first crossed the Khost range and drove the Bannúchi out of Shawál, and occupied the hills of the Bannu and Kohát border north of the Tochi. Then, crossing that river, they drove the Urmar Afgháns, descendants of Urmar son of Sharkabún and near kinsmen of the Abdáli[2], out of the hills south of the Tochi on the lower Bannu and Tánk borders to take refuge in the Loghar valley near Kábul, and dislodging the Bitanni from Kániguram, drove them back beyond Garangi to the low hills on our immediate frontier. They thus obtained possession of all that confused system of mountains which, starting from the Gomal pass which marks the northern extremity of the Sulemáns proper, runs northwards along our border to Thal and the Kurram river, where it joins the lower ranges of the Safed Koh. Their two main sections are the Mahsúd and Darvesh Khel, the former holding the hills to the south, and the latter those to the north of the Tochi river and the Khasor pass: while of the Darvesh Khel country, the Ahmadzai occupy the southern and the Utmánzai the northern parts. The Hasan Khel, an important Utmánzai sept, hold the extreme north-western portion of the tract. The two great sections are practically independent tribes, owning no common head, and with but little common feeling. They still nominally hold the Birmil country, though the Sulemán Khel and Kharoti Ghilzai winter there with their flocks, and during their stay the Wazíri are confined to their walled villages. They were till lately wholly nomad and pastoral; but they have of late years encroached upon the plain country of the Marwat, Bannúchi, and Khatak, and now hold cultivated lands in Bannu and Kohát.

The Gurbuz, an unimportant tribe, accompanied the Wazíri in their movements, and once occupied the hills between their Mahsúd and Darvesh Khel brethren, where, as already narrated, they disputed the possession of the Ghabbar peak with the Bitanni. They have now returned to their original seat west of the Khost range, and north of the Daur who hold the trans-border banks of the Tochi river.

The Waziri are one of the most powerful and most troublesome tribes on our border, the Mahsúd being pre-eminent for turbulence and lawlessness. They are exceedingly democratic and have no recognised headmen, which increases the difficulty of dealing with them. They are tall, active, muscular, and courageous, and their customs differ in several respects from those of the Patháns in general. They are still in a state of semi-barbarism. They are well described in the *Haiyát-i-Afgháni* (pages 227 *ff* of the translation). The large number of Wazíri shown in the Bannu district is partly due to the Census having been held on the night of the weekly fair. But Mr. Thorburn estimates the Wazíri population of the purely Wazíri border villages alone at 13,525, and there are always many members of the tribe scattered about the district 'in search of work or of opportunities for theft,' especially during the spring months. On the Bannu border distress owing to failure of rain had probably made the number of such persons unusually high at the time of the Census.

406. The Pathan tribes of Kohat[3].—The Patháns of Kohát belong almost entirely to two great tribes, the Khatak of the Kakai section of the Karlánri, and the Bangash, a Qureshi tribe of Arab descent. The original home of the Khatak, in common with the other sections of the Karlánri, was the west face of the northern Sulemáns, where they held the valley of Shawál now occupied by the Wazíri[4]. Towards the close of the 13th century[5] they, with the Mangal and Hanni, two tribes of the Kodai section of the Karlánri, moved eastwards, the two last descending into the Bannu district and settling along the Kurram and Gambíla, while the Khatak held the hills to the west of our border. A century later the Bannúchi drove, as already related in section 403, the Mangal and Hanni out of Bannu; and not long after this the Khatak, quarrelling with the Bannúchi, moved to the north and east and occupied the hilly country, then uninhabited, which stretches across the centre of the Kohát district to the Indus, leaving behind them the Chamkanni, a tribe (perhaps of Persian origin) who had taken refuge with them, and the bulk of whom now occupy the north-east corner of the Kurram Valley, while another section still lives in a state of barbarism about Kániguram as the subjects of the Wazíri. At this time the Orakzai, another tribe of the Kodai Karlánri, held all the valley of Kohát in the north and north-east of the district from Resi on the Indus to Kohát; while the Bangash, already alluded to, lived in the country about Gardez in Zurmat. But in the latter part of the 14th century the Bangash, increasing in number and being pressed

[1] Dr. Bellew makes them the Wairsi sept of the Lodha tribe of Pramara Rájpúts; and says that they crossed from the Indus riverain across the Sham plain into the Birmil hills, then held by the Khatak whom they drove northwards, taking the whole of their country from the Sham plain to the Kohát valley. He gives no authority for these statements.

[2] This is according to the genealogies. But the Urmar are probably of Hindki origin, and speak a Panjábi dialect known as Urmari, of which a grammar has just been submitted to Government for approval.

[3] Unfortunately the Settlement Officer of Kohát went on furlough without reporting his settlement. Consequently I have far less full information regarding this than regarding any other frontier district. I have, however, done my best to supply the defect from other sources.

[4] Dr. Bellew says that the Khatak held all the plain country of the Indus as far south as Derah Ismáil Khán till driven out by the Wazíri, who being in their turn driven northwards by the pressure of Biloch tribes moving up the Indus valley, passed onwards into the hills then held by the Bannúchi. He gives no authority for this account, which does not agree with the traditions of the Khatak themselves as related in the *Kalid-i-Afgháni*.

[5] The *Kalid-i-Afgháni* places the migration in the middle of the 12th century, and the Bannúchi migration at about 1300 A.D.

Part II.—The Biloch, Pathan, and Allied Races.

upon by the Ghilzai, emigrated eastwards *en masse* and settled in Kurram. Being presently driven out by the Túri[1] and Jáji, tribes of doubtful origin who claim descent from Khugiáni son of Kakai, but who are perhaps of Awàn stock[2] though now Patháns for all practical purposes, and who still occupy the valley, they joined with the Khatak who had quarrelled with the Orakzai, and drove the latter out of Kohát. The struggle was prolonged for nearly a century; but by the close of the 15th century the Orakzai had been driven into the lower of the ranges which form the eastern extremity of the Safed Koh and lie along the north-western border of the Kohát district. The Khatak and Bangash then possessed themselves of all the northern and central portions of Kohát and divided the country between them, the former taking all the southern and central portions, while the latter took the northern and north-western tract consisting of the Kohát and Miránzai valleys up to the base of the Orakzai or Samána range; and the hills between Gada Khel and Láchi were then fixed and still remain as the boundary between the two tribes. In the time of Akbar, Malik Akor was the leader of the Khatak, and he was granted an extensive tract of land south of the Kábul river between Khairábád and Naushahra on condition of his guarding the high road between Attak and Peshávar. This brought him into contact with the Mandanr of Yúsufzai who held the country opposite on the left bank of the Kábul river. Their quarrels were continual; and at length in the time of Sháh Jahán the Khatak crossed the river, possessed themselves of the strip of land along its north bank from the junction of the Swát river to the Indus and for a short distance along the right bank of the Indus, and also pushed across the plain and acquired a position about Jamálgarhi to the north of Mardán, in the very heart of the Mandanr country, which commands the approaches to Swát on the one hand and Buner on the other. They have also encroached on the Mohmand and Khalil who lie to the west of their Péshávar territory. Meanwhile they had gradually spread southwards to the trans-Indus Salt-range and the Bannu border, and across the Salt-range to the Indus at Kálábágh; and they now hold a broad strip running along its right bank from a little above the junction of the Kábul river to Kálábágh, all Kohát save the portion occupied by the Bangash in the north and north-west of the district, and the western half of the Lundkhwár valley in the north of Yúsufzai. They crossed the Indus and are said to have at one time conquered the Awán country as far east as the Jahlam. But about the middle of the 17th century they relinquished the greater part of this tract; and now only hold Makhad in the Ráwalpindi district, and the left bank of the river as far south as Mari in Bannu. There are other Khatak holdings scattered about the cis-Indus plains; but their owners have no connection with the tribe.

About the middle of the 18th century two parties grew up in the tribe. They temporarily combined to accompany and assist Ahmad Sháh Durráni in his invasion of Hindústán; but after his departure the division became permanent, the eastern or Akora faction holding the north-eastern portion of Kohát and all the Khatak country of Peshávar, with their capital at Akora on the Kábul river, while the western or Teri division hold all the remainder of Kohát, including the south-eastern corner occupied by the Sághri clan, and the adjoining territory of the Bangi Khel Khatak of Bannu. The western section have their capital at Teri south-west of Kohát, and in the centre of the hills they first occupied.

Thus with the exception of a few Awán villages in the Bangash country, and a Saiyad village here and these, the whole of Kohát is held by Patháns, and with the exception of a narrow strip of land stretching along the northern border of the Teri Khatak from Togh to Dhoda which is held by the Niázi (see section 400), the whole is in the hands of the Bangash and Khatak. The Nawáb of Khatak holds the Teri tract in jágír, possessing exclusive revenue jurisdiction, and large criminal and police powers.

407. The Khatak.—The history of the Khatak tribe has been sketched above. They are descended from Luqmán surnamed Khatak, son of Burhán, son of Kakai.[3]. Luqmán had two sons Turman and Buláq. The descendants of the latter are still known as the Buláqi section; while Tarai son of Turman rose to such distinction that the whole section, including two main clans, the Tari proper and the Tarkai, is called by his name. They have absorbed several small tribes of doubtful origin, the Mughaki and Samini[4] belonging to the Buláq, while the Jalozai, Dangarzai, and Uria Khel belong to the Tari section. The most important clans of the Tari section are the Anokhel to which the chief's family belongs, and which includes the septs of the upper and lower Mohmandi[5] who hold the right bank of the Indus below Attak, and the Mír Khel who hold the Chauntra valley in the centre of the Teri tract. Among the Buláqi the most important clan is the Sághri, with its practically independent Bangi Khel sept. These hold the right bank of the Indus above Kálábágh, while the Sághri, with the Babar family of the Bangi Khel, also occupy the cis-Indus possessions of the tribe. Most of the Khatak in Yúsufzai are also Buláq. The Káka Khel section of the Khatak are descended from the famous saint Shekh Rahím Kár, and are consequently venerated by all northern Patháns. The Khatak are a fine manly race, and differ from all other Patháns in features, general appearance, and many of their customs. They are the northernmost of all the Patháns settled on our frontier who speak the soft or western dialect of Pashto. They are of a warlike nature and have been for centuries at feud with all their neighbours and with one another. They are active, industrious, and "a most favourable specimen of Pathán," and are good cultivators, though their country is stony and unfertile. They are also great carriers and traders, and especially hold all the salt trade with Swát and Buner in their hands. They are all Sunnis. The Marwat, the hereditary enemy of the Khatak, says: "Friendship is good with any one but a Khatak: may the devil take "a Khatak." and "A Khatak is a hen. If you seize him slowly he sits down; and if suddenly he clucks." Another proverb runs thus: "Though the Khatak is a good horseman, yet he is a man of but one charge."

The Bangash.—The early history of the Bangash has been narrated above. Since they settled down in their Kohát possessions no event of importance has marked their history. They claim descent from Khalid ibn Wálid, Mahomet's apostle to the Afgháns of Ghor[6], and himself of the original stock from which they sprang; but they are Patháns "as regards character, cus-"toms, crimes, and vices." Their ancestor had two sons Gár and Sámil, who, on account of the bitter enmity that existed between them, were nicknamed Bunkash or root destroyers. These sons have given their names to the two great political factions into which not only the Bangash themselves, but their Afrídi, Orakzai, Khatak, Túri, Zaimusht, and other neighbours of the Karlánri branch

[1] The Túri were originally *hamsáyahs* of the Bangash, but rose in rebellion against their masters.

[2] Mr. Merk, however, tells me that the Khugiáni claim Durráni origin; and that the claim is admitted by the Durráni, and supported by their genealogies.

[3] Kakai was son of Karlán, founder of the Karlánri division of the Afgháns.

[4] Dr. Bellew interprets those names as meaning respectively Mongol and Chinese.

[5] The Mohmandi of the Khwarra valley of the Kohát District are quite district from the Mohmand of Peshávar.

Dr. Bellew thinks that they and the Orakzai are perhaps both of Scythian origin, and belonged to the group of Túrk tribes, among whom he includes all the Karlánri, or, as he calls them, Túrklánri, who came in with the invasion of Sabuktagin in the 10th and Taimur in the 16th century of our æra.

are divided, though the division has of late lost most of its importance[1]. The Gári are divided into Míránzai and Baizái clans. The Baizai hold the valley of Kohát proper; the Míránzai lie to the west of them in the valley to which they have given their name; while the Sámilzai occupy the northern portion of Kohát and hold Shalozán at the foot of the Orakzai hills, where they are independent, or live in Paiwár and Kurram under the protection of the Túri. The Bangash Nawábs of Furrukhábád belong to this tribe.

Border tribes.—The tribes on the Kohát border, beginning from the south, are the Darvesh Khel Wazíri, the Zaimusht, the Orakzai, and the Afrídi. The Wazíri have already been described in section 405. The Zaimusht are a tribe of Spín Tarín Afgháns who inhabit the hills between the Kurram and the Orakzai border on the north-west frontier of Kohát. They belong to the Sámil faction. The early history of the Orakzai has been given in section 406. With them are associated the Alíkhel, Míshti, the Shekhán, and some of the Malla Khel, all of whom are now classed as Orakzai of the Hamsáyah clan, though, as the name implies, distinct by descent. The Orakzai hold the lower south-eastern spurs of the Safed Koh and the greater part of Tíráh. They are divided into five great clans, the Allezai, Massozai, Daulatzai, Ismáílzai, and Lashkarzai, of which the Daulatzai and Massozai are the most numerous. The Muhammad Khel is the largest sept of the Daulatzai, and, alone of the Orakzai, belongs to the Shiah sect. They are a fine manly tribe, but exceedingly turbulent. They are divided between the Sámil and Gár factions. There are a considerable number of Orakzai tenants scattered about the Kohát district. The present rulers of Bhopál belong to this tribe. The Afrídi will be described among the border tribes of Peshávar.

408. The Pathan tribes of Peshawar.—The Patháns of Pesháwar belong, with the exception of the Khatak described above, almost wholly to the Afgháns proper, descendants of Sarban; and among them to the line of Karshabún or the representatives of the ancient Gandhári, as distinguished from the true Afgháns of Jewish origin who trace their descent from Sharkhabún. I have already fold, in section 395, how during the 5th or 6th century a Gandhári colony emigrated to Kandahár, and there were joined and converted by the Afghán stock of Ghor who blended with them into a single nation. Their original emigration was due to the pressure of Jat and Scythic tribes who crossed the Hindu Kush and descended into the valley of the Kábul river. Among those tribes was probably the Dilazák[2], who are now classed as one of the Kodai Karlánri, and who were converted by Mahmúd Ghaznavi in the opening of the 11th century. They extended their sway over the Ráwalpindi and Pesháwar districts and the valley of the Kábul as far west as Jalálábád, driving many of the original Hindki or Gandhári inhabitants into the valleys of Swát and Buner which lie in the hills to the north, and ravaging and laying waste the fertile plain country. Amalgamating with the remaining Hindkis they lost the purity of their faith, and were described as infidels by the Afgháns who subsequently drove them out.

The Kandahár colony of Gandhári was divided into two principal sections, the Khakhai and Ghoria Khel, besides whom it included the descendants of Zamand and Kánsi. I give below the principal tribes which trace their descent from Kharshabún for convenience of reference:—

Kand	Khakhai	Yúsufzai	Mandanr	Hold the Pesháwar plain north of the Kábul river, called British Yúsufzai, the Chamlah valley on the Pesháwar border, and part of the Haripur tract in Hazára.
			Yúsufzai proper	Hold Swát, Buner, Panjkora, and Dír; the hills north of the Yúsufzai plain.
		Gugiáni		Hold Doába; the plains in the angle between the Kábul and Swát rivers.
		Tarklánri		Hold Bajaur tract west of Swát.
	Ghoria Khel	Mohmand	Plains Mohmand	Hold plains of Pesháwar on right bank of Bára river.
			Bar Mohmand	Hold mountains north of Kábul river and west of the Swát-Kábul *Doáb*.
		Dáúdzai		Hold Pesháwar plain on right bank of Kábul river to a little below the junction of the Bára river.
		Khalíl		Hold the Pesháwar plains between the Dáúdzai and the Khaibar.
Zamand		Muhammadzai		Hold Hashtnaghar, the plains east of Swát river in Pesháwar.
		Others		Scattered.
Kánsi		Shinwári		Hold part of Khaibar mountains and the northern slopes of the Safed Koh.
		Others		Scattered.

About the middle of the 13th century they were settled about the headwaters of the Tarnak and Arghasán rivers, while the Tarín Afgháns held, as they still hold, the lower valleys of those streams. As they increased in numbers the weaker yielded to pressure, and the Khakhai Khel, accompanied by their first cousins the Muhammadzai descendants of Zamand, and by their Karlánri neighbours the Utmán Khel of the Gomal valley[3], left their homes and migrated to Kábul. Thence they were expelled during the latter half of the 15th century by Ulugh Beg, a lineal descendant of Taimur and Bábar's uncle, and passed eastwards into Ningrahár on the northern slopes of the Safed Koh, and into the Jalálábád valley. Here the Gugiáni settled in eastern and the Muhammadzai in western Ningrahár, the Tarklánri occupied Lughmán, while the Yúsufzai (I use the word throughout in its widest sense to include both the Mandanr and the Yúsufzai proper) and Utmán Khel moved still further east through the Khaibar pass to Pesháwar. Here they settled peacefully for a while; but presently quarrelled with the Dilazák and expelled them from the Doába or plain country in the angle between the Swát and Kábul rivers, into which they moved. They then crossed the Swát river into Hashtnaghar and attacked the Eastern Shilmání, a tribe probably of Indian origin, who had only lately left their homes in Shilmán on the Kurram river for the Khaibar mountains and Hashtnaghar. These they dispossessed of Hashtnaghar and drove them northwards across the mountains into Swát, thus acquiring all the plain country north of the Kábul river and west of Hoti Mardán.

[1] Dr. Bellew is of opinion that these names denote respectively the Magian and Buddhist religions of their ancestors. The present division of the tribes is given as follows by Major James: *Sámil.*—Half the Orakzai, half the Bangash, the Mohmand, and the Malikdín Khel, Sepáh, Kamr, Zakha Khel, Aka Khel, and Adam Khel clans of Afrídi. *Gár.*—Half the Orakzai, half the Bangash, the Khalíl, and the Kúki Khel and Qambar Khel clans of Afrídi. The feud between the two factions is still very strong and bitter, and is supplemented by the sectarian animosity between Shíah and Sunni.

[2] Dr. Bellew seems doubtful whether the Dilazák were of Jat or of Rájpút extraction. He says the name is of Buddhist origin.

[3] Another story makes the Utmán Khel descendants of one Utmán, a follower of Mahmúd Ghaznavi, who settled *circa* 1,000 A.D. in the country which they now hold.

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409. Meanwhile the Ghoria Khel whom they had left behind in the Kandahár country had been following in their track; and early in the 16th century they reached the western mouth of the Khaibar pass. Here they seem to have divided, a part of the Mohmand now known as the Bar Mohmand crossing the Kábul river at Dakka, while the remainder went on through the pass to the plain of Peshâwar lately vacated by the Yúsufzai, where they defeated the Dilazák in a battle close to Peshâwar, drove them across the Kábul river into what are now called the Yúsufzai plains, and occupied all the flat country south of the Kábul river and west of Jalozai. This they still hold, the Dáúdzai holding the right bank of the Kábul river, and the Khalíl the left bank of the Bára river and the border strip between the two streams facing the Khaibar pass, while the Mohmand took the country south of the Bára and along the right bank of the Kábul as far as Naushahra, though they have since lost the south-eastern portion of it to the Khatak. Meanwhile the Bar Mohmand made themselves masters of the hill country lying north of the Kábul river as far up as Lálpura and west of the Doába, and possessed themselves of their ancestral capital Gandhára, driving out into Káfiristán the inhabitants, who were probably their ancient kinsmen, the descendants of such Gandhári as had not accompanied them when, two centuries earlier, they had migrated to Kandahár. They then crossed the Kábul river, and possessed themselves of the country between its right bank and the crest of the Afrídi hills to the north of the Khaibar pass.

While these events were occurring, the Gugiáni, Tarklánri[1], and Muhammadzai, who had been left behind in Ningrahár, moved eastwards, whether driven before them by the advancing Ghoria Khel, or called in as allies against the Dilazák by the Yúsufzai. At any rate they joined their friends in Doába and Hashtnaghar, and attacking the Dilazák, drove them out of Yúsufzai and across the Indus. They then divided their old and new possessions among the allies, the Gugiáni receiving Doába, the Muhammadzai Hashtnaghar, while the Yúsufzai, Utmán Khel, and Tarklánri took the great Yúsufzai plain. During the next twenty years these three tribes made themselves masters of all the hill country along the Yúsufzai, Hashtnaghar, and Bar Mohmand border, from the Indus to the range separating the Kunar and Bajaur valleys, the inhabitants of which, again the ancient Gandhári who had already suffered at the hands of the Bar Mohmand, they drove east and west across the Indus into Hazára and across the Kurram into Káfiristán. This country also they divided, the Tarklánri taking Bajaur, and the Utmán Khel the valley of the Swát river up to Arang Bárang and its junction with the Panjkora, while the Yúsufzai held all the hills to the east as far as the Indus and bordering upon their plain country, including lower Swát, Buner, and Chamlah. Some time later the Khatak obtained from Akbar, as has already been related in section 406, a grant of the plains in the south-east of the Peshâwar district. Thus the Khakhai and their allies held all the country north of the Kábul river from the Indus to Kunar, including the hills north of the Peshâwar border, but excluding those lying west of Doába which were occupied by the Bar Mohmand; while all the plain country south of the Kábul was held, in the east by the Khatak, and in the west by the Ghoria Khel. These last attempted to cross the river into Yúsufzai, but were signally defeated by the Yúsufzai, and have never extended their dominions. How the Khatak pushed across into the Yúsufzai plain has already been told (section 406). The Dilazák, thus expelled from their territory, made incessant efforts to recover it; until finally, as the cause of tumult and disorder, they were deported *en masse* by the Emperor Jahángír and scattered over the Indian peninsula. When the Yúsufzai settled in their possessions they divided the hill and plain country equally between their two great sections, the Mandanr and the Yúsufzai proper. But feuds sprang up amongst them which were fomented by the Mughal rulers; and early in the 17th century the Yúsufzai expelled the Mandanr from Swát and Buner, while the Mandanr in their turn expelled the Yúsufzai from the greater part of the Yúsufzai plain. Thus the Yúsufzai now hold Swát, Buner, and the Lundkhwár and Ránízai valleys in the north-west of Yúsufzai; while the Mandanr hold Chamlah and the remainder of the plain country.

410. The Pathan tribes of Peshawar continued.—The Plain Mohmand.—I now proceed to describe the tribes in detail. Passing from Kohát into Peshâwar through the country of the Khatak, who have already been described in section 407, and turning west, we first come to the lower or Plain Mohmand, who occupy the south-west corner of the district, south of the Bára stream. They are divided into five main sections, the Mayárzai, Músazai, Dawezai, Matanni, and Sarganni. Their headmen, in common with those of all the Ghoria Khel, are called *Arbáb*, a title meaning master, and conferred by the Mughal Emperors[2]. They are good and industrious cultivators, and peacefully disposed except on the Afrídi border. Their relation with the Bar Mohmand, from whom they are now quite separate, differing from them in both manners and customs, is described in section 409.

The Khalil occupy the left bank of the Bára, and the country along the front of the Khaibar pass. They have four main clans, Matúzai, Bározai, Isháqzai, and Tilarzai, of which the Bározai is the most powerful. They are not good cultivators. There are some of the tribe still to be found in Kandahár.

The Daudzai occupy the left bank of the Kábul river as far down as the junction of the Bára. The Mohmand and Dáúdzai are descended from a common ancestor Daulatyár, son of Ghorai the progenitor of the Ghoria Khel. Dáúd had three sons, Mandkai, Mámúr, and Yúsuf, from whom are descended the main sections of the tribe. Mandkai had three sons, Husen, Nekai, and Bálo, of whom only the first is represented in Peshâwar. Nekai fled into Hindústán, while Bálo's few descendants live in parts of Tiráh.

The Gugiani hold the Doába or plain country in the angle between the Kábul and Swát rivers. They are descended from Mak, the son of Khakhai, by a *hamsáyah* shepherd who married Mak's daughter Gugi, whence the name. They are divided into two great sections, Hotak and Zírak. Macgregor says that other Patháns do not recognise them as of pure Pathán blood.

The Muhammadzai[3] hold Hashtnaghar, a strip of territory some 13 miles broad running down the left bank of the Swát river from our border to Naushahra. They are descended from Muhammad, one of the sons of Zamand; and with them are settled a few descendants of his brothers, from one of whom, Kheshgi, one of their principal villages is named. Their clans are Práng, Chársadda, Razar, Utmánzai, Turangzai, Umarzai, Sherpao, and Tangi with its two septs Barazai and Nasratzai.

The Baizai.—The Yúsufzai proper are divided into the Bádi Khel (now extinct) Isázai, Iliászai, Malízai, and Akozai. The Akozai are further divided into three clans, the Ránízai[4] who hold the western portion of the hills between Yúsufzai and Swát, the Khwájazai who occupy the country between the Swát and Panjkora rivers, and the Baizai. The last originally held the Lundkhwár valley in the centre of the northernmost portion of the Peshâwar district, and all the eastern hill country between that and the Swát river. The hills they still hold; but the Khatak have[5], as already recounted in section 406, obtained all the western portion

[1] A section of the Tarklánri remained in Lughmán, where they still dwell.

[2] Arbáb is the plural of the Arabic *Rab* or Lord; a term often applied to the Deity.

[3] The tribe is often called Mohmandzai or Mámanzai, and their ancestor, Mohmand or Máman.

[4] The *Haiyát-i-Afghâni* calls the Ránízai a sept of the Baizai. This seems improbable, as they descend from different wives of Ako.

[5] Some say that the Khatak, as well as the Utmán Khel, were called in as allies against the Ránízai.

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of the valley, while the Utmán Khel Karlánri, whom the Baizai called in as allies in a feud with their neighbours and kinsmen the Ránizai, have obtained its north-east corner, and the Baizai now hold only a small tract to the south of these last. They are divided into six septs, Abba Khel, Azíz Khel, Bábozai, Matorezai, Músa Khel, and Zangi Khel. The last lies south of the Ilam range which divides Swát from Buner. The other five originally held the Baizai valley and the hills to the north; but since the irruption of the Khatak and Utmán Khel, only the first three hold land in our territory.

The Mandanr hold the remainder of the Peshá war district. They are divided into main clans as follows:—

- Mandanr
  - Usmánzai
    - Kamálzai
      - Mishránzai.
      - Kishránzai.
    - Amázai
      - Daulatzai.
      - Ismáilzai.
  - Utmánzai
    - Alízai.
    - Kanázai.
    - Akázai.
  - Saddozai.
  - Razar
    - Mánezai.
    - Malakzai.
    - Ako Khel.
    - Khidrzai.
    - Mamúzai.

The Saddozai are by origin a branch of the Utmánzai by a second wife of Utmán, but they are practically separated from them. The Usmánzai occupy all the northern and western portions of the Mandanr tract, the Kamálzai lying to the west immediately south of the Lundkhwár valley and stretching as far down as the border of the Buláq Khatak, while the Amázai lie to the east and south-east of the same valley. Of the septs, the Kishránzai, who hold Hoti and Mardán, and the Daulatzai lie to the north, and the Mishránzai and the Ismáilzai to the south of the respective tracts. South of the Amázai, and between them and the Khatak territory, come the Razar; while the Utmánzai and Saddozai hold the extreme east of the district on the right bank of the Indus, the Saddozai lying to the west and the Utmánzai to the east. These latter also hold a small area in the south of the independent Gadún valley, and early in the 18th century were called across the Indus by the Gújars of Hazára as allies against the Tarín Afgháns, and appropriated the Gandgarh tract from Torbela to the southern border of Hazára. In this tract all three of their main septs are represented, the Tarkheli section of the Alízai holding the southern half of the tract, and stretching across the border into Attak. The Khudu Khel, a Saddozai sept, occupy the valleys between Chamlah and the Gadún country. The valley of Chamlah, on the Peshá war border and north of the Gadún country, is occupied by a mixture of Mandanr clans, in which the Amázai, whose Ismáilzai sept hold the Mahában country, largely preponderate. The Mandanr, living almost wholly within our territory and long subject to the rulers of Pesháwar, are perhaps more civilised and less impatient of control than any other Pathán tribe.

411. The Pathan tribes of the Peshawar border. The Afrídi.—Dr. Bellew says that the Afrídi, whom he identifies with the Aparytæ of Herodotus, originally held the whole of the Safed Koh system between the Kábul and the Kurram river, from the Indus to the headwaters of the Kurram and the Pewár ridge. But since the great Scythic invasions of the 5th and succeeding centuries, they have been successively encroached upon by tribes of very diverse origin; first by the Orakzai and Bangash to the south, and later by the Wazíri and Túri to the south-west, the Khatak to the east, and the Ghilzai, Khugiáni, and Shinwári to the west. They now hold only the central fastnesses of the eastern extremity of the Safed Koh; namely, the Khaibar mountains, the valley of the Bára and the range south of that valley which separates Kohát from Pesháwar, and the northern parts of Tíráh, which they recovered from the Orakzai in the time of Jahángír. The Pathán historians trace their descent from Burhán son of Kakai, grandson of Karlánri, by his son Usmán surnamed Afrídi, and say that in the 7th century the Khaibar tract was held by Rájpúts of the Bhatti tribe and Yádúbansi stock, subjects of the Rája of Lahore, who were constantly harassed by the Afgháns of Ghor and the Sulemáns; and that about the end of the century the Afrídi, then in alliance with the Gakkhars, obtained from the Lahore Government all the hill country west of the Indus and south of the Kábul river on condition of guarding the frontier against invasion. The Afrídi are divided into five clans, of which the Ula Khel and in it the Zakha Khel sept is the largest, while the Mita Khel are no longer to be found in Afghánistán and the Míri Khel have been amalgamated with the Malikdín and Aka Khel. Some of the principal divisions are shown below:—

1. Míta Khel.
2. Míri Khel.
3. *Aka Khel*
   - Bassi Khel.
   - Madda Khel.
   - Sultán Khel.
   - Míro Khel.
4. Ula Khel (Khaibar Afrídi).
   - Maimana Khel
     - Fíroz Khel
       - *Kúki Khel.*
       - *Kamar Khel.*
     - Mír Ahmad Khel
       - *Malikdín Khel.*
       - *Qambar Khel.*
     - *Sepáh.*
   - *Zakha Khel.*
5. *Adam Khel*
   - Hasan Khel.
   - Jawáki.
   - Galli.
   - Ashu Khel.

But for practical purposes they are divided at present into eight clans, *viz.*, Kúki Khel, Malikdín Khel, Qambar Khel, Kamar Khel, Zakha Khel, Aka Khel, Sepáh, and Adam Khel, whose names are printed in italics in the above table.

The Adam Khel, who include the Hasan Khel and Jáwáki septs so well known on our border, occupy the range between Kohát and Pesháwar, from Akor west of the Kohát pass to the Khatak boundary. The Hasan Khel hold the land along the southern border of the Pesháwar and the north-eastern border of the Kohát district. Next to them come the Aka Khel who hold the low range of hills from Akor to the Bára river, the Bassi Khel sept lying nearest to British territory. These two clans occupy the south-eastern corner of the Afrídi country, and lead a more settled life than their kinsmen, being largely engaged in the carriage of wood and salt between Independent Territory and British India. The other tribes are in some degree migratory, wintering in the lower hills and valleys, while in the hot weather they retire to the cool recesses of the upper mountains. But their general distribution is as follows: North of the Bára river is the Kajúri plain, which forms the winter quarters of the Malikdín Khel, Qambar Khel, Sepáh, and Kamar Khel. The Qambar Khel pass the summer in Tíráh. The Sepáh's summer quarters are in the Bára valley; while the Kamar Khel spend the hot months in the spurs of the Safed Koh between Maidán and Bára, and are better cultivators and graziers and less habitual robbers than their kinsmen. The Zakha Khel are the most wild and lawless of the Afrídi clans. Their upper settlements are in the Maidán and Bára districts, and their winter quarters lie in the Bazár valley north of Landi Kotal, and in the Khaibar from Ali Masjid to Landi Kotal. Their children are christened by being passed backwards and forwards through a hole made in a wall after the fashion of a burglar, while the parents repeat "Be a thief; be a thief" an exhortation which they comply with scrupulously when they arrive at years of discretion. They are notorious as liars and thieves, even among the lying and thieving Afrídi. The Kúki Khel hold the eastern mouth of the Khaibar, and the pass itself as far as Ali Masjid. In summer they retire to the glen of Rájgal, north of Maidán, in the Safed Koh. They trade in firewood, and offend rather by harbouring criminals than by overt acts of aggression. The Afrídi is the most barbarous of all the tribes of our border. All the Karlánri, with the single exception of the Khatak, are wild and uncontrollable; but most of all the Afrídi. "Ruthless cowardly robbery and cold-blooded treacherous murder are to an Afrídi the salt of life. Brought up from earliest childhood amid scenes of appalling treachery and merciless revenge, nothing has yet changed him: as he lives, a shameless cruel savage, so he dies. Yet he is reputed brave, and

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that by men who have seen him fighting; and he is on the whole the finest of the Pathán races of our border. His physique is exceptionally fine, and he is really braver, more open and more treacherous than other Patháns. This much is certain, that he has the power of prejudicing Englishmen in his favour; and few are brought into contact with him who do not at least begin with enthusiastic admiration for his manliness"[1]. He is tall, spare, wiry, and athletic; hardy and active, but impatient of heat. His women are notoriously unchaste. He is only nominally a Musalmán, being wholly ignorant and intensely superstitious. The Zakha Khel removed the odium under which they suffered of possessing no shrine at which to worship, by inducing a sainted man of the Káka Khel to come and settle among them, and then murdering him in order to bury his corpse and thus acquire a holy place of their own. The Afrídi are intensely democratic, the nominal Chiefs having but little power.

The Mullagori.—North of the Afrídi come the Mullágori, a small and inoffensive tribe who are associated with the hill Mohmand, but whose Pathán origin is doubtful. They hold the Tartarah country north of the Khaibar range. They are noted thieves, but confine themselves to petty offences.

The Shinwari are the only branch of the descendants of Kánsi, third son of Karshabún,[2] who still retain a corporate existence as a tribe. They lie west of the Mullágori, hold the hills to the north of the western end of the Khaibar pass, and thence stretch along the northern slopes of the Safed Koh up to the Khugiáni territory. They are divided into four great clans, Sangu Khel, Ali Sher Khel, Sepáh, and Mandozai. The Khaibar Shinwári belong to the Ali Sher Khel, and live in the Loárgi valley at Landi Kotal. Their principal septs are Píro Khel, Mír Dád Khel, Khúga Khel, Shekh Mal Khel, and Sulemán Khel. They are largely engaged in the carrying trade between Pesháwar and Kábul; and are stalwart, hardworking and inoffensive, though much addicted to petty thieving. They probably came up to this part of the country with the Ghoria Khel (see section 409).

The Bar Mohmand.—The history of the hill or Bar Mohmand has been related in section 409. They hold the hills to the west of the Doába between the Kábul river and Bajaur and the Utmán Khel country, the southern portion of Kunar, and some of the northern hills of the Khaibar. They have also spread across our border along the Kábul river, between the two branches of which the Halímzai clan hold a small area lying between the Dáúdzai and the Gugiáni. Their principal sections are Baizai, Khwáezai, Dawezai, Utmánzai, Kukozai, and Tarakzai, the last of which is divided into Halímzai, Isa Khel, Burhán Khel, and Tarakzai proper. The Halímzai and the Tarakzai proper hold land on our border, the others living further west. The Khán of Lálpura, Chief of the Mohmand, who belongs to the Tarakzai clan, probably enjoys more real power than any other tribal Chief among the Patháns of our immediate border. The Mohmand is almost as great a savage as the Afrídi, while his venality is even greater. "You have only got to put a rupee in your eye, and you may look at any Mohmand, man or woman." They formerly gave much trouble on our border.

The Utman Khel.—The history of the Utmán Khel has already been sketched in sections 408—9. They occupy both banks of the Swát river beyond our border as far up as Arang Bárang, and have, as stated in section 410, obtained a portion of the Baizai valley of Lundkhwár. The two chief clans are Umar Khel and Asil Khel, the former of which hold the hills on the Peshawar frontier, while the latter who live on the Swát river are the more powerful. "They are described "as tall, stout, and fair, often going naked to the waist. The women labour like the men, and "everything shows the absence of civilization. They are a sober people, with none of the vices of the Yúsufzai".[3] They give us but little trouble.

Bádi Khel	(almost extinct).
Isázai	Hasanzai. Madákhel. Akázai.
Iliászai	
Malizai	Daulatzai. Chagharzai. Nurazai.
Akozai	Ránizai. Khwájazai. Baizai.

The Yusufzai proper.—The history of the Yúsufzai has already been related in sections 408—9. Their main divisions are shown in the margin. The holdings of the Akozai clans have already been described in section 410. The Isázai hold the north-east slopes of Mahában, and the mountainous country on both sides of the Indus, in Hazára and the Gadún valley. The Malizai hold eastern and the Iliászai western Buner. The Ránízai and Baizai septs of the Akozai hold all the hills beyond the northern border of Yúsufzai, the former to the west and the latter to the east. Beyond them in Buner lie the Salárzai sept of the Iliászai, and again between them and the Chamlah valley are the Núrazai of the Malízai clan, which includes the Abazai section. The Yúsufzai are incredibly superstitious, proud, avaricious, turbulent, merciless, and revengeful. But they are of a lively, merry, sociable disposition, fond of music and poetry, and very jealous of the honour of their women. Their tribal constitution is distinctly democratic.

The Jadun Country.—South of the Yúsufzai territory come Chamlah and the Khadu Khel territory already noticed. The southern parts of the country between Peshawar and Hazára constitute the Jadún or Gadún country. The holdings of other tribes in this valley have already been noticed. The Jadún themselves occupy all the eastern portions of the valley and the southern slopes of Mahában down to the Indus, as well as a considerable area in Hazára. They are described in section 417.

412. The Pathan tribes of Hazara.—The Hazára mountains on this side of the Indus were from a very early date inhabited by a mixed population of Indian origin, the Gakkhars occupying the portion to the south and having authority over the Rájpúts of the eastern hills, while a Gújar population held most of the northern and central parts of the district. In 1399 A.D. a family of Karlágh Túrks came into India with Taimur, settled in the Pakhli plain in the north and centre of the district, and established their rule over the whole of the district, then known as the kingdom of Pakhli[4]. I have already related how, about the middle of the 16th century, the Dilazák were driven out of Peshawar across the Indus, and were presently followed by the representatives of the old Gandhári, the present inhabitants of Swát and Buner and the mountains north and east of Peshawar. As the Afgháns who had possessed themselves of the trans-Indus tract opposite the Hazára district increased in numbers and extended their rule, successive bands of the old inhabitants crossed the river and settled in Hazára. About the end of the 17th century[5] a Saiyad named Jalál Bába, ancestor of the famous Saiyads of Kágán, came with a heterogeneous following from Swát, drove out the Karlágh, and appropriated the northern half of the district, including the valley of Kágán. About the same time the Tanáoli crossed the river and occupied the hill country between Abbottábád and the river, now known by their name as Tanáwal; while the Jadún came over from their original seat between Peshawar and Hazára and possessed themselves of the tract south of Abbottábád, the Tarín drove out or subjected the Gújar families of the Hazára plain, and the Utmánzai, called across the Indus by the Gújars as allies, appropriated the Gandgarh tract along the bank of the river from Torbela to the boundary of the district. During the first 20 years of the 19th century the Durráni lost their hold on the district, something like anarchy prevailed, and the distribution of tribes gradually assumed its present form. This may be broadly described as follows. Afgháns hold the country between the Gandgarh range and the Indus, and the plains for some little distance south-east of the junction of the Siran and Dor. Tribes of Indian origin hold the whole south and south-east of the district and the eastern hills as high up as Garhi Habíbullah opposite Muzaffarábád, the Gakkhars holding the south of the tract along both banks of

[1] Macgregor's *Gazetteer of the North-Western Frontier, verb.* Afridi.

[2] Dr Bellew says they came from Persia in the time of Nádir Sháh, and settled among the Patháns.

[3] Macgregor's *Gazetteer, voce* Utmán Khel.

[4] Major Wace says they were a clan of the Hazára Túrks. But the Túrks who gave their name to the district are supposed to have come with Changiz Khán and not with Taimur. Perhaps they were the same men, and have confused the two invaders in their traditions.

[5] This is the date given approximately by Major Wace. It should perhaps be put a century earlier.

the Haro river, while above them the Dhúnds, Karráls, and Sarráras occupy the hills in the south-eastern corner of the district, and the adjoining Harípur plains are held by a mixed population of Awáns and Gújars. The remainder of the district, that is the northern and central portion, is held by tribes which, whatever their origin, have by long association become assimilated with the Patháns in language and customs, the Jadún holding the Dor valley from Bagra upwards to Mángal, the Tanáoli holding the Tanáwal tract in the west centre of the district between Abbottábád and the Indus, much of which belongs to the semi-independent Nawáb of Amb, while the Swátis hold the whole mountain country north of Mansahra and Garhi Habíbullah.

The Utmanzai have been already fully described in the discussion of the Peshâwar tribes. **The Tarkheli** is one of the principal Utmânzai clans in Hazára, and occupies the Gandgarh country. A few **Tarin** Afgháns, first cousins of the Abdáli, wrested a considerable portion of the Harípur plains from the Gújars early in the 18th century, and still live there, but are now few and unimportant. The **Mishwani** are descended from a Saiyad father by a Kákar woman, and are allied to the Kákar Patháns. A small number of them came across the Indus with the Utmânzai, to whom they were attached as retainers, and now occupy the north-eastern end of the Gandgarh range, about Srikot. With the Utmânzai came also a few **Panni**, a Kákar sept, who are still settled among them.

413. **Non-Frontier Pathans.**—During the Lodi and Súr dynasties many Patháns migrated to India, especially during the reign of Bahlol Lodi and Sher Sháh Súr. These naturally belonged to the Ghilzai section from which those kings sprang. But large numbers of Patháns also accompanied the armies of Mahmúd Ghaznavi, Shaháb ul dín, and Bábar, and many of them obtained grants of land in the Panjáb plains and founded Pathán colonies which still exist. Many more Patháns have been driven out of Afghánistán by internal feuds or by famine, and have taken refuge in the plains east of the Indus. The tribes most commonly to be found in Hindústán are the Yúsufzai including the Mandanr, the Lodi, Kákar, Sarwáni, Orakzai, the Karlánri tribes, and the Zamand Patháns. Of these the most widely distributed are the Yúsufzai, of whom a body of 1,200 accompanied Bábar in his final invasion of India, and settled in the plains of Hindústán and the Panjáb. But as a rule the Patháns who have settled away from the frontier have lost all memory of their tribal divisions, and indeed almost all their national characteristics.

The descendants of Zamand very early migrated in large numbers to Multán, to which Province they furnished rulers till the time of Aurangzeb; when a number of the Abdáli tribe under the leadership of Sháh Husen were driven from Kandahár by tribal feuds, took refuge in Multán, and being early supplemented by other of their kinsmen who were expelled by Mír Wais the great Ghilzai Chief, conquered Multán and founded the tribe well known in the Panjáb as Multáni Patháns. Nawáb Muzaffar Khán of Multán was fourth in descent from Sháh Husen. When the Zamand section was broken up, the Khweshgi clan migrated to the Ghorband defile, and a large number marched thence with Bábar and found great favour at his hands and those of Humáyún. One section of them settled at Kasúr, and are now known as Kasúria Patháns. The Patháns of Guriáni and Gohána in Rohtak are Kákar. They are said to have settled in the time of Ibráhím Lodi. Those of Jhajjar in the same district are said to be Yúsufzai. In the time of Bahlol Lodi, Sarhind was ruled by members of the Prángi tribe from which he sprang, and many of this tribe are still to be found in Lúdhiánah, Rúpar, and the north of Ambála. The reigning family of Maler Kotla belong to the Sarípál clan of the Sarwáni Afgháns, who, as already related, were driven out of Afghánistán by the Mián Khel and Bakhtiár in the time of Humáyún. Jahángír, for what reason I do not know, deported the Míta Khel sept of the Afrídi to Hindústán; and some of the Afgháns of Pánípat and Lúdhiánah are said to be descended from this stock.

RACES ALLIED TO THE PATHAN.

414. **The Tanaoli (Caste No. 54.)**—The Tanáoli are said to claim descent from Amír Khán a Barlás Mughal, whose two sons Hind Khán and Pal Khán crossed the Indus some four centuries ago and settled in Tanáwal of Hazára; and they say that they are named after some other place of the same name in Afghánistán. But there can be little doubt that they are of Aryan and probably of Indian stock. We first find them in the trans-Indus basin of the Mahában, from which they were driven across the Indus by the Yúsufzai some two centuries ago. They now occupy Tanáwal or the extensive hill country between the river and the Urash plains. They are divided into two great tribes, the Hindwál and Pallál, of which the latter occupy the northern portion of Tanáwal, and their territory forms the *jágír* of the semi-independent Chief of Amb. Of the 40,000 Hazára Tanáolis, 8,737 have returned themselves as Pallál, 1,964 as Dafrál, a sept of the Pallál, and only 1,076 as Hindwál. It is probable that clans were not recorded in the Amb territory where the Hindwál, and indeed the great mass of the Tanáolis dwell. They are an industrious and peaceful race of cultivators; but their bad faith has given rise to the saying—*Tanáoli be-qauli*, "the Tanáoli's word is naught."

415. **The Dilazak and Tajik (Caste No. 145.)**—Acting upon the advice of an educated Extra Assistant Commissioner, a native of Peshâwar, I unfortunately took the figures for Tájik and Dilazák together under the head Tájik. In reality they are distinct. Of the 2,048 persons entered in my tables as Tájik, 1,519 are really Dilazák, and so returned themselves. Besides these there are 1,546 Dilazák who have returned themselves as Patháns, of whom 825 are in Ráwalpindi and 695 in Hazára. The origin and early history of the Dilazák have already been noticed in sections 408 and 409. They were the inhabitants of the Peshâwar valley before the Pathán invasion, and are apparently of Scythic origin and came into the Panjáb with the Jats and Katti in the 5th and 6th centuries. They soon became powerful and important and ruled the whole valley as far as the Indus and the foot of the northern hills. In the first half of the 13th century the Yúsufzai and Mohmand drove them across the Indus into Chach-Pakhli. But their efforts to regain their lost territories were such a perpetual source of disturbance, that at length Jahángír deported them *en masse* and distributed them over Hindústán and the Dakhan. Scattered families of them are still to be found along the left bank of the Indus in Hazára and Ráwalpindi.

The Tájik are apparently the original inhabitants of Persia; but now-a-days the word is used through-

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out Afghánistán to denote any Persian-speaking people who are not either Saiyad, Afghán, or Hazára; much as Jat or Hindki is used on the upper Indus to denote the speakers of Panjábi or its dialects. They are described by Dr. Bellew as peaceable, industrious, faithful, and intelligent. In the villages they cultivate, and in the towns they are artisans and traders; while almost all the clerkly classes of Afghánistán are Tájiks.

416. The Hazaras (Caste No. 183).—Besides the 38 Hazáras shown for the Peshávar district in Table VIII A, 44 others have returned themselves as Hazára Patháns, of whom 39 are in Kohát. But this certainly does not represent the whole number of Hazáras who were in the Panjáb at the time of the Census, and it is probable that most of them have returned themselves as Patháns simply, without specifying any tribe. The Hazáras of Kábul have already been noticed in section 396. They hold the Paropomisus of the ancients, extending from Kábul and Ghazni to Hírát, and from Kandahár to Balkh. They are almost certainly Mongol Tartars, and were settled in their present abodes by Changiz Khán. They have now almost wholly lost their Mongol speech, but retain the physical and physiognomic characters of the race, and are "as pure Mongols as when they settled 600 years ago with their families, their flocks, and their worldly possessions." They intermarry only among themselves, and in the interior of their territory are almost wholly independent. They are described at length by Dr. Bellew in Chapter XIII of his *Races of Afghánistán*. General Cunningham says that in Bábar's time the Karlúki (? Karlághi) Hazáras held the country on both banks of the Sohán in Ráwalpindi; and he refers to them the well-known coins of Sri Hasan Karlúki of the bull and horseman type, which he ascribes to the beginning of the 13th century. But the descendants of these people are apparently returned as Túrks and not as Hazáras, and they will be discussed later on under the former head. Their history in the Hazára district has been sketched in section 412. Dr. Bellew describes the Hazáras as a—

"very simple-minded people, and very much in the hands of their priests. They are for the most part entirely illiterate, are governed "by tribal and clan chiefs whose authority over their people is absolute, and they are generally very poor and hardy. Many thousands of them come down to the Panjáb every cold season in search of labour either on the roads, or as well-sinkers, wall-builders, "&c. In their own country they have the reputation of being a brave and hardy race, and amongst the Afgháns they are considered "a faithful, industrious and intelligent people as servants. Many thousands of them find employment at Kábul and Ghazni and "Kandahár during the winter months as labourers—in the two former cities mainly in removing the snow from the house-tops and "streets. In consequence of their being heretics, the Sunni Afgháns hold them in slavery, and in most of the larger towns the "servant-maids are purchased slaves of this people."

They are all Shíahs.

417. The Jadun.—The Jadún or Gadún, as they are called indifferently[1], have returned themselves as Patháns to the number of 17,256, of whom 16,962 are in Hazára and 279 in Ráwalpindi. They claim descent from Sarhang a great-grandson of Ghurghusht, two of whose sons fled, they say, because of a blood feud to the mountains of Chach and Hazára. It is however almost certain that the Jadún are of Indian origin; and it has been suggested that in their name is preserved the name of Jádu or Yádu, the founder of the Rájpút Yádúbansi dynasty, many of whose descendants migrated from Gújarát some 1,100 years before Christ, and were afterwards found in the hills of Kábul and Kandahár. They occupy all the south-eastern portion of the territory between the Peshávar and Hazára borders, and the southern slopes of Mahában; and when Jahángír finally crushed the Dilazák, they spread up the Dor valley as high as Abbottábád. Early in the 18th century, on the expulsion of the Karlágh Túrks by Saiyad Jalál Bába (section 412) they appropriated the country about Dhamtaur; and about a hundred years later they took the Bagra tract from the few remaining Dilazák who held it, while shortly before the Sikhs took the country their Hassazai clan deprived the Karrál of a portion of the Nilán valley. They are divided into three main clans, Sálár, Mansúr, and Hassazai, of which the last is not represented among the trans-Indus Jadún and has lost all connection with the parent tribe, having even forgotten its old Pashto language. Dr. Bellew makes them a Gakkhar clan, but this appears to be incorrect. The true Patháns of Hazára call them Mlátar or mercenaries, from the Pashto equivalent for *lakban* or "one who girds his loins." The Jadún clans returned in our tables are shown in the margin.

JADUN CLANS.	
Hassazai	6,421
Sálár	2,876
Mansúr	3,718

418. The Swati.—The Swátis have without exception returned themselves as Patháns. They number 28,906 souls, of whom 28,429 are in Hazára and 392 in Ráwalpindi. The original Swátis were a race of Hindu origin who once ruled the whole country from the Jahlam to Jalálábád. But as has already been recorded in sections 408-9, the Dilazák first drove them out of the plain country into the northern hills of Swát and Buner, and later on the Yúsufzai expelled them from those fastnesses and drove them east and west into Hazára and Káfiristán. As now existing they are probably a very mixed people, as the name is commonly applied to all descendants of the miscellaneous following of Saiyad Jalál mentioned in section 412[2]. They occupy the whole of the Mansahra *tahsil* of the Hazára district excepting the south-western corner which forms part of Tanáwal, and extend into the hills beyond its western border. The Pakhli tract is their chief seat. But the population of this tract is very mixed, Gújars forming by far the largest element, while Awáns and Saiyads are numerous. The Gújars are chiefly graziers in the frontier glens of the northern mountains, the Awáns lie chiefly to the south, while the Saiyads of Kágán are well known to fame. The Swátis are cowardly, deceptive, cruel, grasping, and lazy, and of miserable physique. Their bad faith is a proverb in the country; and they are credited with even attempting to cheat the devil by the old device, famous in European folklore, of dividing the crop above and below ground. They are all Musalmáns of the Sunni sect. They are divided into three great clans, Ghebari, Mamiáli, and Mitráwi, of which the first claims Tájik, the Mamiáli Yúsufzai, and the Mitráwi Durráni origin; but all three claims are almost certainly unfounded. At present the Mamiáli and Mitráwi, known as the sections of the Tarli or lower Pakhli, hold the southern and south-western portions of their tract, while the Ghebari,

[1] Trans-Indus they are always known as Gadún; Cis-Indus, as either Gadún or Jadún.

[2] At the Hazára settlement genealogical trees were prepared for the Swátis only for the last four or five generations; and this at their own request, as to have gone back further would have exposed in too public a manner their miscellaneous origin.

a section of the Utli or upper Pakhli, occupy Kágán and the north-eastern portion. The Swáti are often wrongly confused with the Degán, another branch of the original Hindu inhabitants of north-eastern Afghánistán, now only found in Kunar, Bajaur, Lughmán, and Ningrahár.

419. The Shilmani.—The Shilmáni are probably of Indian origin, and had their homes in Shilmán on the banks of the Kurram. From there they migrated to the Tátara mountains north of the Khaibar, whence a section of them moved on *viá* Peshâwar to Hashtnaghar. About the end of the 15th century the Yúsufzai drove them out into Swát, where they found a refuge with Sultán Wais and presently became subjects of the advancing Yúsufzai. A few of them are scattered through the Hazára district, and they still hold a village in the Tátara range. But they are fast dying out of existence as a distinct people. They are often confounded with the Degán in the early Afghán histories. I am afraid that some who are not really Shilmáni have been included in our figures. The tribe is sometimes called Sulemáni, a name also applied to Afgháns proper, while there is a separate tribe called Sulemán Khel; and it is not impossible that there has been some confusion. The Shilmáni have all returned themselves as Patháns, and their numbers are 1,557, of whom 969 are in Hazára, 174 in Ráwalpindi, and 200 in Dehli.

PART III.—THE JAT, RAJPUT, AND ALLIED CASTES.

420. General and Introductory.—Abstract No. 71 below shows the distribution of Jats, Rájpúts, and certain castes which I have taken with the latter, as the line separating them is almost impossible of definition. The origin and distribution of these castes is fully discussed in the following pages, and there is no need here to anticipate my remarks. Indeed the distinction between Jat and Rájpút is in many parts of the Province so indefinite, that separate figures for these two castes can hardly be said to have any significance at all.

Abstract No. 71, *showing* **Jats, Rajputs, and Allied Castes** *for* **Districts and States.**

	JATS AND RAJPUTS AND ALLIED RACES.															
	FIGURES.							PROPORTIONS PER 1,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.								
	1	2	60	39	82	74	103	1	2	60	39	82	74	103		
	Jat.	Rájpút.	Thakar.	Ráthi.	Ráwat.	Dhúnd.	Kahút.	Jat.	Rájpút.	Thakar.	Ráthi.	Ráwat.	Dhúnd.	Kahút.	Total.	Grand Total.
Dehli	107,075	33,823	...	...	...	...	2	166	53	...	...	...	...	...	53	219
Gurgaon	64,342	26,483	...	...	...	...	...	100	41	...	...	...	...	...	41	141
Karnal	95,108	53,260	...	...	1,025	...	3	153	85	...	...	2	...	...	87	240
Hissar	134,886	60,993	...	...	...	...	...	268	121	...	...	...	...	...	121	389
Rohtak	182,776	29,975	...	...	...	...	...	330	54	...	...	...	...	...	54	384
Sirsa	64,040	46,827	[illegible]	...	...	...	...	253	185	...	...	...	...	...	185	438
Ambala	171,257	92,033	12	...	4,402	...	...	160	86	...	...	4	...	...	90	250
Ludhiana	222,665	30,957	9	...	1,807	...	...	360	50	...	...	3	...	...	53	413
Simla	235	1,849	4	...	7	...	...	5	43	...	...	...	...	...	43	48
Jalandhar	163,757	43,789	20	304	2,438	...	...	208	56	...	...	3	...	...	59	267
Hushyarpur	145,743	101,384	480	200	275	...	...	162	112	1	...	...	...	...	113	275
Kangra	11,118	92,836	19,122	50,767	1	...	...	15	127	26	69	...	...	...	222	237
Amritsar	205,434	27,668	[illegible]	...	...	...	...	230	31	...	...	...	...	...	31	261
Gurdaspur	129,755	71,519	4,983	1,731	...	...	...	157	87	6	2	...	...	...	95	252
Sialkot	266,040	57,269	9	...	...	...	...	264	57	...	...	...	...	...	57	321
Lahore	157,670	54,577	...	...	5	...	2	171	59	...	...	...	...	...	59	230
Gujranwala	173,979	36,484	...	...	...	...	...	282	59	...	...	...	...	...	59	341
Firozpur	186,576	39,538	...	...	32	...	1	287	61	...	...	...	...	...	61	348
Rawalpindi	47,935	145,536	59	...	...	223	62	58	177	...	...	...	...	...	177	235
Jhelam	88,371	53,279	4	...	...	...	8,766	150	90	...	...	...	...	8	98	248
Gujrat	181,380	22,026	...	...	...	...	...	263	32	...	...	...	...	...	32	295
Shahpur	34,508	82,290	...	...	...	...	377	82	195	...	...	...	...	1	196	278
Multan	102,952	59,627	52	...	...	...	22	187	108	...	...	...	...	...	108	295
Jhang	48,242	89,641	...	...	...	...	25	122	227	...	...	...	...	...	227	349
Montgomery	42,707	56,575	5	...	...	...	...	100	132	...	...	...	...	...	132	232
Muzaffargarh	109,352	7,961	55	...	...	...	153	323	23	...	...	...	...	...	23	346
Derah Ismail Khan	205,360	1,750	1	...	...	...	...	465	4	...	...	...	...	...	4	469
Derah Ghazi Khan	160,405	2,667	45	...	...	1	1	442	7	...	...	...	...	...	7	449
Bannu	53,900	3,309	...	...	...	...	...	162	10	...	...	...	...	...	10	172
Peshawar	4,917	3,181	55	...	1	4	54	8	5	...	...	...	...	...	5	13
Hazara	515	4,777	1	...	1	20,085	...	1	12	...	...	...	49	...	61	62
Kohat	1,470	1,887	...	...	...	2	...	8	11	...	...	...	...	...	11	19
British Territory.	**3,564,519**	**1,436,058**	**24,984**	**53,002**	**9,994**	**20,315**	**9,468**	**189**	**76**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**1**	...	**82**	**271**
Patiala	452,247	64,307	...	...	3,242	...	23	308	44	...	...	2	...	...	46	354
Nabha	85,414	12,733	...	...	266	...	10	326	49	...	...	1	...	...	50	376
Kapurthala	39,135	19,754	...	...	609	...	1	155	78	...	...	2	...	...	80	235
Jind	87,610	10,000	4	...	302	...	...	350	40	...	...	1	...	...	41	391
Faridkot	35,744	4,274	...	...	23	...	...	369	44	...	...	...	...	...	44	413
Maler Kotla	23,332	1,517	...	...	1,890	...	...	328	21	...	...	27	...	...	48	376
Kalsia	11,338	2,805	...	...	701	...	...	167	41	...	...	10	...	...	51	218
Total East. Plains.	745,076	119,546	4	...	7,033	...	34	296	47	...	...	3	...	...	50	346
Bahawalpur	119,178	91,189	...	...	...	...	...	208	159	...	...	...	...	...	159	367
Mandi	353	6,981	...	...	...	...	...	2	47	...	...	...	...	...	47	49
Chamba	291	4,054	7,403	32,190	10	...	...	3	35	64	277	...	...	...	376	379
Nahan	266	3,079	...	...	155	...	...	2	27	...	...	1	...	...	28	30
Bilaspur	1,456	8,046	...	...	...	...	...	17	93	...	...	...	...	...	93	110
Bashahr	16	2,113	...	...	...	...	...	...	33	...	...	...	...	...	33	33
Nalagarh	824	980	...	...	...	...	...	15	18	...	...	...	...	...	18	33
Suket	320	1,425	375	...	...	...	...	6	27	7	...	...	...	...	34	40
Total Hill States.	3,977	30,776	7,778	32,190	173	...	...	5	40	10	42	...	...	...	92	97
British Territory.	**3,564,519**	**1,436,058**	**24,984**	**53,002**	**9,994**	**20,315**	**9,468**	**189**	**76**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**1**	...	**82**	**271**
Native States	**868,231**	**241,511**	**7,782**	**32,190**	**7,206**	...	**34**	**225**	**63**	**2**	**8**	**2**	...	...	**75**	**300**
Province	**4,432,750**	**1,677,569**	**32,766**	**85,192**	**17,200**	**20,315**	**9,502**	**195**	**74**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**1**	...	**81**	**276**

Part, III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

The two together constitute nearly 28 per cent. of the total population of the Panjáb, and include the great mass of the dominant land-owning tribes in the cis-Indus portion of the Province. Their political is even greater than their numerical importance; while they afford to the ethnologist infinite matter for inquiry and consideration. Their customs are in the main Hindu, though in the Western Plains and the Salt-range Tract the restrictions upon intermarriage have in many cases come to be based upon considerations of social standing only. But even here the marriage ceremony and other social customs retain the clear impress of Indian origin.

THE JAT (CASTE No. 1).

421. The origin of the Jat.—Perhaps no question connected with the ethnology of the Panjáb peoples has been so much discussed as the origin of the Jat race. It is not my intention here to reproduce any of the arguments adduced. They will be found in detail in the Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. II, pages 51 to 61; in Tod's *Rájasthán*, Vol. I, pages 52 to 75 and 96 to 101 (Madras Reprint, 1880); in Elphinstone's *History of India*, pages 250 to 253; and in Elliot's *Races of the N. W. P.*, Vol. I, pages 130 to 137. Suffice it to say that both General Cunningham and Major Tod agree in considering the Jats to be of Indo-Scythian stock. The former identifies them with the Zanthii of Strabo and the Jatii of Pliny and Ptolemy; and holds that they probably entered the Panjáb from their home on the Oxus very shortly after the Meds or Mands, who also were Indo-Scythians, and who moved into the Panjáb about a century before Christ. The Jats seem to have first occupied the Indus valley as far down as Sindh, whither the Meds followed them about the beginning of the present æra. But before the earliest Mahomedan invasion the Jats had spread into the Panjáb proper, where they were firmly established in the beginning of the 11th century. By the time of Bábar the Jats of the Salt-range Tract had been subdued by the Gakkhars, Awáns, and Janjúas, while as early as the 7th century the Jats and Meds of Sindh were ruled over by a Bráhman dynasty. Major Tod classes the Jats as one of the great Rájpút tribes, and extends his identification with the Getæ to both races; but here General Cunningham differs, holding the Rájpúts to belong to the original Aryan stock, and the Jats to belong to a later wave of immigrants from the North-west, probably of Scythian race.

It may be that the original Rájpút and the original Jat entered India at different periods in its history, though to my mind the term Rájpút is an occupational rather than an ethnological expression. But if they do originally represent two separate waves of immigration, it is at least exceedingly probable, both from their almost identical physique and facial character and from the close communion which has always existed between them, that they belong to one and the same ethnic stock; while whether this be so or not, it is almost certain that they have been for many centuries and still are so intermingled and so blended into one people that it is practically impossible to distinguish them as separate wholes. It is indeed more than probable that the process of fusion has not ended here, and that the people who thus in the main resulted from the blending of the Jat and the Rájpút, if these two ever were distinct, is by no means free from foreign elements. We have seen how the Pathán people have assimilated Saiyads, Túrks, and Mughals, and how it was sufficient for a Jat tribe to retain its political independence and organisation in order to be admitted into the Biloch nation; we know how a character for sanctity and social exclusiveness combined will in a few generations make a Quresh or a Saiyad; and it is almost certain that the joint Jat-Rájpút stock contains not a few tribes of aboriginal descent, though it is probably in the main Aryo-Scythian, if Scythian be not Aryan. The Mán, Her, and Bhúlar Jats (section 435) are known as *asl* or original Jats because they claim no Rájpút ancestry, but are supposed to be descended from the hair (*jat*) of the aboriginal god Siva; the Jats of the south-eastern districts divide themselves into two sections, *Shivgotri* or of the family of Siva, and *Kasabgotri* who claim connection with the Rájpúts; and the names of the ancestor Bar of the Shivgotris and of his son Barbara, are the very words which the ancient Bráhmans give us as the marks of the barbarian aborigines. Many of the Jat tribes of the Panjáb have customs which apparently point to non-Aryan origin, and a rich and almost virgin field for investigation is here open to the ethnologist.

422. Are the Jats and Rajputs distinct?—But whether Jats and Rájpúts were or were not originally distinct, and whatever aboriginal elements may have been affiliated to their society, I think that the two now form a common stock, the distinction between Jat and Rájpút being social rather than ethnic. I believe that those families of that common stock whom the tide of fortune has raised to political importance have become Rájpúts almost by mere virtue of their rise; and that their descendants have retained the title and its privileges on the condition, strictly enforced, of observing the rules by which the higher are distinguished from the lower castes in the Hindu scale of precedence; of preserving their purity of blood by refusing to marry with families of inferior social rank, of rigidly abstaining from widow marriage, and of refraining from degrading occupations. Those who transgressed these rules have fallen from their high position and ceased to be Rájpúts; while such families as, attaining a dominant position in their territory, began to affect social exclusiveness and to observe the rules, have become not only Rájas, but also Rájpúts or "sons of Rájas." For the last seven centuries the process of elevation at least has been almost at a standstill. Under the Dehli Emperors king-making was practically impossible. Under the Sikhs the Rájpút was overshadowed by the Jat, who resented his assumption of superiority and his refusal to join him on equal terms in the ranks of the Khálsa, deliberately persecuted him wherever and whenever he had the power, and preferred his title of Jat Sikh to that of the proudest Rájpút. On the frontier the dominance of Patháns and Biloches and the general prevalence of Mahomedan feelings and ideas placed recent Indian origin at a discount, and led the leading families who belonged to neither of these two races to claim connection, not with the Kshatriyas of the Sanskrit classics, but with the Mughal conquerors of India or the Qureshi cousins of the Prophet; insomuch that even admittedly Rájpút tribes of famous ancestry, such as the Khokhar, have begun to follow the example. But in the hills, where Rájpút dynasties with genealogies perhaps more ancient and unbroken than can be shown by any other royal families in the world

retained their independence till yesterday, and where many of them still enjoy as great social authority as ever, the twin processes of degradation from and elevation to Rájpút rank are still to be seen in operation. The Rája is there the fountain not only of honour but also of caste, which is the same thing in India. Mr. Lyall writes :—

"Till lately the limits of caste do not seem to have been so immutably fixed in the hills as in the plains. The Raja was the "fountain of honour, and could do much as he liked. I have heard old men quote instances within their memory in which a Raja "promoted a Girth to be a Ráthi, and a Thakar to be a Rajput, for service done or money given; and at the present day the power "of admitting back into caste fellowship persons put under a ban for some grave act of defilement, is a source of income to the Jagir-"dar Rajas.

"I believe that Mr. Campbell, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, has asserted that there is no such thing as a distinct "Rajput stock; that in former times before caste distinctions had become crystallized, any tribe or family whose ancestor or head rose "to royal rank became in time Rajput. This is certainly the conclusion to which many facts point with regard to the Rajputs of "these hills. Two of the old royal and now essentially Rajput families of this district, *viz.*, Kotlehr and Bangáhal, are said to be "Brahmin by original stock. Mr. Barnes says that in Kangra the son of a Rajput by a low-caste woman takes place as a Ráthi: in "Seoráj and other places in the interior of the hills I have met families calling themselves Rajputs, and growing into general ac-"ceptance as Rajputs, in their own country at least, whose only claim to the title was that their father or grandfather was the "offspring of a Kanetni by a foreign Brahmin. On the border line in the Himalayas, between Thibet and India proper, any one "can observe caste growing before his eyes; the noble is changing into a Rajput, the priest into a Brahmin, the peasant into a Jat, "and so on down to the bottom of the scale. The same process was, I believe, more or less in force in Kangra proper down to a "period not very remote from to-day."

423. The reverse process of degradation from Rájpút to lower rank is too common to require proof of its existence, which will be found if needed, together with further instances of elevation, in the section which treats of the Rájpúts and kindred castes. In the eastern districts, where Brahminism is stronger than in any other part of the Panjáb and Dehli too near to allow of families rising to political independence, it is probable that no elevation to the rank of Rájpút has taken place within recent times. But many Rájpút families have ceased to be Rájpúts. Setting aside the general tradition of the Panjáb Jats to the effect that their ancestors were Rájpúts who married Jats or began to practice widow-marriage, we have the Gaurwa Rájpúts of Gurgáon and Dehli, who have indeed retained the title of Rájpút because the caste feeling is too strong in those parts and the change in their customs too recent for it yet to have died out, but who have, for all purposes of equality, communion, or intermarriage, ceased to be Rájpúts since they took to the practice of *karewa;* we have the Sahnsars of Hushyárpur who were Rájpúts within the last two or three generations, but have ceased to be so because they grow vegetables like the Aráin; in Karnál we have Rájpúts who within the living generation have ceased to be Rájpúts and become Shekhs, because poverty and loss of land forced them to weaving as an occupation; while the Dehli Chauhán, within the shadow of the city where their ancestors once ruled and led the Indian armies in their last struggle with the Musalmán invaders, have lost their caste by yielding to the temptations of *karewa*. In the Sikh tract, as I have said, the Jat is content to be a Jat, and has never since the rise of Sikh power wished to be anything else. In the Western Plains the freedom of marriage allowed by Islám has superseded caste restrictions, and social rank is measured by the tribe rather than by the larger unit of caste. But even there, families who were a few generations ago reputed Jats have now risen by social exclusiveness to be recognised as Rájpúts, and families who were lately known as Rájpúts have sunk till they are now classed with Jats; while the great ruling tribes, the Siál, the Gondal, the Tiwána are commonly spoken of as Rájpúts, and their smaller brethren as Jats. The same tribe even is Rájpút in one district and Jat in another, according to its position among the local tribes. In the Salt-range Tract the dominant tribes, the Janjúa, Manhás and the like, are Rájpúts when they are not Mughals or Arabs; while all agricultural tribes of Indian origin who cannot establish their title to Rájpút rank are Jats. Finally, on the frontier the Pathán and Biloch have overshadowed Jat and Rájpút alike; and Bhatti, Punwár, Túnwar, all the proudest tribes of Rájpútána are included in the name and have sunk to the level of Jat, for there can be no Rájpúts where there are no Rájas or traditions of Rájas. I know that the views herein set forth will be held heretical and profane by many, and that they ought to be supported by a greater wealth of instance than I have produced in the following pages. But I have no time to marshal my facts; I have indeed no time to record more than a small proportion of them; and all I can now attempt is to state the conclusion to which my enquiries have led me, and to hope to deal with the subject in more detail on some future occasion.

424. The position of the Jat in the Panjab.—The Jat is in every respect the most important of the Panjáb peoples. In point of numbers he surpasses the Rájpút who comes next to him in the proportion of nearly three to one; while the two together constitute 27 per cent. of the whole population of the Province. Politically he ruled the Panjáb till the Khálsa yielded to our arms. Ethnologically he is the peculiar and most prominent product of the plains of the five rivers. And from an œconomical and administrative point of view he is the husbandman, the peasant, the revenue payer *par excellence* of the Province. His manners do not bear the impress of generations of wild freedom which marks the races of our frontier mountains. But he is more honest, more industrious, more sturdy, and no less manly than they. Sturdy independence indeed and patient vigorous labour are his strongest characteristics. The Jat is of all Panjáb races the most impatient of tribal or communal control, and the one which asserts the freedom of the individual most strongly. In tracts where, as in Rohtak, the Jat tribes have the field to themselves, and are compelled, in default of rival castes as enemies, to fall back upon each other for somebody to quarrel with, the tribal ties are strong. But as a rule a Jat is a man who does what seems right in his own eyes and sometimes what seems wrong also, and will not be said nay by any man. I do not mean however that he is turbulent: as a rule he is very far from being so. He is independent and he is self-willed; but he is reasonable, peaceably inclined if left alone, and not difficult to manage. He is usually content to cultivate his fields and pay his revenue in peace and quietness if people will let him do so; though when he does go wrong he "takes to anything from gambling to murder, with perhaps a preference for stealing other people's wives and cattle." As usual the proverbial wisdom of the villages describes him very fairly, though perhaps somewhat too severely: "The soil, fodder, "clothes, hemp, grass fibre, and silk, these six are best beaten; and the seventh is the Jat." "A Jat, a Bhat, "a caterpillar, and a widow woman; these four are best hungry. If they eat their fill they do harm." "The

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

"Jat, like a wound, is better when bound.' In agriculture the Jat is pre-eminent. The market-gardening castes, the Aráín, the Máli, the Saini, are perhaps more skilful cultivators on a small scale; but they cannot rival the Jat as landowners and yeoman cultivators. The Jat calls himself *zamíndár* or "husbandman" as often as Jat, and his women and children alike work with him in the fields: "The Jat's baby has a plough handle for a plaything." "The Jat stood on his corn heap and said to the king's elephant-drivers—'Will you sell those little donkeys?'" Socially, the Jat occupies a position which is shared by the Ror, the Gújar, and the Ahír, all four eating and smoking together. He is of course far below the Rájpút, from the simple fact that he practises widow-marriage. The Jat father is made to say, in the rhyming proverbs of the country side—"Come my daughter and be married; if this husband dies there are plenty more." But among the widow-marrying castes he stands first. The Banya with his sacred thread, his strict Hinduism, and his twice-born standing, looks down on the Jat as a Súdra. But the Jat looks down upon the Banya as a cowardly spiritless money-grubber, and society in general agrees with the Jat. The Khatri, who is far superior to the Banya in manliness and vigour, probably takes precedence of the Jat. But among the races or tribes of purely Hindu origin, I think that the Jat stands next after the Bráhman, the Rájpút, and the Khatri.

There are, however, Jats and Jats. I shall briefly describe each class in the remarks prefixed to the various sections under which I discuss the Jat tribes; and I shall here do nothing more than briefly indicate the broad distinctions. The Jat of the Sikh tracts is of course the typical Jat of the Panjáb, and he it is whom I have described above. The Ját of the south-eastern districts differs little from him save in religion; though on the Bíkáner border the puny Bágri Ját, immigrant from his rainless prairies where he has been held in bondage for centuries, and ignorant of cultivation save in its rudest form, contrasts strongly with the stalwart and independent husbandman of the Málwa. On the Lower Indus the word Jat is applied generically to a congeries of tribes, Jats proper, Rájpúts, lower castes, and mongrels, who have no points in common save their Mahomedan religion, their agricultural occupation, and their subordinate position. In the great western grazing grounds it is, as I have said, impossible to draw any sure line between Jat and Rájpút, the latter term being commonly applied to those tribes who have attained political supremacy, while the people whom they have subdued or driven by dispossession of their territory to live a semi-nomad life in the central steppes are more often classed as Jats; and the state of things in the Salt-range Tract is very similar. Indeed the word Jat is the Panjábi term for a grazier or herdsman; though Mr. O'Brien says that in Jatki, Jat the cultivator is spelt with a hard, and Jat the herdsman or camel grazier with a soft *t*. Thus the word Jat in Rohtak or Amritsar means a great deal; in Muzaffargarh or Bannu it means nothing at all, or rather perhaps it means a great deal more than any single word can afford to mean if it is to be of any practical use; and the two classes respectively indicated by the term in these two parts of the Province must not be too readily confounded.

425. The nature and meaning of the figures.—Such being the state of things, it may be imagined that our figures do not always convey any very definite meaning. The 160,000 Jats of Derah Gházi Khán include 5,000 Mális, 2,000 Juláhas, 3,000 Tarkháns, 4,500 Kutánas, 4,400 Malláhs, 7,500 Mochis, 2,700 Máchhis, and so forth. In no other district does this confusion prevail to anything like so great an extent; but it does prevail in a smaller degree throughout the south-western districts; and till the detailed clan tables are complete it will be impossible to separate these incongruous items, or to find out with exactness what our figures do and what they do not include. The confusion is not wholly due to the entries in the schedules. On the Lower Indus and Chanáb the entries in the caste column were numbered by thousands, tribe being there the recognized unit rather than the more comprehensive caste; and it was absolutely necessary to allow the staff of the divisional offices, all picked men drawn from the very district with the figures of which they were dealing, some discretion in classifying these entries under larger heads. Thus in Jhang the Siál will have been rightly classed as Rájpúts, while in Derah Gházi they will, with equal correctness so far as local usage is concerned, have been very probably classed as Jats. Thus our figures are far from complete; but I have done my best to indicate in the following paragraphs the uncertainties and errors in classification as far as I could detect them. I had indeed hoped to treat the subject more fully, and especially more systematically than I have done. I had intended to attempt some sort of grouping of the great Jat tribes on the basis of their ethnic affinities, somewhat similar to that which I have attempted for the Patháns. But I was not allowed the time necessary for such an undertaking; and I have therefore roughly grouped the tribes by locality so far as my figures served to indicate it, and hurriedy stated the leading facts of which I was in possession regarding each, leaving any more elaborate treatment for a future occasion. The figures for tribes are, as already explained in section 369, necessarily imperfect, and must only be taken as approximations.

426. Distribution of the Jats.—Beyond the Panjáb, Jats are chiefly found in Sindh where they form the mass of the population, in Bíkáner, Jaisalmer, and Márwár, where they probably equal in numbers all the Rájpút races put together, and along the upper valleys of the Ganges and Jamna from Bareli, Farrukhábád, and Gwálior upwards. Within the Province their distribution is shown in Abstract No. 71 on page 219. They are especially numerous in the central Sikh districts and States, in the south-eastern districts, and in the Derajât. Under and among the hills and in the Ráwalpindi division Rájpúts take their place, while on the frontier both upper and lower, they are almost wholly confined to the cis-Indus tracts and the immediate Indus riverain on both sides of the stream. The Jats of the Indus are probably still in the country which they have occupied ever since their first entry into India, though they have been driven back from the foot of the Sulemáns on to the river by the advance of the Pathán and the Biloch. The Jats of the Western Plains have almost without exception come up the river valleys from Sindh or Western Rájpútána. The Jats of the western and central sub-montane have also in part come by the same route; but some of them retain a traditional connection with Ghazni, which perhaps refers to the ancient Gajnípur, the site of the modern Ráwalpindi, while many of them trace their origin from the Jammu Hills.

The Jats of the Central and Eastern Panjáb have also in many cases come up the Satluj valley; but many of them have moved from Bíkáner straight into the Málwa, while the great central plains of the Málwa itself are probably the original home of many of the Jat tribes of the Sikh tract. The Jats of the south-eastern districts and the Jamna zone have for the most part worked up the Jamna valley from the direction of Bhartpur, with which some of them still retain a traditional connection; though some few have moved in eastwards from Bíkáner and the Málwa. The Bhartpur Jats are themselves said to be immigrants who left the banks of the Indus in the time of Aurangzeb. Whether the Jats of the great plains are really as late immigrants as they represent, or whether their story is merely founded upon a wish to show

recent connection with the country of the Rájpúts, I cannot say. The whole question is one on which we are exceedingly ignorant, and which would richly repay detailed investigation.

427. Jats of the Western Plains.—First of all then let us purge our tables of that nondescript class known as Jats on the Indus, and, to a less extent, in the lower valleys of the Satluj, Chanáb, and Jahlam, and in the Salt-range Tract. Mr. O'Brien writes as follows of the Jats of Muzaffargarh:—

"In this district the word Jat includes that congeries of Muhammadan tribes which are not Saiyads, Biloches, Patháns "or Qureshis. According to this definition Jats would include Rájpúts. This I believe is correct. The Jats have always been "recruited from the Rájpúts. There is not a Jat in the district who has any knowledge, real or fancied, of his ancestors that "would not say that he was once a Rájpút. Certain Jat tribes have names and traditions which seem to connect them more closely "with Hindustán. Some bear the Rájpút title of Rai, and others, though Muhammadans, associate a Brahmin with the Mulla at "marriage ceremonies, while the Púnwárs, Paribárs, Bhattis, Joyas, and others bear the names of well-known tribes of Rájpútána. "The fact is that it is impossible to define between Jats and Musalmán Rájpúts. And the difficulty is rendered greater by the word "Jat also meaning an agriculturist irrespective of his race, and Jatáki agriculture. In conversation about agriculture I have been "referred to a Saiyad Zaildár with the remark—Ask Anwar Sháh; he is a better Jat than we are.

"The Jat tribes are exceedingly numerous. There are 165 in the Sanánwán tahsil alone. They have no large divisions "embracing several small divisions. Nor do they trace their origin to a common stock. No tribe is pre-eminent in birth or caste. "Generally Jats marry into their own tribe, but they have no hesitation in marrying into other tribes. They give their daughters "freely to Biloches in marriage. But the Biloches say that they do not give their daughters to Jats. This is, however, a Biloch "story; many instances of Jats married to Biloches could be named."[1]

Besides this, the word Jat, spelt with a soft instead of a hard *t*, denotes a camel grazier or camel driver. "The camel cannot lift its load; the camelman (Jat) bites its tail." The fact seems to be that the Biloches who came into the districts of the lower frontier as a dominant race, contemptuously included all cultivating tribes who were not Biloch, or of some race such as Saiyad or Pathán whom they had been accustomed to look upon as their equals, under the generic name of Jat, until the people themselves have lost the very memory of their origin. It is possible that our own officers may have emphasized the confusion by adopting too readily the simple classification of the population as the Biloch or peculiar people on the one hand and the Jat or Gentile on the other, and that the so-called Jat is not so ignorant of his real origin as is commonly supposed. But the fact that in this part of the Panjáb tribe quite overshadows and indeed almost supersedes caste, greatly increases the difficulty. As Mr. Roe remarks—"If "you ask a Jat his caste he will generally name some sub-division or clan quite unknown to fame." However caused, the result is that in the Deraját, Muzaffargarh, and much of Multán, if not indeed still further east and north, the word Jat means little more than the heading "others or unspecified" under which Census officers are so sorely tempted to class those about whom they know little or nothing. A curious instance of the manner in which the word is used in these parts is afforded by the result of some inquiries I made about the Máchhi or fisherman caste of Derah Ghází Khán. The reply sent me was that there were two castes, Máchhis or fishermen, and Jat Máchhis who had taken to agriculture. It is probable that not long hence these latter will drop the Máchhi, perhaps forget their Máchhi origin, and become Jats pure and simple; though they may not improbably retain as their *clan* name the old Máchhi clan to which they belonged, or even the word Máchhi itself. I give on the next page a list of castes which, on a rough examination of the clan tables of the Jats of the Multán and Deraját divisions and Baháwalpur, I detected among the sub-divisions of the Jats of those parts. Jat being essentially a word used for agriculturists only, it is more probable that a man who returns himself as Jat by caste and Bhatyára by tribe or clan should be a Bhatyára who has taken to agriculture, than that he should be a Jat who has taken to keeping a cook-shop; and the men shown below would probably have been more properly returned under the respective castes opposite which their numbers are given, than as Jats. A more careful examination of the figures would probably have increased the numbers; and the detailed clan tables will give us much information on the subject.

428. Further to the north and east, away from the Biloch territory, the difficulty is of a somewhat different nature. There, as already explained, the tribes are commonly known by their tribal names rather than by the name of the caste to which they belong or belonged; and the result is that claims to Rájpút, or now-a-days not unseldom to Arab or Mughal origin, are generally set up. The tribes who claim to be Arab or Mughal will be discussed either under their proper head or under Shekhs and Mughals. But the line between Jats and Rájpúts is a difficult one to draw, and I have been obliged to decide the question in a rough and arbitrary manner. Thus the Siál are admittedly of pure Rájpút origin, and I have classed them as Rájpúts as they are commonly recognized as such by their neighbours. The Súmra are probably of no less pure Rájpút extraction, but they are commonly known as Jats, and I have discussed them under that head. But in either case I shall show the Siál or Súmra who have returned themselves as Jats side by side with those who have returned themselves as Rájpúts, so that the figures may be as complete as possible. As a fact these people are generally known as Siál and Súmra rather than as Jats or Rájpúts; and the inclusion of them under either of the latter headings is a classification based upon generally reputed origin or standing, rather than upon any current and usual designation. Mr. Purser thus expresses the matter as he found it in Montgomery:—

"There is a wonderful uniformity about the traditions of the different tribes. The ancestor of each tribe was, as a rule, a Rájpút of the Solar or Lunar race, and resided at Hastinápur or Dáránagar. He scornfully rejected the proposals of the Dehli "Emperor for a matrimonial alliance between the two families, and had then to fly to Sirsa or Bhatner, or some other place in that "neighbourhood. Next he came to the Rávi and was converted to Islám by Makhdúm Bahá-ul-Haqq, or Bába Faríd. Then, being a "stout-hearted man, he joined the Kharrals in their marauding expeditions, and so his descendants became Jats. In Kanır Singh's "time they took to agriculture and abandoned robbery a little; and now under the English Government they have quite given up "their evil ways, and are honest and well-disposed."

Mr. Steedman writing from Jhang says:—

"There are in this district a lot of tribes engaged in agriculture or cattle-grazing who have no very clear idea of their origin "but are certainly converted Hindus. Many are recognized Jats, and more belong to an enormous variety of tribes, but are called by "the one comprehensive term Jat. Ethnologically I am not sure of my ground; but for practical convenience in this part of the "world, I would class as Jats all Muhammadans whose ancestors were converted from Hinduism and who are now engaged in, or "derive their maintenance from, the cultivation of land or the pasturing of cattle."

[1]Among the organised Biloch tribes of the frontier, however, Biloch girls are not given to Jats.

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

Abstract No. 72, *showing* other Castes returned as Jats *in* Multan and the Derajat.

Caste.	Multan.	Jhang.	Montgomery.	Muzaffargarh.	Dera Ismail Khan.	Dera Ghazi Khan.	Bannu.	Total Multan and Derajat.	Bahawalpur.	Grand Total.	Caste.
Aráin, Maliár, Máli	255	389	2	3,125	2,755	5,008	287	11,821	...	11,821	Aráin, Maliár, Máli
Bhatyára	...	...	...	137	69	679	...	885	...	885	Bhatyára
Bázigar	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	Bázigar
Biloch	92	96	31	145	...	...	...	364	...	364	Biloch
Páoli, Juláha	112	529	41	89	1,252	1,947	273	4,243	...	4,243	Páoli, Juláha
Pungar	...	...	...	...	4	35	...	39	...	39	Pungar
Pathán	102	65	226	90	...	62	4	549	...	549	Pathán
Teli	5	14	...	6	181	68	3	277	4	281	Teli
Jogi	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	85	86	Jogi
Charhoa	24	145	...	137	375	1,484	111	2,276	...	2,276	Charhoa
Chuhra	34	374	...	21	217	820	67	1,533	...	1,533	Chuhra
Khojah	7	38	...	440	453	1,755	34	2,727	...	2,727	Khojah
Darzi	28	...	...	1	...	...	...	29	...	29	Darzi
Dhobi	6	12	...	...	11	95	...	124	...	124	Dhobi
Tarkhán	37	257	11	190	2,935	3,062	238	6,730	...	6,730	Tarkhán
Dúm	...	...	...	...	247	13	...	260	...	260	Dúm
Rájpút	14	117	153	381	25	...	...	690	...	690	Rájpút
Zargar	6	2	...	...	...	...	13	21	...	21	Zargar
Shekh	346	34	250	65	390	937	205	2,227	...	2,227	Shekh
Siqligar	...	...	...	...	49	...	...	49	...	49	Siqligar
Faqír	67	145	72	13	...	...	...	297	242	539	Faqír
Qassáb	12	92	...	94	1,281	1,083	98	2,660	...	2,660	Qassáb
Qázi	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	6	Qázi
Qureshí	264	270	171	35	22	106	14	882	...	882	Qureshí
Kahár	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	3	Kahár
Kutána	6	12	11	259	2,680	4,539	119	7,626	...	7,626	Kutána
Kumhár	99	343	7	243	2,700	1,837	125	5,354	...	5,354	Kumhár
Kamángar	9	...	...	38	36	40	...	123	...	123	Kamángar
Kalál	14	...	14	5	9	13	...	55	...	55	Kalál
Gujar	10	1	7	...	...	...	...	18	...	18	Gujar
Labána	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,317	4,317	Labána
Lohár	18	117	...	46	1,304	638	208	2,331	...	2,331	Lohar
Mujáwar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	401	401	Mujáwar
Mughal	17	15	8	...	...	...	...	40	361	401	Mughal
Malláh	77	216	2	840	2,773	4,451	627	8,986	...	8,986	Malláh
Mirási	80	482	5	95	1,278	1,212	67	3,219	...	3,219	Mirási
Mochí	58	415	17	178	3,916	7,389	320	12,293	865	13,158	Mochi
Máchhí	104	332	11	1,013	3,465	2,733	180	7,838	241	8,079	Máchhí
Náí	65	208	...	95	1,462	1,431	123	3,384	...	3,384	Náí

The last words of this sentence convey an important distinction. The Jat of the Indus and Lower Chanáb is essentially a husbandman. But in the great central grazing grounds of the Western Plains he is often pastoral rather than agricultural, looking upon cultivation as an inferior occupation which he leaves to Aráíns, Mahtams, and such like people.

On the Upper Indus the word Jat, or Hindki which is perhaps more often used, is applied in scarcely a less indefinite sense than in the Deraját; while in the Salt-range Tract the meaning is but little more precise. Beyond the Indus, Jat or Hindki includes both Rájpúts and Awáns, and indeed all who talk Panjábi rather than Pashto. In the Salt-range Tract, however, the higher Rájpút tribes, such as Janjúa, are carefully excluded; and Jat means any Mahomedan cultivator of Hindu origin who is not an Awán, Gakkhar, Pathán, Saiyad, Qureshi, or Rájpút. Even there, however, most of the Jat clans are returned as Rájpúts also, and the figures for them will be found further on when I discuss the Jats of the sub-montane tracts. Major Wace writes:—

"The real Jat clans of the Ráwalpindi division have a prejudice against the name Jat, because it is usually applied to camel-"drivers, and to the graziers of the *bár* whom they look down upon as low fellows. But there is, I think, no doubt that the princi-"pal agricultural tribes whom we cannot class as Rájpúts are really of the same race as the Jats of the Lower Panjáb."

The Jat in these parts of the country is naturally looked upon as of inferior race, and the position he occupies is very different from that which he holds in the centre and east of the Panjáb. Mr. O'Brien gives at page 78 of his *Multáni Glossary* a collection of the most pungent proverbs on the subject, of which I can only quote one or two:—"Though the Jat grows refined, he will still use a mat for a pocket-handker-"chief." "An ordinary man's ribs would break at the laugh of a Jat." "When the Jat is prosperous he "shuts up the path (by ploughing it up): when the Kirár (money-lender) is prosperous he shuts up the Jat." "A Jat like a wound is better when bound." "Though a Jat be made of gold, still his hinder parts are of "brass." "The Jat is such a fool that only God can take care of him."

The Pathán proverbs are even less complimentary. "If a Hindki cannot do you any harm, he will leave "a bad smell as he passes you." "Get round a Pathán by coaxing; but heave a clod at a Hindki." "Though

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

"a Hindki be your right arm, cut it off." "Kill a black Jat rather than a black snake." The Jat of Derah Gházi is described as "lazy, dirty, and ignorant."

429. Jat tribes of the Western Plains.—Abstract No. 73 on the next page gives the principal Jat tribes of the Western Plains; that is to say west of Lahore, excluding the trans-Salt-range and the sub-montane tracts. The tribes may be divided into three groups; the Tahím, Bhutta, Langáh, Chhína, and Súmra lie chiefly westwards of the valley of the Jahlam-Chanáb; the Chhádhar and Sipra lie to the east of that line; while the Bhatti, Siál, Punwár, Joya, Dhúdhi, Khíchi, and Wattu are Rájpúts rather than Jats, and will be discussed when I come to the Rájpúts of the Western Plains. It must be remembered that these figures are very imperfect, as they merely give the numbers who have returned their tribe as one of those shown in the abstract, and do not include those who have returned only sub-sections of those tribes. The complete figures cannot be obtained till the detailed clan tables are ready. The double columns under Bhutta, Langáh, Súmra, Chhádhar and Dhúdhi show the numbers who have returned themselves as belonging to these tribes, but as being by caste Jat and Rájpút respectively.

The Tahim (No. 1).—The Tahím claim Arab origin, and to be descended from an Ansári Quresh called Tamím. They formerly held much property in the Chiniot *tahsil* of Jhang, and there were Tahím Governors of those parts under the Dehli Emperors. It is said that the Awáns have a Tahím clan. The Tahím are not wholly agriculturists, and are said not unfrequently to work as butchers and cotton scutchers, or it may be merely that the butchers and cotton scutchers have a Tahím clan called after the tribe. They are, as far as our figures go, almost confined to Baháwalpur and the lower Indus and Chanáb in Multán, Muzaffargarh, and Derah Gházi Khán. The Multán Tahím say that their more immediate ancestor Sambhal Sháh came to that place some 700 years ago on a marauding expedition, and ruled at Multán for 40 years, after which he was killed and his followers scattered. In his invasion of India during the latter part of the 14th century, Taimur encountered his old foes "the Getæ (Jats), who inhabited the plains of Tahím," and pursued them into the desert; and Tod mentions an extinct Rájpút tribe which he calls Dahíma.

The Bhutta (No. 2).—The Bhutta are said by Mr. O'Brien to have traditions connecting them with Hindústán, and they claim to be descended from Solar Rájpúts. But since the rise to opulence and importance of Pírzádah Murád Bakhsh Bhutta, of Multán, many of them have taken to calling themselves Pírzádahs. One account is that they are emigrants from Bhután—a story I fear too obviously suggested by the name. They also often practise other crafts, such as making pottery or weaving, instead of or in addition to agriculture. They are said to have held Uchh (in Baháwalpur) before the Saiyads came there. They are, according to our figures, chiefly found on the lower Indus, Chanáb and Jahlam, in Sháhpur, Jhang, Multán, Muzaffargarh, and Derah Ghází Khán. In Jhang most of them have returned themselves as Rájpúts. The Bhutta shown scattered over the Eastern Plains are perhaps members of the small Bhutna or Bhutra clan of Málwa Jats. (See also Buttar, section 436, and Búta, section 438.)

The Langah (No. 3).—Mr. O'Brien thus describes the Langáh:—"A tribe of agriculturists in the Multán and Muzaffargarh "districts. They were originally an Afghán tribe who came to Multán from Sivi and Dhádhar for purposes of trade, and "eventually settled at Rapri and the neighbourhood. In the confusion that followed the invasion of Tamerlane Multan became inde-"pendent of the throne of Dehli, and the inhabitants chose Sheikh Yusaf, Kureshi, head of the shrine of Sheikh Bahauddin, as "Governor. In 1445 A.D., Rai Sahra, Chief of the Langáhs, whose daughter had been married to Sheikh Yusaf, introduced an "armed band of his tribesmen into the city by night, seized Sheikh Yusaf and sent him to Dehli, and proclaimed himself king "with the title Sultan Kutabuddin. The kings of Multán belonging to the "Langáh tribe are shown in the margin.

Sultan Kutabaddin.	1445 to 1460.
Sultan Hussain	1460 (extent of reign not known).
Sultan Firoz Sháh	Dates not known.
Sultán Mahmud	
Sultan Husain,	1518 to 1526.

"The dynasty terminated with the capture of Multán, after a siege of "more than a year, by Sháh Hasan Arghun, Governor of Sindh, in 1526. For "ten days the city was given up to plunder and massacre, and most of the "Langáhs were slain. Sultan Husain was made prisoner and died shortly after. "The Langáh dynasty ruled Multán for eighty years, during which time Biloches "succeeded in establishing themselves along the Indus from Sítpur to Kot "Karor. The Langáhs of Multan and Muzaffargarh are now very insignificant cultivators."

Farishtah is apparently the authority for their Afghán origin, which is doubtful to say the least. Pírzádah Murád Bakhsh Bhutta of Multán says that the Bhutta, Langáh, Kharral, Harral, and Lak are all Punwár Rájpúts by origin. But the Langáh are described by Tod as a clan of the Chaluk or Soláni tribe of Agnikula Rájpúts, who inhabited Multán and Jaisalmer and were driven out of the latter by the Bhatti at least 700 years ago. According to our figures the Panjáb Langáh are almost confined to the lower Indus and Chanáb. Unfortunately we classed 2,550 Langáh who had returned their *caste* as Langáh, under Pathána. I have added the figures in Abstract No. 73.

The Chhina (No. 4).—These I take to be distinct from the Chíma Jats of Siálkot and Gújránwála, though the two have certainly been confused in our tables. That there are Chhína in Siálkot appears from the fact that the town of Jámki in that district was founded by a Chhína Jat who came from Sindh and retained the title of Jám, the Sindhi equivalent for Chaudhri. Yet if the Chhína spread up the Chanáb into Siálkot and the neighbouring districts in such large numbers as are shown for Chíma in those districts, it is curious that they should not be found in the intermediate districts through which they must have passed. It is probable that the Chhína here shown for Gurdáspur, and perhaps those for Fírozpur also, should go with the Chíma who are described in section 432 among the Jat tribes of the sub-montane tract. These latter seem to trace their origin from Dehli. The Chhína of Derah Ismáíl Khán are chiefly found in the cis-Indus portion of the district.

430. Jat tribes of the Western Plains continued. The Sumra (No. 5).—Mr. O'Brien describes the Súmra as originally Rájpúts:—"In A.D. 750 they expelled the first Arab invaders from Sindh and Multan, and furnished the country with a dynasty "which ruled in Multán from 1445 to 1526 A.D., when it was expelled by the Samma, another Rájpút tribe;" and Tod describes them as one of the two great clans Umra and Súmra of the Soda tribe of Punwár Rájpúts, who in remote times held all the Rájpútána deserts, and gave their names to Umrkot and Umrasúmra or the Bhakkar country on the Indus. He identifies the Soda with Alexander's Sogdi, the princes of Dhát. Here again the Súmra seem to have spread, according to our figures, far up the Satluj and Chanáb into the central districts of the Province. The figures for Derah Ismáíl Khán are probably understated, as there they hold a great portion of the Leiah *thal* between the Jhang border and the Indus. Some 2,000 of the Súmra have returned themselves as Rájpúts, chiefly in Patiála.

The Chhadhar (No. 6).—The Chhádhar are found along the whole length of the Chanáb and Rávi valleys, but are far most numerous in Jhang, where they have for the most part returned themselves as Rájpúts. They claim to be descended from Rája Tur, Túnwar. They say that they left their home in Rájpútána in the time of Muhammad Ghori and settled in Baháwalpur, where they were converted by Sher Sháh of Uchh. Thence they came to Jhang, where they founded an important colony and spread in smaller numbers up the Chanáb and Rávi. Mr. Steedman describes them as good agriculturists, and less given to cattle-theft than their neighbours.

The Sipra (No. 7)—appear to be a sub-division of the Gil tribe of Jats, which gives its name to the famous battle-field of Sabráon. They too are found chiefly on the Jahlam and lower Chanáb and are most numerous in Jhang. They are not an important tribe.

The Bhatti, Sial, Punwar, Joya, Dhudhi, Khichi, and Wattu will be described under Rájpúts.

The Langrial are not separately shown in the abstract. They are however curious as being a nomad pastoral tribe who form almost the sole inhabitants of the Multán steppes. They appear to be found also in Ráwalpindi and Siálkot, and there to claim Solar Rájpút origin. But in Multán the Langrial say that their ancestor was a Bráhman Cháran from Bikáner who was converted by Sultan Samrán. They originally settled in Ráwalpindi; thence they moved to Jhang, took some country from the Siál, and settled at Kot Kamália in Montgomery, whence they spread over the Multán *bár*. They derive their name from *langar* a "kitchen," because their ancestor used to keep open house to all the beggars and *faqirs* of the neighbourhood.

The Nol and Bhangu.—These appear to be among the earliest inhabitants of the Jhang district, and to be perhaps aboriginal. The Bhangu do not even claim Rájpút origin! The Nol held the country about Jhang and the Bhangu that about Shorkot when the Siál came to the district, but they eventually fell before the rising power of the new comers. The Siálkot Bhangu say they came from Nepal.

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

Abstract No. 73, *showing the* Jat Tribes *of the* Western Plains.

	JATS—WESTERN PLAINS.																			
	1	2		3			4	5		6		7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
		Bhutta.		Langáh.				Súmra.		Chhádhar.										
	Tahím.	Jat.	Rájpút.	Jat.	Rájpút.	Pathán.	Chhína.	Jat.	Rájpút.	Jat.	Rájpút.	Sipra.	Bhatti.	Siál.	Punwar.	Joya.	Dhúdhi.	Khichi.	Watta.	
Ludhiana	8	36	7	...	...	...	...	847	...	...	...	...	1,004	5	10	...	8	...	...	Ludhiana
Jalandhar	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	1,633	...	489	...	345	367	31	87	...	348	...	...	Jalandhar
Hushyárpur	...	...	691	...	...	...	...	659	...	...	...	196	43	333	...	...	...	...	...	Hushyárpur
Amritsar	...	20	241	17	91	...	2,492	388	6	1,646	...	38	205	221	653	...	...	...	...	Amritsar
Gurdaspur	...	...	...	...	936	...	...	1,249	...	232	...	...	5	137	2,287	...	...	...	...	Gurdaspur
Sialkot	69	555	98	169	1	...	...	52	...	720	...	568	3,677	719	117	205	99	13	...	Sialkot
Lahore	98	73	159	...	196	...	...	205	16	2,600	4	14	10,287	1,243	311	390	710	518	739	Lahore
Gujranwala	345	311	...	234	...	...	2,310	625	7	5,537	333	1,119	7,722	433	538	995	561	432	312	Gujranwala
Firozpur	38	42	57	6	25	...	...	882	1	347	...	131	590	285	716	782	264	36	704	Firozpur
Rawalpindi	4	5	...	479	464	...	...	1	...	5	...	5	2,056	141	814	49	27	...	...	Rawalpindi
Jhelam	321	1,354	11	31	284	...	...	...	...	1,805	131	156	6,241	256	524	...	733	74	7	Jhelam
Gujrat	5	233	...	294	2	...	...	30	...	291	...	1,388	9,926	1,091	145	54	1,524	...	...	Gujrat
Shahpur	93	2,570	162	401	20	...	...	...	...	1,672	1,877	1,794	396	71	71	516	426	57	43	Shahpur
Multán	2,821	4,845	169	2,190	96	2,205	25	2,214	88	1,287	638	451	9,682	560	2,563	473	1,875	54	...	Multan
Jhang	640	1,612	3,231	341	41	82	...	...	1	3,272	13,390	5,185	2,874	437	284	1,533	1,578	483	107	Jhang
Montgomery	394	192	20	177	174	56	...	...	5	3,076	61	747	3,528	1,202	726	2,165	1,349	373	454	Montgomery
Muzaffargarh	1,695	4,366	3	1,144	1	207	550	1,509	5	1,537	...	11	6,988	2,453	1,561	1,333	505	44	110	Muzaffargarh
Derah Ismáil Khan	765	1,014	...	778	4	...	4,411	951	2	1,359	...	73	13,767	4,648	1,317	1,788	605	877	167	Derah Ismail Khan
Derah Ghazi Khan	2,229	3,162	...	2,305	...	...	408	887	...	388	...	171	12,971	2,536	1,919	1,421	66	355	13	Derah Ghazi Khan
Bannu	72	2	...	410	...	...	...	...	...	110	1	70	1,057	189	405	479	136	...	283	Bannu
British Territory	**9,598**	**20,431**	**4,891**	**9,083**	**2,348**	**2,550**	**10,196**	**12,558**	**218**	**26,387**	**16,435**	**12,563**	**94,665**	**17,093**	**16,959**	**12,338**	**12,315**	**3,337**	**2,963**	**British Territory**
Patiala	...	663	194	...	...	...	...	...	1,564	...	...	...	587	...	864	...	502	...	...	Patiala
Total East. Plains	...	757	194	59	1	...	...	...	2,101	17	...	6	619	273	887	...	599	...	241	Total East. Plains
Bahawalpur	13,862	1,351	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,311	...	569	...	...	...	479	254	3	Bahawalpur
British Territory	9,598	20,431	4,891	9,083	2,348	2,550	10,196	12,558	218	26,387	16,435	12,563	94,665	17,093	16,959	12,338	12,315	3,337	2,563	**British Territory**
Native States	13,862	2,108	194	59	1	...	...	...	2,101	17	1,311	6	1,193	273	887	...	1,087	254	244	**Native States**
Province	23,460	22,539	5,085	9,142	2,349	2,550	10,196	12,558	2,319	26,404	17,746	12,569	95,858	17,366	17,846	12,338	13,402	3,591	3,207	**Province**

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

The Kharral, Harral, and Marral.—The Kharral will be discussed separately with the smaller agricultural tribes. The Harral claim to be descended from the same ancestor, Rai Bhúpa, as the Kharral, but by another son; and to be Punwár Rajpúts who came from Jaisalmer to Uchh, and thence to Kamália in the Montgomery district. Mr. Steedman says that in Jhang, where only they are found on the left bank of the Upper Chanáb, tradition makes them a branch of the Ahírs, and that they are almost the worst thieves in the district, owning large flocks and herds which they pasture in the central steppes, and being bad cultivators. The Marral seem to have been once of far greater importance than now in the Jhang district, which is their home. They claim to be Chauhán Rájpúts by origin, and to have come to the Upper Chanáb in the time of Akbar. They are a fine bold-looking set of men, but with a bad reputation for cattle-lifting, and are poor cultivators.

The Hans, Khagga, Jhandir, &c.—These tribes will be found described under Shekh, as they claim Qureshi origin, though often classed as Jats.

431. Jats of the western sub-montane.—The tribes which I shall next discuss are those of the foot of the hills west of Lahore, that is, of the Gújrát, Gújránwála and Siálkot districts. With them, however, I have included in the Abstract the so-called Jat tribes of the Salt-range Tract; for all the tribes of sufficient importance to be discussed separately that have returned themselves from this tract as Jats, are really Rájpúts rather than Jats, the greater number of their members have returned themselves as such, and they will be discussed under Rájpúts. Such are the Dhaniál, Bhakrál, Janjúa, and Manhás. After these came the Mekan, Gondal, and Ránjha, who belong to the Salt-range sub-montane and will also be treated as Rájpúts. Then follow the true Jats, the Tárar, Varaich, Chíma, &c., whom I have endeavoured to arrange in order of locality from west to east. The Jats of the Salt-range and of the great plains below it I have already described sufficiently in the preceding sections 427-8. But directly we leave the Salt-range behind us and enter the Lahore and Amritsar divisions—directly, in fact, we come within the circle of Sikh influence as distinguished from mere political supremacy, we find the line between Jat and Rájpút sufficiently clearly marked. The Jat indeed, here as elsewhere, claims for himself Rájpút origin. But a Varaich does not say that he is now Rájpút. He is a Jat and content to be so. The fact is that within the pale of Sikhism Rájpúts were at a discount. The equality of all men preached by Guru Govind disgusted the haughty Rájpúts, and they refused to join his standard. They soon paid the penalty of their pride. The Jats who composed the great mass of the Khálsa rose to absolute power, and the Rájpút who had despised them was the peculiar object of their hatred. Their general policy led them to cut off such poppy heads as had not sprung from their own seed; and their personal feeling led them to treat the Rájpút, who as a native-born leader of the people should have joined them, and who would if he had done so have been a very important element of additional strength to the cause, with especial harshness. The old Settlement Reports are full of remarks upon the decadence if not the virtual disappearance of the Rájpút gentry in those districts were Sikh sway was most absolute. Thus the Jats we are considering are far more clearly marked off from the Rájpúts than are those of the Western Plains where everybody is a Jat, or of the Salt-range Tract where everybody who is not an Arab or a Mughal calls himself a Rájpút; indeed there is if anything a tendency here to call those Jats who are admitted to be Rájpúts further west. Only on the edge of the group, on the common border line of the Sikh tract, the Salt-range, and the great plains, do the Mekan, Gondal, Ránjha, and Tárar claim some to be Jats and some to be Rájpúts. The first two I have decided to describe under Rájpúts, the last under Jats; but this is more a matter of convenience than of ethnic classification. The Jat tribes now to be considered are, except perhaps on the confines of the Gújránwála *bár*, essentially agricultural, and occupy the same social position as do those of the Eastern Plains, whom indeed they resemble in all respects.

The most extraordinary thing about the group of Jat tribes found in Siálkot is the large number of customs still retained by them which are, so far as I know, not shared by any other people. They will be found described in Mr. Roe's translation of Amín Chand's *History of Siálkot*, and I shall notice one or two of them in the following paragraphs. Nothing could be more instructive than an examination of the origin, practice, and limits of this group of customs. They would seem to point to aboriginal descent. Another point worthy of remark is the frequent recurrence of an ancestor Mal, which may perhaps connect this group of tribes with the ancient Malli of Multán. Some of their traditions point to Sindh; while others are connected with the hills of Jammu. The whole group strikes me as being one of exceeding interest, and I much regret that I have no time to treat it more fully.

432. Jat tribes of the western sub-montane.—The figures for the tribes will be found in Abstract No. 74 on the next page. I have already explained that the first seven tribes, which belong to the Salt-range and its vicinity, will be treated as and discussed with Rájpúts.

The Tarar (No. 8).—This is the only one of the tribes to be here discussed of which any considerable number of the members have returned themselves as Rájpúts, about half the Gújránwála and nearly all the Sháhpur Tárar having adopted this course. The Tárar claim Solar Rájpút origin, apparently from the Bhatti of Bhatner. They say that their ancestor Tárar took service with Mahmúd Ghaznavi and returned with him to Ghazni; but that his son Lohi, from whom they are descended, moved from Bhatner to Gújrát whence the tribe spread. Another story dates their settlement from the time of Humáyún. They intermarry with Gondal, Varaich, Gil, Virk, and other leading Jat tribes of the neighbourhood; and they have lately begun to intermarry within the tribe. Some of them are still Hindus. They hold land on both sides of the Upper Chanáb, about the junction and within the boundaries of the three districts of Gújrát, Gújránwála, and Sháhpur. They are described as "invariably lazy, idle, and troublesome."

The Varaich (No. 9).—The Varaich is one of the largest Jat tribes in the Province. In Akbar's time they held two-thirds of the Gújrát district, though on less favourable terms than those allowed to the Gújars who held the remainder; and they still hold 170 villages in that district. They have also crossed the Chanáb into Gújránwála where they held a tract of 41 villages, and have spread along under the hills as far as Lúdhiána and Maler Kotla. They do not always even pretend to be Rájpúts, but say that their ancestor Dhúdi was a Jat who came into India with Mahmúd Ghaznavi and settled in Gújrát, where the tribe grew powerful and partly dispossessed the original Gújar lords of the soil. Another story is that their ancestor was a Súrajbansi Rájpút who came from Ghazni to Gújrát; while according to a third account their ancestor was a descendant of Rája Karan who went from the city of Kisrah to Dehli and was settled by Jalál-ul-dín Fíroz Sháh in Hissár, whence the tribe moved some five centuries ago to Gújránwála. But there is little doubt that Gújrát was their first home, and that their movement has been eastwards. The Wazírábád family of this tribe rose to importance under the Sikhs, and its history is narrated by Sir Lepel Griffin at pages 409 *ff* of his *Panjáb Chiefs*. They are almost all Musalmáns, but retain all their tribal and many of their Hindu customs. They marry with the best local tribes. They appear to be known as Chúng or Varaich indifferently in the Lahore district.

The Sahi (No. 10).—The Sáhi also claim descent from a Solar Rájpút who went to Ghazni with Mahmúd, and returned to found the tribe, settling on the Rávi near Lahore. They are found in any numbers only in Gújrát and Siálkot. They have, in common with the Sindhu and Chíma of these parts, some peculiar marriage customs, such as cutting a goat's ear and marking their foreheads with the blood, making the bridegroom cut off a twig of the *Jhand* tree (*Prosopis spicigera*) and so forth; and they, like most of the tribes discussed in this section, worship the Jhand tree.

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

Abstract No. 74, *showing* Jat tribes *of the* Western Sub-montane.

	JAT TRIBES OF THE WESTERN SUB-MONTANE.																			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
								Tárar.												
	Dhaniál.	Janjúa.	Manhás.	Bhakrál.	Mekan.	Gondal.	Ránjha.	Jat.	Rájpút.	Varaich.	Sáhi.	Hinjra.	Chíma.	Bájwa.	Deo.	Ghumman.	Káhlon.	Saráí.	Goráya.	
Ambala	...	...	2	...	...	8	...	...	...	566	...	...	289	428	...	570	...	1,772	7	Ambala
Ludhiána	...	12	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,344	630	...	3,008	207	765	1,237	...	...	...	Ludhiána
Jalandhar	...	...	144	...	...	24	...	...	...	292	322	2,050	1,354	568	...	94	63	...	215	Jalandhar
Hushyárpur	...	60	90	...	...	203	...	...	...	470	...	...	...	...	...	1,302	...	400	...	Hushyárpur
Amritsar	...	11	524	...	...	65	...	1	...	2,205	154	2,227	1,119	1,177	615	1,022	1,155	1,943	...	Amritsar
Gurdáspur	...	610	67	...	...	443	230	76	...	1,476	...	366	1,350	1,851	984	93	7,376	5,063	4,823	Gurdáspur
Siálkot	...	1,110	1,156	21	67	1,791	...	960	...	5,789	5,784	2,515	35,722	25,393	4,873	14,228	13,756	4,669	6,385	Siálkot
Lahore	...	543	669	...	101	859	53	191	...	1,292	155	1,495	89	1,772	647	41	219	193	421	Lahore
Gujránwála	...	1,648	1,724	...	12	3,953	1,166	2,373	2,822	10,783	613	12,645	19,839	947	502	2,073	313	51	4,407	Gujránwála
Firozpur	...	44	158	...	52	161	14	...	...	252	409	267	751	238	361	109	153	2,412	141	Firozpur
Ráwalpindi	6,340	92	143	1,576	...	611	8	250	...	362	3	122	502	47	...	...	10	144	91	Ráwalpindi
Jhelam	3,680	232	1,711	1,253	1,125	6,354	1,601	712	5	504	576	20	219	52	...	37	...	...	42	Jhelam
Gujrat	6	732	48	1,965	918	24,825	6,924	13,588	...	35,253	4,044	1,179	3,429	107	2	1,413	...	345	417	Gujrat
Shahpur	...	39	...	48	160	305	258	56	1,173	443	149	829	125	...	...	...	...	...	156	Shahpur
Multan	...	253	74	...	19	196	143	2	...	102	59	64	...	10	...	2	11	9	2	Multan
Jhang	...	366	...	...	220	649	162	210	70	59	110	482	2	...	...	78	...	225	5	Jhang
Montgomery	...	57	...	...	...	122	1	203	158	202	160	600	40	39	...	...	...	50	64	Montgomery
Muzaffargarh	...	966	...	...	119	155	168	...	...	33	22	220	...	2	...	14	...	48	183	Muzaffargarh
British Territory	**10,026**	**8,419**	**6,570**	**4,863**	**3,157**	**47,276**	**10,903**	**18,925**	**4,228**	**61,718**	**13,356**	**25,200**	**67,855**	**32,843**	**9,284**	**22,488**	**23 056**	**17,541**	**17,462**	**British Territory**
Patiála	...	...	15	13	...	...	10	...	...	641	...	...	1,003	1,523	...	7,819	41	...	...	Patiála
Nábha	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	169	4	2	30	...	...	460	8	3	124	Nábha
Kapurthala	...	...	...	...	...	..	17	..	...	503	...	...	...	132	...	...	424	...	190	Kapurthala
Jind	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	52	...	...	590	...	...	1	Jind
Maler Kotla	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,151	...	8	609	...	...	...	...	...	...	Maler Kotla
Total East. Plains	...	...	15	13	...	86	49	19	...	2,505	6	58	1,694	1,678	...	8,931	494	5	315	Total East. Plains
British Territory	**10,026**	**8,419**	**6,570**	**4,863**	**3,157**	**47,276**	**10,903**	**18,925**	**4,228**	**61,718**	**13,356**	**25,200**	**67,855**	**32,843**	**9,284**	**22,488**	**23,056**	**17,541**	**17,462**	**British Territory**
Native States	...	**15**	**15**	**13**	...	**325**	**53**	**19**	..	**2,517**	**6**	**65**	**1,694**	**1,678**	...	**8,939**	**494**	**5**	**315**	**Native States**
Province	**10,026**	**8,434**	**6,585**	**4,876**	**3,157**	**47,601**	**10,956**	**18,944**	**4,228**	**64,235**	**13,402**	**25,265**	**69,549**	**34,521**	**9,284**	**31,427**	**23,550**	**17,546**	**17,777**	**Province**

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

The Hinjra (No. 11).—The Hínjra of the Gújránwála *bár* are a pastoral tribe, perhaps of aboriginal extraction. They own 37 villages in Gújránwála which is their home, but have spread both east and west under the hills. They claim to be Saroha Rájpúts, and that their ancestor Hinjráno came from the neighbourhood of Hissár to Gújránwála and founded a city called Uskhab, the ruins of which still exist. Their immediate ancestors are Mal and Dhol, and they say that half their clans still live in the Hissár country. It would be interesting to know the names of these clans, and to examine the alleged connection between the two sections of the tribe. In the Hissár Settlement Report it is stated that "the Hinjráon Pachhádas trace their origin to a Saroha Rájpút ancestor called Hinjráon. They are all Muhammadans in this district, though in other places Hindu Hinjráon Pachhádas are to be found." Our figures show no Hínjra in Hissár, and only 30 in Sirsa; but they may have been returned as Hinjráon.

The Chima (No. 12).—The Chíma are one of the largest Jat tribes in the Panjáb. They say that some 25 generations back their ancestor Chíma, a Chauhán Rájpút, fled from Dehli after the defeat of Prithi Ráj by Shaháb-ul-dín Ghori, first to Kángra and then to Amritsar, where his son founded a village on the Beás in the time of Ala-ul-dín Ghori. His grandson was called Rána Kang, and Dhol (the same name as among the Hínjra) was the ancestor of their present clans. The Chíma have the peculiar marriage customs described under the Sáhi Jats, and they are said to be served by Jogis and not by Bráhmans, both which facts point strongly to aboriginal descent. They are a powerful and united tribe, but quarrelsome. They are said to marry within the tribe as well as with their neighbours. Many of them are Musalmáns, but retain their old customs. The Nagára is one of their principal clans. They are most numerous in Siálkot, but hold 42 villages in Gújránwála, and have spread both eastwards and westwards along the foot of the hills.

The Bajwa (No. 13).—The Bájwa or Bajju Jats and Rájpúts have given their name to the Bajwát or country at the foot of the Jammu hills in the Siálkot district. They say that they are Solar Rájpúts and that their ancestor Raja Shalíp was driven out of Multán in the time of Sikandar Lodi. His two sons Kals and Lís escaped in the disguise of falconers. Lís went to Jammu and there married a Rájpút bride, while Kals married a Jat girl in Pasrúr. The descendants of both live in the Bajwát, but are said to be distinguished as Bájwa Jats and Bajju Rájpúts. Another story has it that their ancestor Rai Jaisan was driven from Dehli by Rai Pitora and settled at Karbala in Siálkot. The Bajju Rájpúts admit their relationship with the Bájwa Jats. The Bajju Rájpúts are said to have had till quite lately a custom by which a Musalmán girl could be turned into a Hindu for purposes of marriage, by temporarily burying her in an underground chamber and ploughing the earth over her head. In the betrothals of this tribe dates are used, a custom perhaps brought with them from Multán; and they have several other singular customs resembling those of the Sáhi Jats already described. They are almost confined to Siálkot, though they have spread in small numbers eastwards as far as Patiála.

433. Jat tribes of the western sub-montane continued. The Deo (No. 14).—The Deo are practically confined to the Siálkot district. They claim a very ancient origin, but *not* Rájpút. Their ancestor's name is said to be Maháj, who came from "the Saki jungle" in Hindústán, and two of his sons were Aulakh and Deo who gave their names to two Jat tribes. But another story refers them to Rája Jagdeo a Súrajbansi Rájpút. They have the same marriage ceremony as the Sáhi, and also use the goat's blood in a similar manner in honour of their ancestors, and have several very peculiar customs. They will not intermarry with the Mán Jats, with whom they have some ancestral connection.

The Ghumman (No. 15).—The Ghumman claim descent from Rája Malkír, a Lunar Rájpút and grandson of Rája Dalíp of Dehli, from whom are descended the Janjúa Rájpúts of the Salt-range Tract. One of his descendants Sanpál married out of caste, and his son Ghumman, who came from Mukiála or Malhiána in the time of Fíroz Sháh and took service in Jammu, founded the present tribe. This tribe worships an idol made of grass and set within a square drawn in the corner of the house at weddings, and they cut the goat's ear and the Jhand twig like the Sáhi Jats. They also propitiate their ancestors by pouring water over a goat's head so that he shakes it off. They are chiefly found in Siálkot, though they have spread somewhat, especially eastwards.

The Kahlon (No. 16).—The Káhlon claim descent from Rája Vikramájít of the Lunar line, through Rája Jagdeo of Dáránagar. Under his descendant Soli or Sodi they left Dáránagar and settled near Batála in Gurdáspur, whence they spread into Siálkot. Their marriage customs are very similar to those of the Sáhi Jats already described. They are almost confined to the southern portion of the districts of Gurdáspur and Siálkot. They intermarry with Jats, not with Rájpúts.

The Sarai (No. 17).—The Sarái Jats are, so far as our figures go, chiefly found in Gurdáspur and Siálkot, though there are a few on the upper and middle Satluj also. I cannot identify these people with certainty. There are said to be Sarái Rájpúts in Siálkot, who are Bhattis descended from an ancestor called Sarái who settled in the Háfizábád *tahsíl*. There can hardly be any connection between them and the Saráis of the Kalhora family of Derah Ghází Khán, who are discussed under the head Shekh and who claim to be Qureshi. The Sarái are said to be a well-known Jat clan in Jálandhar and the neighbouring districts. Tod makes Sehrái the title of a race of Punwár Rájpúts who founded a dynasty at Aror in Sindh on the eastern bank of the Indus, and "gave their name Sehl or Sehr as a titular appellation to the country and its princes, and its inhabitants the Sehrais." (See further the Sara Jats of the central districts, section 436). Of the Sarái of Gurdáspur 4,951 have entered themselves as tribe Sindhu, clan Sarái, and appear again in the Sindhu figures which will be discussed presently.

The Goraya (No. 18).—The Goráya are said by one account to be descended from the Saroha family of Lunar Rájpúts, and to have come to Gújránwála as a nomad and pastoral tribe from Sirsa. Another story is that they are descended from a Sombansi Rájpút called Guráya whose grandson Mal came from the Lakki *thal* some 15 generations ago. A third tradition is that Rána their founder came from the Jammu hills in the time of the Emperors. They are now found in Gújránwála, Siálkot, and Gurdáspur. They own 31 villages in Gújránwála and are excellent cultivators, being one of the most prosperous tribes in the district. They have the same peculiar marriage customs as the Sáhi Jats already described. The word *guráya* is said to be used for the *Nílgai* (*Porcax picta*) in Central India. They are sometimes said to be a clan of the Dhillon tribe.

The Dhotar and Lodike.—There are 1,454 Dhotar returned in our tables, of whom 1,428 are found in Gújránwála. They are mostly Hindus, and claim to be descended from a Solar Rájpút who emigrated from Hindústán or, according to another story, from Ghazni some 20 generations back. The Lodike are considered to be a clan of the Kharrals of the Montgomery district, who are described separately. In Gújránwála they are said to be of Solar Rájpút descent, and to have come from the Rávi, the Kharral head-quarters, to the Gújránwála *bár* some ten generations ago, and led a pastoral and marauding life till reverses at the hands of the Virk forced them to settle down and take to agriculture. They do not give their daughters to the local Jat tribes.

The Chatta.—Appear to be confined to Gújránwála, in which district they hold 81 villages and number 2,271 souls. They claim to be descended from Chatta, a grandson of Prithi Rai the Chauhán King of Dehli, and brother of the ancestor of the Chíma. In the 10th generation from Chatta or, as otherwise stated, some 500 years ago, was Dahru who came from Sambhal in Morádábád, where the bards of the Karnál Chauháns still live, to the banks of the Chanáb and married among the Jat tribes of the Gújránwála district. They were converted to Islám about 1,600 A.D. They rose to considerable political importance under the Sikhs; and the history of their leading family is told by Sir Lepel Griffin at pages 402 *ff* of his *Panjáb Chiefs*.

434. Jats of the Sikh tract.—The group of Jats we have now to consider are the typical Jats of the Panjáb, including all those great Sikh Jat tribes who have made the race so renowned in recent history. They occupy the central districts of the Panjáb, the upper Satluj, and the great Sikh States of the Eastern Plains. All that I have said in the preceding section (§ 431) regarding the absence of any wish on the part of the Jats of the Khálsa to be aught but Jats, applies here with still greater force. A Sidhu claims indeed Rájpút origin, and apparently with good reason. But he is now a Sidhu Jat, and holds that to be a prouder title than Bhatti Rájpút. The only tribe among this group of which any considerable numbers have returned themselves as Rájpúts are the Virk; and among them this has happened only in Gújránwála, on the extreme outskirts of the tract. These men are the backbone of the Panjáb by character and physique as well as by locality. They are stalwart, sturdy yeomen of great independence, industry, and agricultural skill, and collectively form perhaps the finest peasantry in India. Unfortunately the Settlement Reports of this part of the country are often poor or even absent altogether, while much of the tract

consists of Native States. Thus except regarding such tribes as have risen to political importance, I can give but scanty information. The Jats of the Sikh tract are essentially husbandmen, and the standard of agricultural practice among those at any rate of the more fertile northern districts is as high as is reached in any portion of the Province. I would call special attention to the curious traditions of the Bhúlar, Mán, and Her tribes, an examination of which might produce interesting and valuable results.

Abstract No. 75 on the opposite page gives the distribution of the tribes so far as it is shown by our figures. I have arranged them roughly in the order to which they appear to occur from west to east.

435. The Jat tribes of the Sikh tract. The Dhillon (No. 1).—The Dhillon is one of the largest and most widely distributed Jat tribes in the Province. Their head-quarters would appear from our figures to be Gújránwála and Amritsar; but they are found in large numbers along the whole course of the Satluj from Fírozpur upwards, and under the hills to the east of those two districts. The numbers returned for the Dehli district are curiously large, and I doubt somewhat whether they really refer to the same tribe. Like the Goráya they claim to be Saroha Rájpúts by origin, and to have come from Sirsa. If this be true they have probably moved up the Satluj, and then spread along westwards under the hills. But another story makes them descendants of a Súrajbansi Rájpút named Lu who lived at Khármor in the Málwa, and held some office at the Dehli court. They are said to be divided into three great sections, the Báj, Sáj, and Sánda.

The Virk (No. 2).—The head-quarters of the Virk appear to be the Gújránwála and Lahore districts, especially the former in which they own 132 villages. They claim origin from a Manhás Rájpút called Virak, who left Jammu and settled at Ghuchli in Amritsar; and in Gújránwála nearly a third of them have returned themselves as Rájpúts, but they marry freely with the Jat tribes of the neighbourhood. They say that their ancestor Virak was descended from Malhan Nams (Mal again!) the founder of the Manhás tribe of Rájpúts, and was connected with the Rájas of Jammu. Leaving Parghowál in Jammu, he settled in Amritsar and married a Gil Jat girl. His descendants shortly afterwards moved westwards into Gújránwála. There are three main sections of the tribe, the Jopur, Vachra, and Jau. The tribe rose to some political importance about the end of last century, ruling a considerable tract in Gújránwála and Lahore till subdued by Ranjít Singh.

The Sindhu (No. 3).—The Sindhu is, so far as our figures go, the second largest Jat tribe, being surpassed in numbers by the Sidhu only. Their head-quarters are the Amritsar and Lahore districts, but they are found all along the upper Satluj, and under the hills from Ambála in the east to Siálkot and Gújránwála in the west. They claim descent from the Raghobansi branch of the Solar Rájpúts through Rám Chandar of Ajudhia. They say that their ancestors were taken by or accompanied Mahmúd to Ghazni, and returned during the thirteenth century or in the reign of Fíroz Sháh from Afghánistán to India. Shortly afterwards they settled in the Mánjha near Lahore. Some of the Sindhu say that it was Ghazni in the Deccan, and not in Afghánistán, from which they came; while others have it that it was Ghadni in Bíkáner. The Jálandhar Sindhu say that they came from the south to the Mánjha some two or three centuries ago, when the Patháns dispossessed the Manj Rájpúts, and shortly afterwards moved from Amritsar to Jálandhar at the invitation of the Gils to take the place of the ejected Manj. Sir Lepel Griffin is of opinion that the real origin of the tribe is from North-western Rájpútána. The political history of the tribe, which was of capital importance under the Sikhs, is given in great detail at pages 225 *ff*, 360 *ff*, and 417 to 428 of the same writer's *Panjáb Chiefs*. The Sindhu have the same peculiar marriage customs already described as practised by the Sáhi Jats. The Sindhu of Karnál worship Kála Mahar or Kála Pír, their ancestor, whose chief shrine is said to be at Thána Satra in Siálkot, their alleged place of origin.

The Bhular (No. 4).—The Bhúlar, Her, and Mán tribes call themselves *asl* or "original" Jats, and are said to have sprung from the *Jat* or "matted hair" of Mahádeo, whose title is Bhúla Mahádeo. They say that the Málwa was their original home, and are commonly reckoned as two and a half tribes, the Her only counting as a half. But the bards of the Mán, among which tribe several families have risen to political importance, say that the whole of the Mán and Bhúlar and half the Her tribe of Rájpúts were the earliest Kshatriya immigrants from Rájpútána to the Panjáb. The head-quarters of the Bhúlar appear to be Lahore and Fírozpur, and the confines of the Mánjha and Málwa; but they are returned in small numbers from every division in the Panjáb except Dehli, Ráwalpindi, and Peshávar, from almost every district, and from every Native State of the Eastern Plains except Dujána, Loháru, and Pataudi.

The Man (No. 5).—The Mán, the second of the *asl* Jat tribes, do sometimes claim, as has just been stated, Rájpút ancestry; and it is said that Thákur Rájpúts of the Mán tribe are still to be found in Jaipur (see further Dalál in section 440). Several of the leading Sikh families belong to this tribe, and their history will be found at pages 177 to 183 and 307 to 314 of Sir Lepel Griffin's *Panjáb Chiefs*. That writer states that there is "a popular tradition in the Panjáb which makes all of the Mán tribe brave and true." The home of the Mán is in the northern Málwa, to the east of that of the Bhúlar; but they too are widely distributed, being found in every district and state of the Panjáb east of Lahore, especially in the northern districts and along the Satluj. From the fact that the Mán both of Jálandhar and of Karnál trace their origin to the neighbourhood of Bhatinda, it would appear probable that there was the original home of the tribe.

The Her (No. 6).—The Her is the third of this group of tribes, and their home appears to lie north of the Satluj; indeed had not it been that I wished to keep the three together, I should have taken the Her with the Jats of the eastern sub-montane. They are found however in considerable numbers under the hills from Ambála in the east to Gújrát in the west, and throughout the whole upper valley of the Satluj. Of the number shown, 5,812 were entered in my tables as Aher, of whom 2,786 were in Hushyárpur, but I am informed that this is merely another way of spelling Her. Of course they returned themselves as Aher Jats, not as Aher or Ahír by caste. There is a very old village called Her in the Nakodar *tahsíl* of Jálandhar which is still held by Her Jats, who say that they have lived there for a thousand years, in other words for an indefinite period.

436. The Jat tribes of the Sikh tract continued. The Buttar (No. 7).—The Buttar are a small tribe found, so far as our figures go, chiefly on the Upper Satluj. I am not quite sure that they are distinct from the Bhutta Jats of the Western Plains, which have been already described in section 429, or from the Búta of Hushyárpur to be described in section 438. They are said to be descended from a Súrajbansi Rájpút who came from the Lakki jungle and settled first in Gújránwála.

The Odi (No. 8).—The Odi would appear from our figures to be confined to the Fírozpur district. They appear to be a clan of the Dháríwál tribe, as 8,715 of the 8,722 Odi in Fírozpur and 787 more in Nábha have returned themselves as Dháríwál Odi. They are shown in the Abstract under both headings. On the other hand the 390 Odi of Gújrát have returned themselves as Tárar Odi, as have 417 in Gújránwála.

The Bal (No. 9).—The Bal are another tribe of the Beás and Upper Satluj, and are said to be a clan of the Sekhu tribe with whom they do not intermarry. Their ancestor is also said to have been a Rájpút of royal race who came from Málwa. The name Bal, which is derived from a root meaning "strength," is a famous one in ancient Indian History, and recurs in all sorts of forms and places.

The Pannun (No. 10)—claim Solar Rájpút ancestry. They are chiefly found in Amritsar and Gurdáspur so far as our figures show; but they also own five villages in Siálkot. They say that their ancestors came from Ghazni; or according to another story, from Hindústán.

The Mahal (No. 11)—is a small tribe which appear to be chiefly found in Jálandhar and Amritsar. Their ancestor is said to have been a Rájpút from Modi in the Málwa.

The Aulak (No. 12).—The head-quarters of the Aulak Jats would appear to be in the Amritsar district; but they are found in the northern Málwa, as well as in the Mánjha and west of the Rávi. They are said to be of Solar descent, and their ancestor Aulak lived in the Mánjha. But another story makes their ancestor one Raja Lúi Lák, a Lunar Rájpút. They are related to the Sekhu and Deo tribes, with whom they will not intermarry.

The Gil (No. 13).—The Gil is one of the largest and most important of the Jat tribes. So far as our figures show, their head-quarters are the Lahore and Fírozpur districts; but they are found all along the Beás and Upper Satluj, and under the hills as far west as Siálkot. Gil their ancestor, and the father of Shergil the founder of another Jat tribe, was a Jat of Raghobansi Rájpút descent who lived in the Fírozpur district; he was a lineal descendant of Pirthi Pál, Rája of Garh Mithila and a Waria Rájpút, by a Bhúlar Jat wife. The tribe rose to some importance under the Sikhs, and the history of its principal family is told at pages 352 *ff* of Griffin's *Panjáb Chiefs*.

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

Abstract No. 75, *showing the* Jat Tribes *of the* Sikh Tract.

JATS OF THE SIKH TRACT.

	1	2		3	4	5	6	7	8
	Dhillon.	Virk.		Sindhu.	Bhúlar.	Mán.	Her.	Buttar.	Odi.
		Jat.	Rájpút.						
Dehli	6,852	116	...	27	...	1,902	185	16	...
Gurgaon	...	...	...	4	2	51	...	...	1
Karnál	44	...	..	1,488	2	1,135	23	...	6
Hissar	94	...	2	...	1,571	401	...	23	...
Rohtak	...	...	...	1	5	1,110	...	1	...
Sirsa	833	95	4	476	425	2,277	10	32	2
Ambala	2,822	438	...	6,349	343	3,217	2,744	72	...
Ludhiána	6,317	1,196	...	4,258	2,382	4,296	1,432	939	2
Jalandhar	2,219	1,125	...	7,930	676	3,741	2,004	453	...
Hushyárpur	2,334	680	...	5,314	551	4,531	4,048	...	...
Kángra	16	...	...	54	...	...	120	...	...
Amritsar	15,721	1,162	...	24,047	433	2,289	1,669	494	2
Gurdáspur	1,136	1,687	...	4,996	192	608	966	1,313	...
Siálkot	3,726	3,141	...	7,333	1,666	634	1,664	704	...
Lahore	3,626	6,164	2	42,208	9,711	899	391	3,240	...
Gujránwála	18,031	15,944	6,871	2,773	80	499	124	931	487
Firozpur	5,602	1,380	2	8,079	3,007	3,477	1,058	1,191	8,722
Jhelam	...	99	...	362	...	1	313	58	...
Gujrát	7	852	...	622	5	29	1,588	58	390
Shahpur	...	346	66	19	...	...	248	...	...
Multan	...	220	28	326	103	85	676	...	...
Jhang	...	266	64	25	...	...	127	...	...
Montgomery	...	243	79	726	266	2	90	10	...
Muzaffargarh	...	135	...	2	256	...	234	...	...
Derah Ismail Khan	...	137	...	...	245	...	590	10	...
Derah Ghazi Khan	...	...	...	5	...	2	419	282	...
Bannu	3	13	...	2	...	...	948	...	...
British Territory	**69,383**	**35,527**	**7,118**	**118,944**	**21,954**	**31,210**	**21,281**	**9,847**	**9,612**
Patiála	9,827	179	...	7,814	3,606	16,397	1,485	241	...
Nábha	3,717	...	...	1,791	1,634	2,985	147	531	824
Kapurthala	...	255	...	1,585	347	192	147	8	...
Jind	538	3	...	1,138	1,111	1,777	...	...	...
Faridkot	2,122	423	...	2,510	308	980	186	183	...
Maler Kotla	604	27	...	1,070	249	259	...	7	...
Kalsia	236	...	...	798	76	78	35	16	20
Total East. Plains	17,106	889	...	16,706	7,331	22,725	2,000	986	844
British Territory	69,383	35,527	7,118	118,944	21,954	31,210	21,281	9,847	9,612
Native States	17,180	889	...	16,788	7,340	22,760	2,570	986	844
Province	86,563	36,416	7,118	135,732	29,294	53,970	23,851	10,833	10,456

	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
	Bal.	Pannún.	Mahal.	Aulak.	Gil.	Sidhu.	Barár.	Dháríwál.	Sara.	Mángat.	Dhíndsa.	Gandhi.	Chahil.
Dehli	...	...	8	2	124	54	...	34	...	...	...	...	148
Gurgaon	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,937	523	...	...	...	...	...
Karnál	31	...	43	56	65	...	195	229	...	...	16	..	1,629
Hissar	...	...	...	25	14	916	...	234	...	...	9	...	1,377
Rohtak	...	...	...	...	2,378	23	1	58	...	...	...	...	1,881
Sirsa	...	...	83	513	728	8,037	296	731	1,131	26	12	...	712
Ambala	433	138	...	236	3,475	3,207	245	2,915	...	693	1,779	726	3,471
Ludhiána	1,233	480	110	804	11,899	13,194	32	12,145	2,062	3,724	1,044	4,964	5,452
Jalandhar	421	...	2,406	63	5,188	3,210	7	3,562	...	561	1,833	...	2,001
Hushyárpur	120	...	200	158	2,124	388	32	1,110	...	...	...	...	1,664
Kángra	...	...	...	...	969	3	...	62	...	...	...	...	1,163
Amritsar	5,353	5,298	2,381	8,053	30,737	5,424	702	1,968	...	209	...	...	4,558
Gurdáspur	776	1,884	318	1,535	3,593	2,881	...	2,259	...	...	255	...	3,627
Siálkot	387	...	...	927	4,095	...	...	1,854	1,465	109	848	52	1,031
Lahore	144	247	75	1,573	7,740	10,459	101	1,955	921	146	...	...	699
Gujránwála	43	54	276	1,309	2,159	1,022	104	633	1,982	883	...	...	1,056
Firozpur	233	896	...	1,122	26,192	49,194	32,256	15,658	814	193	...	...	1,711
Jhelam	...	...	46	12	80	...	...	11	...	52	...	...	20
Gujrát	8	...	566	20	801	1	129	287	...	1,106	105	...	23
Shahpur	1	...	...	3	49	214	...	13	...	136	...	...	...
Multan	...	...	...	31	115	...	171	12	1	3	...	...	114
Jhang	...	...	...	4	298	184	...	...	...	29	...	...	1
Montgomery	...	2	...	20	148	474	13	121	...	49	...	...	69
Muzaffargarh	...	63	10	97	15	2	54	35	...	...	...	...	...
Derah Ismail Khan	...	...	26	167	167	3	...	1	...	5	...	...	...
Derah Ghazi Khan	...	22	50	13	185	1	8	...	...	8	...	...	...
Bannu	...	2	...	18	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
British Territory	**9,242**	**9,097**	**6,598**	**16,866**	**103,664**	**99,053**	**36,283**	**46,437**	**8,389**	**7,936**	**5,901**	**5,742**	**32,490**
Patiála	304	802	621	3,526	10,877	41,999	...	19,556	9,719	3,583	7,710	5,495	21,674
Nábha	5	20	229	1,100	4,483	12,115	4	6,628	1,404	70	804	365	1,830
Kapurthala	...	...	...	62	670	1,231	...	1,994	...	...	...	...	1,459
Jind	47	...	137	556	928	604	2,189	352	718	1	313	68	2,175
Faridkot	22	...	26	504	2,375	...	14,821	1,326	1,220	22	1	...	712
Maler Kotla	...	...	...	1,040	387	...	...	1,071	116	42	152	...	2,631
Kalsia	2	...	...	28	700	303	47	196	260	7	...	805	118
Total East. Plains	380	822	1,020	6,816	20,480	56,252	17,061	31,123	13,437	3,725	8,980	6,733	30,599
British Territory	9,242	9,097	6,598	16,866	103,664	99,053	36,283	46,437	8,389	7,936	5,901	5,742	32,490
Native States	479	822	1,032	6,823	20,508	56,279	17,061	31,223	13,437	3,725	8,980	6,733	30,666
Province	9,721	9,919	7,630	23,689	124,172	155,332	53,344	77,660	21,826	11,661	14,881	12,475	63,156

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

The Sidhu and Barar tribes (Nos. 14—15).—The Sidhu, with its branch the Barár or Sidhu-Barár, is the largest and most important of the Jat tribes of the Panjáb, for from it have sprung the great Phulkián families of Patiála, Nábha, and Jínd, and the Barár family of Farídkot. The Sidhu trace their origin to Jaisal, a Bhatti Rájpút and founder of Jaisalmer, who was driven from his kingdom by a successful rebellion and took refuge with Prithi Ráj, Chauhán, the last Hindu King of Dehli. His descendants overran Hissár and Sirsa and gave to the latter tract the name of Bhattiána. Among them was Khiwa, who married a Jat woman of the Ghaggar, and had by her Sidhu the ancestor of the tribe. Sidhu had four sons, Devi, Búr, Súr, and Rúpach, and from Dhúl the descendant of Búr is sprung the Barár tribe. The pure Bhatti Rájpúts of Bhattiána still admit their relationship with the Sidhu and Barár. The early history of the tribes is told in full detail at pages 1 to 10 and 546 to 548 of Griffin's *Panjáb Rájas;* indeed the whole book is a political history of the descendants of Sidhu; while the leading minor families are noticed at pages 429 to 436 of his *Panjáb Chiefs.* Some further details of their early ancestry will be found at page 8 of the Hissár Settlement Report. The original home of the tribe was the Málwa, and it is still there that they are found in largest numbers. But they have also spread acros the Satluj into Lahore, Amritsar, Jálandhar, and other districts. The Barár who are shown in the Abstract have returned themselves as Sidhu Barar in the Native States and, to the number of 4,223, in Fírozpur, and as Rai Barár in Gurgáon. The rest are returned as Barár simply. Sidhu Barár and Barár are synonymous; but whether I have done rightly in including the Gugáon Rai Barár I cannot say. Moreover 26,915 persons in Fírozpur and 2,358 in Nábha have returned their tribe as Sidhu and their clan as Barár, and are included in *both* columns, thus appearing twice over in the Abstract. Mr. Brandreth thus describes the Barár of Fírozpur:—

"The Barárs are said to have been Bhatti Rájpúts, of the same family as the Rájpúts of Jaisalmer, where their original home "was. The name of their ancestor was Sidhu, whose grandson was named Barár, whence they are called indifferently both Sidhu "and Barár. Either Barár or some descendant of his migrated to Bhatinda, whence his offspring spread over the neighbouring lands, "and are now in possession of a very large tract of country. They occupy almost the whole of ilaquas Mari, Múdki, Mokatsar, Bhúchon, "Mehraj, Sultan Khan, and Bhudaur in this district, the whole of Faridkot, a great part of Patiala, Nabha, Jhúmbha and Mallaudh. "The Chiefs of all these states belong to the same family. The Bhattis of Sirsa who embraced Muhammadanism were also originally "Bhatti Rajputs, and related to the Barárs, but their descent is traced to some common ancestor before the time of Sidhu.

"The Barárs are not equal to the other tribes of Jats as cultivators. They wear finer clothes, and consider themselves a more "illustrious race. Many of them were desperate dacoits in former years, and all the most notorious criminals of this description that "have been apprehended and brought to justice under our rule were Barárs. Female infanticide is said to have been practised among "them to a great extent in former times. I am told that a few years ago there was scarcely a young girl to be found in any of the "Barár villages. This crime is said to have originated in a deceit that was once practised upon one of the chiefs of Nabha by which "his daughter was betrothed to a man of an inferior tribe; and though he considered himself bound to complete the marriage, subse- "quently entered into an agreement with all his tribe to put to death all the daughters that should be born to them hereafter, in "order to prevent the possibility of such a disgrace occurring again.

"From all accounts, however, this horrid practice has been almost entirely discontinued of late years, and I can detect no differ- "ence now between the proportionate number of female children in the Barár villages and in villages inhabited by other castes."

The Dhariwal (No. 16).—The Dháríwál, Dhánîwál, or Dhálíwál, for the name is spelt in all three ways, are also said to be Bhatti Rájpúts, and to take their name from their place of origin Dáránagar. They say that Akbar married the daughter of their Chief Mahr Mithra. They are found chiefly on the Upper Satluj and in the fertile district to the west, their head-quarters being the north-western corner of the Málwa, or Lúdhiána, Fírozpur, and the adjoining parts of Patiála. Mr. Brandreth describes them as splendid cultivators, and the most peaceful and contented portion of the population of the tract.

The Sara (No. 17).—The Sara Jats are, so far as our figures go, chiefly found in the Upper Málwa, in Lúdhiána, Farídkot, and the intervening country; but they also have crossed the Satluj into the fertile district to the north-west. They are said to be descended from a Bhatti Rájpút who 13 generations ago left the Málwa and settled in Gújránwála. But another tradition traces them to Raja Sálon (? Salváhan) a Lunar Rájpút who lived in Jammu, and whose two sons Sara and Basra were the eponymous ancestors of two Jat tribes. I presume that they are distinct from the Sarái noticed under Jats of the western sub-montane.

The Mangat (No. 18).—The Mángat would appear from our figures to be almost confined to Lúdhiána and the adjoining portion of Patiála. I have no information to give about them, unless indeed they are the same as the Mán, described under Jats of eastern sub-montane.

The Dhindsa (No. 19).—The Dhíndsa would appear to be confined to Ambála, Lúdhiána, and the adjoining portion of Patiála. They claim to be descended from Saroha Rájpúts.

The Gandhi (No. 20).—The Gandhi seem to be chiefly found in the same tract with the Mángat just mentioned. About them also I have no particulars to give.

The Chahil (No. 21).—The Cháhil appear to be one of the largest Jat tribes in the Province. They are found in greatest numbers in Patiála, but are very numerous in Ambála and Lúdhiána, Amritsar, and Gurdáspur, and extend all along under the hills as far west as Gújránwála and Siálkot. It is said that Raja Agarsen Súrajbansi had four sons Cháhil, Chhína, Chíma, and Sáhi, and that the four Jat tribes who bear these names are sprung from them. Their original home was Málwa, whence they migrated to the Panjáb. According to another story their ancestor was a Túnwar Rájpút called Rája Rikh, who came from the Deccan and settled at Kahlor. His son Bírsi married a Jat woman, settled at Matti in the Málwa about the time of Akbar, and founded the tribe.

437. Jats of the eastern sub-montane.—The small group of Jats which I shall next describe lie to the north of the Sikh Jats just discussed, all along under the foot of the hills from Ambála to Gurdáspur. There is no definite line of demarcation between them and the Sikh Jats to the south or the Jats of the western sub-montane to the west; and perhaps the only real distinction is that, speaking broadly, the first are Hindus, the second Sikhs, and the third Musalmáns, though of course followers of all three religions are to be found in almost every tribe. In character and position there is nothing to distinguish the tribes I am about to notice, save that they have never enjoyed the political importance which distinguished the Sikh Jats under the Khálsa. Abstract No. 76 on the opposite page gives the figures for these tribes roughly arranged in order from west to east. Here again there is no confusion between Jats and Rájpúts, though the reason of the precision with which they are distinguished is exactly the opposite of that already discussed in the case of the western sub-montane and Sikh Jats. In the Sikh tract the political position of the Jat was so high that he had no wish to be called Rájpút: under the hills the status of the Rájpút is so superior that the Jat has no hope of being called Rájpút. The only one of these tribes of which any considerable number have returned themselves as Jats as well as Rájpúts is the Manj, and that only in Gurdáspur on the extreme confines of the tract. Them I shall consider with the Rájpúts of the same name. In this tract the Settlement Reports are even more meagre than in the last; and my information is correspondingly imperfect.

438. The Jat tribes of the Eastern Sub-montane. The Randhawa (No. 2).—The Randháwa is a large and widely spread tribe whose head-quarters appear to be the Amritsar and Gurdáspur districts, but who are also found in considerable numbers in Lahore, Jálandhar, Hushyárpur, and Patiála. Their founder Randháwa, a Jádu or Bhatti Rájpút, lived in Bíkáner some seven centuries ago; and Kajjal, fifth in descent from him, migrated to Batála which had some time before been founded by Rám Deo another Bhatti. Here the tribe increased in numbers, possessed itself of a very considerable tract of country, and rose to some political importance. The history of the Randháwa family is fully detailed at pages 200 to 218 of the *Panjáb Chiefs.* A few Randháwa have shown themselves also as Bhatti in Gújránwála and as Virk in Fírozpur.

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

Abstract No. 76, *showing* Jat Tribes *of the* Eastern Sub-montane.

	JATS OF THE EASTERN SUB-MONTANE.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Manj.	Randháwa.	Kang.	Sohal.	Bains.	Búta.	Ithwál.
Dehli	...	...	...	3	8	...	6,619
Rohtak	...	...	786	5	1	...	17
Ambala	...	735	2,250	193	1,771	...	3,601
Ludhiana	...	1,683	331	1,255	554	13	1,872
Jalandhar	...	1,881	5,075	1,550	4,310	...	3,360
Hushyarpur	...	2,031	3,273	1,708	11,737	6,162	914
Kangra	...	...	...	69	311	...	23
Amritsar	58	20,103	3,531	2,932	19	...	445
Gurdaspur	1,599	13,030	424	796	3,330	...	1,188
Sialkot	81	3,494	689	401	960	...	244
Lahore	557	1,166	744	942	565	...	124
Gujranwala	38	258	397	114	...	...	36
Firozpur	43	973	2,168	123	34	...	129
Rawalpindi	...	4	49	...	1,922	...	2
Jhelam	7	4	...	...	630	...	...
Multan	25	7	917	19	14	...	435
Jhang	19	...	11	...	...	...	338
Montgomery	16	10	253	4	3	...	641
Muzaffargarh	...	...	1,129	...	13	...	55
Derah Ismail Khan.	...	...	311	...	258	...	27
Derah Ghazi Khan	...	1	888	...	...	...	2
Hazara	...	...	621	...	...	...	...
British Territory.	**2,654**	**45,744**	**24,315**	**10,117**	**26,604**	**6,175**	**20,116**
Patiala	...	4,047	...	1,611	814	...	2,508
Nabha	...	559	69	293	539	542	22
Kapurthala	...	755	22	280	391	...	123
Jind	...	251	...	...	382	...	7
Maler Kotlà	...	335	...	20	43	...	1
Total East Plains	1	6,101	178	2,213	2,170	542	2,668
Bahawalpur	...	...	288	...	...	...	597
British Territory.	**2,654**	**45,744**	**24,315**	**10,117**	**26,604**	**6,175**	**20,116**
Native States	**1**	**6,109**	**466**	**2,213**	**2,367**	**542**	**3,289**
Province	**2,655**	**51,853**	**24,781**	**12,330**	**28,971**	**6,717**	**23,405**

The Kang (No. 3).—This tribe is found chiefly in the angle between the Beás and Satluj, though they have crossed the latter river into Ambála and Fírozpur, and are apparently found in small numbers all along its banks and even on the Lower Indus. Their tradition is that they came from Garh Ghazni. They occupied a position of some considerable political importance in their own tract during the early days of Sikh rule. Mr. Barkley writes of the Jálandhar Kang.—" Most of the Sikh Sardárs of the Nakodar " *tahsil* either belong to this tribe, or were connected with it by marriage when they established their authority there. Tára Singh " Gheba (*sic*), who was their leader at the time of the conquest, was himself of this race and a native of Kang on the Satluj, where " it is said that eighteen Sardars at one time resided; but on the village being swept away by the river they dispersed themselves in " their separate *jágirs* on both sides of the river." The Kang are said to claim descent from the Solar Rájpúts of Ajudhia through their ancestor Jogra, father of Kang

The Sohal (No. 4).—The Sohal are said to be of Chauhán Rájpút origin, their ancestor Sohal belonging to the family of Mahág. They appear to lie to the north of the Kang, close up under and even among the hills; but they are also found along the Satluj, though in smaller numbers.

The Bains (No. 5).—The head-quarters of the Bains appear to be in Hushyárpur and Jálandhar, though they have spread westwards even as far as Ráwalpindi, and eastwards into Ambála and the adjoining Native States. They say that they are by origin Janjúa Rájpúts, and that their ancestor Bains came eastwards in the time of Fíroz Sháh. Bains is one of the 36 royal families of Rájpúts, but Tod believes that it is merely a sub-division of the Súryabansi section. They give their name to Baiswára, or the easternmost portion of the Ganges-Jamna *doáb*. The Sardárs of Aláwalpur in Jálandhar are Bains, whose ancestor came from Hushyárpur to Jalla near Sarhind in Nábha some twelve generations ago.

The Búta (No. 6).—The Búta are, as far as our figures go, confined to Hushyárpur. I have no information regarding them, and am not at all certain that they are distinct from the Bhutta of the Western Plains (section 429) and the Buttar of the Sikh tract (section 436).

The Ithwal (No. 7).—The Ithwál or Uthwál seem to be found chiefly in Ambála, Lúdhiánah, Jálandhar, and the adjoining territory of Patiála. But unless two distinct names have been confused, they have a curiously large colony in Dehli, which appears to be completely separated from that of Ambála. They are said to be descended from a Súrajbansi Rájpút called Mahárāj who received the nickname of Unthwál from his love for camel-riding!

439. The Jats of the south-eastern districts.—The last group of Jat tribes that I have to discuss is that which occupies the Jamna districts, Jínd, Rohtak, and Hissár. They call themselves Ját not Jat, and are the same people in every respect as the Ját of the Jamna-Ganges doáb and the lower Jamna valley, differing however in little save religion from the great Sikh Jat tribes of the Málwa; though perhaps the latter, inhabiting as they do the wide unirrigated plains of the central States, are of slightly finer physique than their neighbours of the damper riverain. The eastern Játs are almost without exception Hindu, the few among them who are Musalmán being known as Múla or " unfortunate," and dating their conversion almost without exception from an ancestor who was taken as a hostage to Dehli and there forcibly circumcised. Indeed these men were not unfrequently received back into caste on their return from captivity, and their descendants are in this case Hindus, though still known as Múla. Their traditions show them to have come up either from Bíkáner and Rájpútána, or northwards along the Jamna valley, and very few of them appear to have come from the Panjáb to the Jamna. The Játs of Gurgáon indeed still look upon the Rája of Bhartpur as their natural leader, and the fall of Bhartpur made such an impression on their minds that old men still refer to it as the æra from which they date events.

The Ját of these parts is, if anything, even a better cultivator than the Sikh Jat; and that, chiefly because his women assist him so largely in the field, performing all sorts of agricultural labour whether light or heavy, except ploughing for which they have not sufficient strength, and sowing which is under all circumstances a prerogative strictly confined to the male sex. Directly we leave the south-eastern districts and pass into the Sikh tract, women cease to perform the harder kinds of field-work, even among the Jats; while in Musalmán districts they do not work at all in the fields. So essentially is the Ját a husbandman, and so especially is he *the* husbandman of these parts, that when asked his caste he will quite as often

reply *zamíndár* as Ját, the two names being in that sense used as synonymous. The social standing of the Ját is that which the Gújar, Ahír, and Ror enjoy; in fact these four castes eat and smoke together. They stand at the head of the castes who practice *karewa* or widow-marriage, a good deal below the Rájpút, but far above the castes who grow vegetables, such as Aráín and Máli. If the social scale is regulated by the rules of the Hindu religion they come below Banyas, who are admittedly better Hindus. But the manly Ját despises the money-grubbing Banya, and all other castes and tribes agree with him.

In the extreme south-eastern corner of the Panjáb the Játs who have come in from the north and west, from Rájpútána and the Panjáb, are known as Dhe, to distinguish them from the original Ját tribes of the neighbourhood who are collectively called Hele, the two sections abstaining from intermarriage and having in some respects different customs. In Sirsa again, that meeting place of races, where the Bágri Ját from the Bíkáner prairies, the Sikh Jat from the Málwa, and the Musalmán Jat from the Satluj valley, meet the Ját of Hissár, the last are distinguished as Dese and the Musalmán Jats as Pachháde or western; but these terms appear to be unknown to the people in their respective homes. There the superiority of the Sikh and Dese Jats over the stunted Bágri and the indolent enervated Jat of the Satluj is most strikingly apparent.

There is an extraordinary division of the Játs of Dehli, Rohtak, and Karnál, and indeed of the other land-owning castes who have for the most part taken the one side or the other, into two factions known as Dehia and Haulánia. I quote the following passage from my Settlement Report of Karnál and Pánípat:—

"The Dehias are called after a Ját tribe of that name, with its head-quarters about Bhatgánw in Sunpat, having originally "come from Bawána near Dehli. The Haulánia faction is headed by the Ghatwál or Malak Játs, whose head-quarters are Dher-ka-"Ahulána in Gohána, and who were, owing to their successful opposition to the Rájpúts, the accepted heads of the Játs in these "parts. Some one of the Emperors called them in to assist him in coercing the Mandahár Rájpúts, and thus the old enmity was "strengthened. The Dehia Játs, growing powerful, became jealous of the supremacy of the Ghatwáls and joined the Mandahárs "against them. Thus the country side was divided into two factions; the Gújars and Tagas of the tract, the Jáglán Játs of *thapa* "Naultha, and the Látmár Játs of Rohtak joining the Dehias, and the Húda Játs of Rohtak, and most of the Játs of the tract ex-"cept the Jáglán, joining the Hauláuias. In the mutiny, disturbances took place in the Rohtak district between these two factions, "and the Mandahárs of the Nardak ravaged the Hauláuias in the south of the tract. And in framing my *zails* I had to alter my "proposed division so as to separate a Dehia village which I had included with Haulánias, and which objected in consequence. The "Dehia is also called the Ját, and occasionally the Mandahár faction. Even Sir H. Elliott seems to have been unaware of the exis-"tence of these factions. The Játs and Rájpúts seem, independently of these divisions, to consider each other, tribally speaking, as "natural enemies; and I have often been assured by Játs, though I do not believe it, that they would not dare to go into a Rájpút "village at night."

Mr. Maconachie quotes a Dehli tradition which makes two brothers from Rájpútána called Mom and Som the respective ancestors of the Haulánia Rájpúts of the *doáb* and the Haulánia Játs of Rohtak.

Here again, in the south-eastern districts, the distinction between Ját and Rájpút is definite and well-marked, the Ját always practising and the Rájpút always abstaining from *karewa;* though I do not think that here a family could raise itself from the former to the latter caste by discontinuing the custom, as would appear to be possible elsewhere. The figures for the tribes we are to consider are given in Abstract No. 77 on the opposite page, the tribes being roughly arranged from north to south down the Jamna valley, and then westwards along the southern border of the Province. The last five tribes will be considered under Rájpúts; and they are shown in this abstract, not because they are returned as Jats especially in this part of the Panjáb, but because the Rájpút tribes to which they belong will be discussed under the head of Rájpúts of the Eastern Plains. The tribes in this group are neither so large nor so important as those of the Sikh tracts, and in many cases I have little or no information to give concerning them. There seems a great tendency in these parts to split up into small clans, retaining the tradition of common tribal descent, but commonly using the name of the clan and not of the tribe.

440. The Jat tribes of the South-Eastern Districts. The Ghatwal (No. 1).—This is the only one of the tribes now under consideration who trace their origin from Garh Ghazni; and even they place that city in the Deccan and not in Afghánistán. They claim descent from Saroha Rájpúts. Their head-quarters are at Ahulána in the Gohána *tahsil* of Rohtak, and they occupy the country between it and the Jamna, being numerous in the north of Dehli and the south of Karnál. I suspect that our figures for Rohtak are considerably under the truth. Ahulána is said to have been founded 22 generations ago, and gives its name to the Haulánia faction already mentioned. The Ghatwál are often called Malak, a title they are said to have obtained as follows:—

"In the old days of Rájpút ascendancy the Rájpúts would not allow Játs to cover their heads with a turban, nor to wear any "red clothes, nor to put a crown (*mor*) on the head of their bridegroom, or a jewel (*nat*) in their women's noses. They also "used to levy seignorial rights from virgin brides. Even to this day Rájpúts will not allow inferior castes to wear red clothes or "ample loin clothes in their villages. The Ghatwáls obtained some successes over the Rájpúts, especially over the Mandahárs of the "doáb near Deoban and Manglaur, and over those of the Bágar near Kálánaur and Dádri, and removed the obnoxious prohibitions. "They thus acquired the title of *Malak* (master) and a red turban as their distinguishing mark; and to this day a Ját with a red pagri "is most probably a Ghatwál."

Mr. Fanshawe says that the title is a mere nickname conferred by a Malik or chief called Rai Sál; yet in Rohtak they appear generally to be called Malak rather than Ghatwál, and perhaps this is the cause of the smallness of the Rohtak figures, though I ordered the two names to be taken together. Who the Ghatwál of Baháwalpur are, I cannot explain. I may notice that there are in several parts of India, and especially in Monghyr and its neighbourhood, tribes of low-class Rájpúts called Ghatwál, who hold or held assignments of revenue on condition of defending the *gháts* or passes in the hills by which the hill tribes were wont to make prædatory incursions into the plains below.

The Dagar (No. 2).—The Dágar are numerous in Dehli and Gurgáon, and there is a small colony in Rohtak. I have no information concerning them.

The Jakhar and Sangwan (Nos. 3 and 14).—These tribes are said to be descended from a Chauhán Rájpút only 20 generations back, who came from Bíkáner, and whose four sons founded the Jákhar, Sángwán, Píru, and Kádián Játs, for the last two of which I do not show separate figures as they are of but little importance. The Sángwán are most numerous in Jínd and Hissár, though there is a small colony of them in Rohtak also; while the Jákhar are almost confined to Gurgáon and the adjoining Jhajjar *tahsil* of Rohtak.

The Sahrawat (No. 4).—The Sahráwat claim to be descended from Sahra, a son or grandson of Rája Anangpál Túnwar. They are almost confined to Dehli, Gurgáon, Rohtak, and the adjoining Patiála territory. In Rohtak their settlement dates from some 25 generations back.

The Dehia (No. 5).—This is the tribe which has given its name to the Dehia faction mentioned in section 439. They are found on the north-eastern border of the Sámpla and the adjoining portion of the Sunpat *tahsil* of Rohtak and Dehli. They claim to be descended from a Chauhán Rájpút named Mánik Rai by a Dhankar Ját woman. This is probably the Mánik Rai Chauhán who founded Hánsi. Another account makes their ancestor Dhadhíj, son of Haria Harpál, son of Prithi Rája. The Dehia is one of the 36 royal tribes of Rájpúts, whose original home was about the confluence of the Satluj with the Indus. They are probably the Dahiæ of Alexander.

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

Abstract No. 77, *showing the* Jat Tribes *of the* South-Eastern Districts.

JATS OF THE SOUTH-EASTERN DISTRICTS.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
	Ghatwál.	Dágar.	Jákhar.	Sahráwat.	Dehia.	Golia.	Ráthi.	Khatri.	Dalál.	Ahláwat.	Deswál.	Dhankar.	Phoghát.	Sángwán.	Pawánia.	Bahniwál.	Nain.	Ráwat.	Bágri.	Chauhán.	Mandahár.	Túnwar.
Dehli	4,434	8,558	122	4,292	14,334	...	1,476	11,098	1,850	1,746	720	...	196	288	...	...	928	2,669	...	257	...	141
Gurgaon	109	4,815	5,116	2,485	37	...	1,156	...	249	...	1,408	772	1,222	33	157	...	...	2,214	...	1,580	...	5,933
Karnal	261	49	3	749	...	3,070	718	...	22	2,763	2,045	39	5	508	...	...	351	45	...	635	...	39
Hissar	2,392	61	...	617	441	...	452	11	1,531	163	52	...	372	2,263	7,278	3,726	1,074	51	872	677	...	219
Rohtak	2,219	2,065	4,240	4,232	9,740	16,800	6,410	1,951	7,883	6,869	4,099	4,039	2,386	4,004	2,163	1,739	111	44	2	121	...	205
Sirsa	1	13	...	...	146	...	...	94	14	1	...	...	21	45	1,583	1,846	201	...	32	241	...	53
Ambala	46	...	...	34	...	53	359	...	...	41	356	9	...	16	3,083	1,150	233	23	262	275	1,570	...
Ludhiana	20	...	336	...	...	66	2,930	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	146	...	...	125	616	158	56
Jalandhar	550	...	2,769	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		282	...	176
Gurdaspur	29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	375	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	254	...	50
Sialkot	238	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	583	...	...	...	...	...	...	637	...	...	930	1,524	89	1,324
Rawalpindi	138	...	...	...	...	138	2	...	443	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	45	1,037	...	62
British Territory	11,814	15,561	12,678	12,409	24,698	20,216	13,573	13,228	12,581	11,584	9,055	4,898	4,202	7,757	14,812	9,411	3,074	5,046	3,519	27,109	1,827	12,638
Patiala	77	162	168	1,204	80	...	150	1,939	313	...	...	...	39	263	1,986	1,864	5,884	83	1,494	2,902	3,438	...
Jind	164	60	...	635	8	93	...	20	1,342	765	671	38	2,958	7,082	1,063	...	1	...	22	56	209	...
Total East. Plains	315	287	230	1,958	127	108	440	1,959	1,794	801	720	38	3,081	8,222	3,316	1,967	5,895	83	2,250	3,504	5,311	1
Bahawalpur	797	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	45	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
Total Hill States	...	...	10	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	44	1	...
British Territory	11,814	15,561	12,678	12,409	24,698	20,216	13,573	13,228	12,581	11,584	9,055	4,868	4,202	7,757	14,812	9,411	3,074	5,046	3,519	27,109	1,827	12,638
Native States	1,112	287	240	1,958	128	108	440	1,959	1,839	802	720	38	3,081	8,222	3,316	1,567	5,895	83	2,251	3,550	5,312	1
Province	12,926	15,848	12,918	14,367	24,826	20,324	14,013	15,187	14,420	12,386	9,775	4,936	7,283	15,579	18,128	11,378	8,969	5,129	5,770	30,659	7,139	12,639

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

The Golia (No. 6).—The Golia or Gawália are a very curious tribe. They declare that they were originally Bráhmans who lost caste by inadvertently drinking liquor placed outside a distiller's house in large vessels (*gol*). The local Bráhmans apparently admit the truth of this story. They now intermarry with Játs, but not with the Dágar or Salanki; for while they were Bráhmans the latter were their clients, while when they first lost caste the former alone of all Ját tribes would give them their daughters to wife, and so have been adopted as *quasi*-brethren. They came from Indor to Rohtak some 30 generations ago. They are only found in Rohtak and Karnál. The scattered entries probably refer to a few Gwálas or Ahírs who have been returned as Játs.

The Rathi (No. 7).—The word Ráth is used in Sirsa as synonymous with Pachháda, to denote Musalmán Jats or Rájpúts from the Satluj. It is said to mean "strong-handed" or *zabardast*. In Rohtak however there is a distinct Ráthi tribe of Játs who claim to be by origin Túnwar Rájpúts, and are among the oldest inhabitants of the tract. They are descended from a brother of the ancestor of the Rohal and Dhankar Játs, and the three tribes do not intermarry. They are found in Dehli and Gurgáon as well as in Rohtak, and apparently in Lúdhiána, though it is perhaps doubtful whether these last are the same tribe.

The Khatri (No. 8).—This tribe appears to be very numerous in Dehli, and to be found also in Rohtak and Patiála I have no information regarding them.

The Dalal (No. 9).—This is another of the great Rohtak tribes, and is found also in the adjoining territory of Dehli, Hissár and Jínd. They claim to be descended from a Ráthor Rájpút who settled in Rohtak and married a Bargújar Ját woman some 30 generations back. By her he had four sons from whom the Dalál, Deswál, Mán, and Sewág (? Sewal) Játs have sprung, and these four tribes do not intermarry. But compare the account of the origin of the Mán given in section 435. The same four tribes have a tradition of common descent and a prohibition against inter-marriage in Karnál also.

The Ahlawat (No. 10).—The Ahláwat are said to be descended from a Chauhán Rájpút, who came from Sámbhar in Jaipur some 30 generations ago. From him sprang the Ahláwat, Olián, Birma, Mára, and Jún Játs who do not intermarry. The tribe is found in Rohtak, Dehli, and Karnál. Its members worship a common ancestor called Sadu Deb.

The Deswal (No. 11).—The Deswál or "men of the country" are, as already stated, sprung from the same stock as the Dalál. They are most numerous in Rohtak, Gurgáon, and Karnál. In Mewár and Ajmer, Musalmán Rájpúts are called Deswál, and are hardly recognised as Rájpúts.

The Dhankar (No. 12).—I have said that the Dhankar are of the same stock as the Ráthi. They are almost confined to Jhajjar in Rohtak, and are perhaps nothing more than a local clan of the Ráthi tribe.

The Phoghat (No. 13).—This tribe possesses some importance in Jínd, and has spread into the neighbouring portions of Gurgáon and Rohtak. The only fact I have concerning them is that they will not intermarry with the Deswál; but the reason is not explained.

The Sangwan (No. 14).—The Sángwán are descended from the ancestor of the Jákhar already mentioned. Their headquarters are in Jínd; but they are also found in Rohtak and Hissár.

The Pawania (No. 15).—The Pawánia are a Hissár tribe who are also found in Rohtak, Sirsa, Jínd, and the detached portion of Patiála and, curiously enough, in Ambála. I have no information to give regarding them.

The Bahniwal (No. 16).—The Bahníwál are found chiefly in the Hissár division and Patiála. They are also found on the lower Satluj in Montgomery, where they have probably returned themselves as Bhatti Rájpúts, which they claim to be by descent. Mr. Purser says of them:—"In numbers they are weak; but in love of robbery they yield to none of the tribes." They gave much trouble in 1857. In the 15th century the Bahníwál held one of the six cantons into which Bíkáner was then divided.

The Nain (No. 17).—The Nain are chiefly found in the detached portions of Patiála, but have spread into Hissár and Dehli. I have no information regarding them.

THE RÁJPÚT (CASTE No. 2).

441. **The Rajputs of the Panjab.**—The distribution of the Rájpúts and allied races is shown in Abstract No. 71, page 219. I do not propose to enter into any detailed description or discussion of the Rájpút. He is much the same all over Northern India, and more has been published about him than about any other Indian caste. The great authority is Tod's *Rájásthán*, while both Elliott and Sherring give much useful information. I have already expressed in sections 422-3 my views as to the identity of the Jat and Rájpút stock as it stands at present, and how the Rájpúts merely consist of the royal families of that stock. I might indeed have gone further, and have said that a tribe of any caste whatever which had in ancient times possessed supreme power throughout any fairly extensive tract of country, would be classed as Rájpút. It seems to me almost certain that some of the so-called Rájpút royal families were aboriginal; and notably the Chandel. How the aborigines of the Nepal Himálayas rose to be Kshatriya is well told by Hodgson in his Essay on the Military Tribes of Nepál. He points out that when the Bráhmans were driven up into the hills by the advancing tide of Mahomedan conquest, they wedded with the aboriginal women whom they found there But to render this possible it was necessary to conciliate the people among whom they had come to dwell; and they called their first converts among them Kshatriya, while to their own offspring by the hill women they gave not only Kshatriya rank and privileges but Brahminical patronymics.

"From these two roots mainly sprang the now numerous, predominant, and extensively ramified tribe of Khas—originally the "name of a small clan of creedless barbarians, but now the proud title of the Kshatriya or military order of Nepal. Thus too the "key to the anomalous nomenclature of so many stirpes of these military tribes is to be sought in the nomenclature of the sacred "order." And even now in spite of the yearly increasing sway of Hinduism, and of the efforts of Bráhmans in high office to abolish the custom, the Khas still insist that "the fruits of commerce (for marriage is now out of the question) between their females and "males of the sacred order shall be ranked as Kshatriya, wear the thread, and assume the patronymic title." So again, when the Rájpút immigrants from the plains took aboriginal women in concubinage (and concubinage among the hill people is for all purposes of legitimacy and inheritance the same as marriage), "they were permitted to give their children so begotten the patronymic "title only, not the rank of Kshatriya. But their children again, if they married for two generations with the Khas, became pure "Khas, or real Kshatriyas in point of privilege and rank though no longer so in name. They were Khas, not Kshatriya, and yet "they bore the proud title cognominal of the martial order of the Hindus, and were in the land of their nativity entitled to every "prerogative which Kshatriya birth confers in Hindústán."

A reference to my description of the Kanets of our hills will show that something of the same sort has gone on in the Panjáb Himálayas, though necessarily in a much lower degree, since here the Aryan and not the aborigine was predominant; and the description of the Hill Rájpúts, and still more of the Thakars and Ráthis, which will be found in this section under their respective headings, will show how, if the Turanian is not as in Nepal admitted to Kshatriya rank, it is at any rate impossible to draw any line among the Aryan races, all above which shall be Rájpúts and all below it non-Rájpúts. As the Kángra proverb runs—"In the seventh generation the Ghirathni becomes a queen."

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

The Rájpúts of the Panjáb are fine brave men, and retain the feudal instinct more strongly developed than perhaps any other non-menial caste, the tribal heads wielding extraordinary authority. They are very tenacious of the integrity of their communal property in the village lands, seldom admitting strangers to share it with them. Pride of blood is their strongest characteristic, for pride of blood is the very essence of their Rájpúthood. They are lazy and poor husbandmen and much prefer pastoral to agricultural pursuits, looking upon all manual labour as derogatory and upon the actual operation of ploughing as degrading; and it is only the poorest class of Rájpút who will himself follow the plough. They are, in most parts of the Panjáb plains, cattle-stealers by ancestral profession; but they exercise their calling in a gentlemanly way, and there is certainly honour among Rájpút thieves.

442. The Rajput tribes of the Panjab.—The Rájpúts of the Panjáb may be broadly divided into four groups, each of which I shall discuss separately in the following paragraphs. First come the Rájpúts of the Dehli Territory and Jamna valley, for the most part belonging to the two great tribes of Chauhán and Túnwar which gave Dehli its most famous dynasties. Next come the Rájpúts of the river valleys of the Western Plains, many of them hardly or not at all to be distinguished from Jats, and belonging for the most part to the Bhatti of Jaisalmer and Bíkáner, and their predecessors the Punwár. The third group is the Rájpúts of the western hills including the Salt-range Tract, comprising both dominant tribes of proud position such as the Janjuá and mongrel Rájpúts from the Jammu hills, and descendants either of the Yádúbansi (Bhatti) dynasty of Kashmír and the mythical Rája Rasálu of Siálkot so famous in Panjáb folklore, or of a group of tribes, apparently of Punwár origin, which now hold the hills on either bank of the Jahlam. Finally we have the Rájpúts of the Kángra hills of whom the Katoch may be taken as the type, so ancient that their very origin and advent to their present abodes are lost in the past; and the Rájpúts of the lower hills which fringe the Panjáb Himálayas. With the Rájpúts I take the Thakar and Ráthi who are lower grades of Rájpúts rather than separate castes, and the Ráwat whose position is still more difficult of definition. It will be noticed that I do not mention the Rájpúts of the Sikh tract, of the central districts, and of the Phúlkián States of the Eastern Plains. As a fact they are few, and the few there are are unimportant. Nor have I mentioned the Rájpúts of the frontier districts, for here again they are insignificant both in numbers and importance. The reason why the Rájpút disappears before the Sikh, the Pathán, and the Biloch I have already explained in section 422. Abstract No. 71, on page 219, shows the distribution of Rájpúts and allied castes. The small number in the Hill States is curious. There only the ruling families are Rájpút, the mass of the peasantry consisting of Kanets or Ghiraths, if indeed these last can be separated at all from Ráthis and Ráwats. In the Dehli division and Rohtak the Jat has largely taken the place of the Rájpút; but such Rájpúts as there are are Rájpúts in very deed. In the Multán division the number of Rájpúts returned is very large; but I have already shown how large a proportion of them should more properly be classed as Jats, if indeed any distinction can be drawn between the two.

443. Tribal statistics for Rajputs.—The figures for tribes will be given under the respective groups to which they belong. They are more than usually inaccurate, partly because a Rájpút is so difficult of definition, but still more because the Rájpúts are divided into a few great tribes or royal races as they are commonly called, the *kuls* of the Rájpút annals, and each of these tribes again into innumerable local clans or *sachi* or *gots*. Almost every Rájpút will refer himself rightly or wrongly to some one of the great *kuls*, as well as state the local clan to which he beyond all doubt belongs; and thus we have members of the same clan and descendants of the same ancestor returning themselves as belonging to different tribes, while multitudes of persons appear twice over in the Abstracts, first under their tribe or *kul*, and again under their clan or *got*.

It must be remembered that such of the figures as are shown for Rájpút tribes in the Abstracts of the following pages under the head Jat, refer to people who have returned themselves as Jat by *caste*, and Bhatti, Chauhán, and so forth by *tribe*. In the great majority of cases this latter entry represents mere traditional origin, rather than that the people in question actually claim that they are Bhatti or Chauhán at the present moment. In many cases they have returned their Jat tribe as well. Abstract No. 78 below gives the numbers entered for various tribes under Jat and Rájpút respectively, and shows how extensively this sort of entry has been made.

Abstract No. 78, *showing* Tribes entered both as Jat and as Rajput.

JOINT LIST OF JAT AND RAJPUT CLANS.

Clan.	British Territory.		Native States.	
	Jats.	Rájpúts.	Jats.	Rájpúts.
Bágri	3,519	11,141	2,251	908
Bhakrál	4,863	5,144	13	3,378
Bahniwál	9,411	43	1,967	...
Bhatti	94,665	204,569	1,193	38,262
Bhutta	20,431	4,891	2,108	194
Chhádhar	26,387	16,435	17	1,311
Chauhán	27,109	145,195	3,550	18,831
Dhanial	10,020	4,388	...	...
Dhudhi	12,315	7,649	1,087	113
Gondal	47,276	43,220	325	10
Janjua	8,419	38,552	15	11
Joya	12,338	25,301	...	5,262
Kharral	18,582	14,242	237	2,042
Khichi	3,337	12,724	254	608
Khokhar	42,110	45,731	221	9,649
Langáh	9,083	2,348	59	1
Mahal	6,598	118	1,032	721
Mandahár	1,827	14,693	5,312	2,657
Manhás	6,570	40,424	15	216
Manj	2,654	[illegible]309	1	2,676
Mekan	3,157	5,968	...	...
Punwár	16,959	53,151	887	7,853
Ránjha	10,903	7,490	53	[illegible]
Ráthi	13,573	30	440	...
Ráwat	5,046	2,809	83	113
Siál	17,093	76,957	273	236
Sumra	12,558	218	...	2,101
Túnwar	12,638	35,919	1	3,299
Tárar	18,925	4,228	19	...
Virk	35,527	7,418	889	...
Wattu	2,963	17,484	244	3,704

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

444. Rajputs of the Eastern Plains.—The tribes which I shall first discuss are divided into two groups. All but the last four are almost confined to the Dehli territory, at least as Rájpúts proper, and are roughly arranged in order from north to south down the Jamna valley, and then westwards through Rohtak and Hissár. The last four tribes carry on the series through Patiála, Fírozpur, and Gújránwála, and connect the Rájpúts of the Eastern with those of the Western Plains. The first group belongs chiefly to the great royal families of the Rájpúts who, occupying the Dehli territory, have not as a rule superseded their old tribal designation by a local name, as has been so often the case in the west of the Panjáb. The great majority of them are descendants of the Túnwar and Chauhán dynasties of Dehli. Their local distribution is fairly well marked, the Túnwar lying to the north-west of the first group, and shutting off the Jat tribes of the Central Plains from the Rájpúts of the Dehli territory, their line being broken only, I believe, by the Chauhán colony on the Ghaggar of the Hissár border. Next to them come the Chauhán, Mandahár, and Pundír of the Kurukshetr, and the Ráwat, Gaurwa, Bargújar and Jádu of Dehli and Gurgáon, followed by the Játu, themselves Túnwar, and the Bágri of Hissár. The Punwár colony of Rohtak will be discussed with the Rájpúts of the Western Plains. The Jats who are shown in the Abstract on the next page are very largely if not wholly true Jats, who have returned a real Jat tribe and have been shown under that tribe among Jats, but have also entered the Rájpút tribe from which they claim to be descended, and are thus entered under that head also. The Rájpút of these parts is a true Rájpút. Living in the shadow of Dehli, the capital of his ancestral dynasties, he clings to the traditions of his caste. He cultivates largely, for little other occupation is left him; but he cultivates badly, for his women are more or less strictly secluded and never work in the fields, while he considers it degrading to actually follow the plough, and will always employ hired ploughmen if he can possibly afford it. He is a great cattle-grazier and as great a cattle-thief. His tribal feeling is strong, and the heads of the village or local group of villages have great influence. He is proud, lazy, sometimes turbulent, but generally with something more of the gentleman about him than we find in the more rustic Jat. Abstract No. 79 on the opposite page gives the distribution of these tribes.

445. The Rajput tribes of the Eastern Plains. The Tunwar (No. 1).—The Túnwar, although a sub-division of the Jádúbansi, is generally reckoned as one of the 36 royal tribes of Rájpúts. It furnished India with the dynasty of Vikramáditya, the beacon of later Hindu chronology, and Dehli with its last Indian rulers, Anangpál the last Túnwar Rája abdicating in favour of his Chauhán grandchild Pirthi Ráj, in whose time the Musalmáns conquered North-Western India. An early Anangpál Túnwar founded in 792 A.D. the city of Dehli on the ruins of the ancient Indrapat, and his dynasty ruled there for three and a half centuries. It is therefore natural that the Túnwar should be found chiefly in the eastern districts of the Province. In Dehli itself, indeed, they are less numerous than might have been expected. But they are exceedingly numerous in Ambála, Hissár, and Sirsa. The name being a famous one, many Rájpúts of various tribes which have no real connection with the Túnwar have returned it. Thus 1,200 men in Karnál are returned as Chauhán Túnwar, who are probably Chauháns. So in Ráwalpindi 1,939 men are shown as Bhatti Túnwar, though here the confusion is more excusable, being justified by origin though not by modern usage. The figures are of course shown twice over in each case. The figures for Túnwar Jats probably represent nothing more than traditional origin. Half the number are in Gurgáon, where there is a considerable settlement of Túnwar Rájpúts.

The Túnwar are the westernmost of the great Rájpút tribes of the eastern Panjáb. When ejected from Dehli they are said to have settled at Púndri in Karnál, on the Ambála border and once the seat of the Pundír, and thence to have spread both north and south. They now occupy Hariána or the greater part of the Hissár district, and stretch across Karnál and the south of Patiála into the west of the Ambála district, separating the Chauhán and other Rájpúts who hold the Jamna districts to the east of them from the great Jat tribes of the Málwa which lie to their west. There is however a Chauhán colony to the north-west of them on the lower Ghaggar in the Hissár district and Patiála. The Játu of Hariána are a Túnwar clan.

The Chauhan (No. 2).—The Chauhán is one of the Agnikula tribes and also one of the 36 royal families. Tod calls them the most valiant of the whole Rájpút race, and to them belonged the last Hindu ruler of Hindústán. Before the seat of their power was moved to Dehli, Ajmer and Sámbhar in Jaipur seem to have been their home. After their ejectment from Dehli they are said to have crossed the Jamna to Sambhal in Murádábád, and there still dwell the genealogists and bards of the Chauhán of the Nardak of Karnál and Ambála. This tract, the ancient Kurukshetr or battle-field of the Kauravas and Pándavas, is still occupied very largely by Rájpúts; in the west by the Túnwar, themselves descendants of the Pándavas, but for the most part by the Chauhán whose central village is Júndla in Karnál, and who occupy all the country lying immediately to the east of the Túnwar tract in Ambála and Karnál and the adjoining parts of Patiála, Nábha, and Jínd. All this country was held by the Pundír Rájpúts till the Chauhán came over from Sambhal under Ráná Hai Rai some 20 generations ago, probably in the time of Bahlol Lodi, and drove the Pundír across the Jamna. The Chauhán appear from our figures to be numerous throughout the remaining districts of the Dehli and Hissár divisions and in Gújránwála, Fírozpur, Ráwalpindi, and Sháhpur. But Chauhán being perhaps the most famous name in the Rájpút annals, many people who have no title to it have shown themselves as Chauhán. In Karnál 1,520 Pundír, 850 Punwár, 1,200 Túnwar, 6,300 Mandahár, and some 900 of other tribes have shown themselves as Chauhán also. In Sháhpur 6,700 persons are returned as Gondal Chauhán, and this accounts for the so-called Chauháns of this district. The Jat Chauháns, too, are probably for the most part Jat tribes of alleged Chauhán origin. Thus among the Jats, in Gújránwála 2,200 Chíma and nearly 1,000 persons of other Jat tribes, in Fírozpur 600 Joya and 200 Sidhu, and in Jahlam 2,000, and in Gújrát 650 Gondal, have returned themselves as Chauhán also, and so in many minor instances. All these figures are shown twice over. The Khichi and Varaich are also Chauhán clans numerous in the Panjáb, and have perhaps sometimes returned themselves as Chauhán only. The Chauhán of the Dehli district have taken to widow-marriage, and are no longer recognised by their fellow Rájpúts. The Chauhán of Gurgáon have however retained their pre-eminent position, and are connected with the Chauhán family of Nímrána, a small State now subject to Alwar.

The Mandahar (No. 3).—The Mandahár are almost confined to the Nardak of Karnál, Ambála and the neighbouring portion of Patiála. They are said to have come from Ajudhia to Jínd, driving the Chandel and Brá Rájpúts who occupied the tract into the Siwáliks and across the Ghaggar respectively. They then fixed their capital at Kaláyit in Patiála, with minor centres at Safídon in Jínd and Asandh in Karnál. They lie more or less between the Túnwar and Chauhán of the tract. But they have in more recent times spread down below the Chauhán into the Jamna riverain of the Karnál district, with Gharaunda as a local centre. They were settled in these parts before the advent of the Chauhán, and were chastised at Samána in Patiála by Fíroz Sháh. The Mandahár, Kandahár, Bargújar, Saukarwál, and Panihár Rájpúts are said to be descended from Láwa, a son of Rám Chandra, and therefore to be Solar Rájpúts; and in Karnál at least they do not intermarry. A few Mandahár are found east of the Jamna in Sahéranpur, but the tribe appears to be very local.

The Pundir (No. 4).—The Pundír would appear to belong to the Dahíma royal race of which Tod says:—"Seven centuries "have swept away all recollection of a tribe who once afforded one of the proudest themes for the song of the bard." They were the most powerful vassals of the Chauhán of Dehli, and Pundír commanded the Lahore frontier under Pirthi Ráj. The original seat of the Panjáb Pundír was Thánesar and the Kurukshetr of Karnál and Ambála, with local capitals at Púndri, Ramba, Hábri, and Púndrak; but they were dispossessed by the Chauhán under Ráná Har Rai, and for the most part fled beyond the Jamna. They are, however, still found in the Indri pargannah of Karnál and the adjoining portion of Ambála.

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

Abstract No. 79, showing the Rajput Tribes of the Eastern Plains.

RAJPUTS OF THE EASTERN PLAINS.

	1. Túnwar. Rájpút.	1. Túnwar. Jat.	2. Chauhán. Rájpút.	2. Chauhán. Jat.	3. Mandahár. Rájpút.	3. Mandahár. Jat.	4. Pundír.	5. Ráwat. Rájpút.	5. Ráwat. Jat.	5. Ráwat. Ráwat (Caste No. 82).
Dehli	1,038	141	3,658	257	38	...	19	1,323	2,669	...
Gurgaon	1,754	5,933	9,287	1,580	138	...	25	15	2,214	...
Karnál	3,076	39	31,642	635	10,743	...	1,753	8	45	1,025
Hissar	6,102	219	6,910	677	243	...	1	10	51	...
Rohtak	1,644	205	5,884	121	253	...	50	...	44	...
Sirsa	4,042	53	4,120	241	19	...	10	13	...	...
Ambala	9,867	...	43,555	275	2,270	1,570	2,196	...	23	4,402
Ludhiána	527	56	1,835	616	101	158	3	...	...	1,807
Jalandhar	928	176	1,515	282	...	...	...	...	...	2,438
Hushyárpur	170	...	2,402	75	...	...	53	405	...	275
Kángra	338	...	1,136	12	...	...	173	667	...	1
Amritsar	426	30	670	768	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gurdáspur	477	50	1,632	254	116	...	...	...	...	...
Sialkot	217	1,324	479	1,524	...	89	...	...	...	...
Lahore	707	201	2,239	946	...	...	...	...	...	5
Gujránwála	149	724	4,834	7,604	...	...	...	...	...	...
Firozpur	1,223	2,763	4,785	1,495	457	10	...	274	...	32
Ráwalpindi	2,187	62	3,629	1,037	60	...	...	...	...	...
Jhelum	240	246	1,594	1,989	229	...	...	...	...	...
Gujrát	56	203	88	1,806	10	...	...	...	...	...
Shahpur	98	51	8,642	172	16	...	...	...	...	...
Multan	31	3	2,134	505	...	...	8	1	...	...
Jhang	157	27	226	165	...	...	...	...	...	...
Montgomery	439	41	1,355	1,792	...	...	...	2	...	...
Muzaffargarh	1	27	222	1,163	...	...	...	...	...	...
British Territory	**35,919**	**12,638**	**145,195**	**27,109**	**14,693**	**1,827**	**4,296**	**2,809**	**5,046**	**9,994**
Patiála	1,221	...	5,975	2,902	2,053	3,438	42	...	83	3,242
Nábha	821	...	2,983	480	68	218	5	41	...	266
Kapurthala	23	...	487	5	...	162	...	24	...	609
Jind	356	...	1,248	56	469	209	...	2	...	302
Faridkot	108	...	398	25	3	45	...	...	...	23
Maler Kotla	208	...	570	8	6	1,180	5	...	...	1,890
Kalsia	49	...	996	20	36	59	84	...	...	701
Total East. Plains	2,907	1	14,843	3,504	2,635	5,311	136	67	83	7,033
Baháwalpur	...	...	2,439	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total Hill States	392	...	1,549	44	2	1	469	46	...	173
British Territory	**35,919**	**12,638**	**145,195**	**27,109**	**14,693**	**1,827**	**4,296**	**2,809**	**5,046**	**9,994**
Native States	**3,299**	**1**	**18,831**	**3,550**	**2,637**	**5,312**	**605**	**113**	**83**	**7,206**
Province	**39,218**	**12,639**	**164,026**	**30,659**	**17,330**	**7 139**	**4,901**	**2,922**	**5,129**	**17,200**

	6. Gaurwa.	7. Bargújar.	8. Jádu.	9. Játu.	10. Bágri. Rájpút.	10. Bágri. Jat.	11. Baria.	12. Atrás.	13. Naipál.	14. Ráthor.
Dehli	4,912	176	1,505	175	32	...	4	...	...	83
Gurgaon	...	1,261	18	612	1,020	...	2	...	...	81
Karnál	...	102	25	1,428	24	...	612	...	...	76
Hissar	19	317	...	4,074	5,647	872	493	...	1	496
Rohtak	...	350	75	2,289	520	2	271	...	...	138
Sirsa	4	57	2	73	6	32	824	...	38	374
Ambala	2	222	36	295	...	262	1,121	...	...	93
Ludhiána	48	...	97	5	11	125	91	...	...	122
Jalandhar	5	...	141	...	...	...	979	...	11	440
Hushyárpur	...	...	223	...	...	65	1,247	15	...	...
Kángra	236	...	...	...	...	...	106	1	...	...
Amritsar	68	...	...	...	...	150	...	...	...	...
Gurdáspur	...	...	...	...	3,712	...	25	...	...	...
Sialkot	50	...	...	...	...	930	...	...	...	157
Lahore	6	...	...	4	9	15	...	...	261	1,580
Gujránwála	150	...	1	...	3	...	...	...	6	88
Firozpur	40	13	...	...	147	345	42	...	1,354	810
Ráwalpindi	97	...	3	...	...	45	26	...	118	10
Jhelum	5	2	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	835
Gujrát	51	...	...	...	...	246	...	...	...	1
Shahpur	36	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	2
Multan	162	...	5	2	1	19	57	...	...	37
Jhang	29	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	57
Montgomery	4	...	...	...	...	386	...	...	68	705
Muzaffargarh	2	...	1	...	...	25	...	...	...	132
British Territory	**5,983**	**2,515**	**2,138**	**8,957**	**11,141**	**3,519**	**5,916**	**16**	**1,858**	**6,355**
Patiála	204	18	2,296	199	32	1,494	7,818	6,550	...	212
Nábha	49	46	24	551	6	113	4,144	...	...	31
Kapurthala	3	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jind	...	20	1	956	707	22	131	...	...	175
Faridkot	...	...	1	2	...	8	...	...	12	40
Maler Kotla	...	...	...	7	...	572	466	...	...	3
Kalsia	25	3	...	8	...	31	106	...	...	...
Total East. Plains	281	198	2,345	1,946	908	2,250	12,665	6,550	12	476
Baháwalpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	129
Total Hill States	2	...	97	...	...	1	80	...	...	66
British Territory	**5,983**	**2,515**	**2,138**	**8,957**	**11,141**	**3,519**	**5,916**	**16**	**1,858**	**6,355**
Native States	**283**	**198**	**2,442**	**1,946**	**908**	**2,251**	**12,745**	**6,550**	**12**	**671**
Province	**6,266**	**2,713**	**4,580**	**10,903**	**12,049**	**5,770**	**18,661**	**6,566**	**1,870**	**7,026**

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

The Rawat (No. 5).—The Ráwat has been returned as a Jat tribe, as a Rájpút tribe, and as a separate caste. I have shown the three sets of figures side by side in Abstract No. 79. The Ráwat is found in the sub-montane districts, and down the whole length of the Jamna valley. It is very difficult to separate these people from the Ráthis of the Kángra hills; indeed they would appear to occupy much the same position in the sub-montane as the Ráthis or even the Kanets do in the higher ranges. They are admittedly a clan of Chandel Rájpúts; but they are the lowest clan who are recognised as of Rájpút stock, and barely if at all admitted to communion with the other Rájpúts, while under no circumstances would even a Ráthi marry a Ráwat woman. They practise widow-marriage as a matter of course. There can, I think, be little doubt that the Chandel are of aboriginal stock, and probably the same as the Chandál of the hills of whom we hear so much; and it is not impossible that these men became Chanáls where they were conquered and despised outcasts, and Rájpúts where they enjoyed political power. The Ráwat is probably akin to the Ráo sub-division of the Kanets, whom again it is most difficult to separate from the Ráthis; and the Chandel Rájpúts also have a Ráo section. In Dehli 1,075 persons have shown themselves as Ráwat Gaure, and are included also under Gaurwa, the next heading.

446. The Rajput tribes of the Eastern Plains continued. The Gaurwa (No. 6) and Gaur.—I am not at all sure that these figures do not include some Gaur as well as Gaurwa Rájpúts (see the last sentence *supra*) for the name was often spelt Gaura in the papers. The Gaur are that one of the 36 royal families to which belonged the Rájpút Kings of Bengal. They are found in the central Jamna-Ganges *doáb* and are fully described by Elliott and Sherring. In our tables we have 1,790 Rájpúts returned as Gaur, mostly in Dehli and Gurgáon, and they are not shown in the Abstract. Gaurwa would seem to be applied generally to any Rájpúts who have lost rank by the practice of *karewa*. In Dehli however they form a distinct clan, both they and the Chauhán practising widow-marriage, but the two being looked upon as separate tribes. They are described by Mr. Maconachie as "especially noisy and quarrelsome, but sturdy in build, and clannish in disposition," while the Dehli Chauhán are said to be "the best Rájpút cultivators in the district, and otherwise decent and orderly."

The Bargujar (No. 7).—The Bargújar are one of the 36 royal families, and the only one except the Gahlot which claims descent from Láwa son of Rám Chandra. The connection between the Mandahár and Bargújar has already been noticed under the head Mandahár. They are of course of Solar race. Their old capital was Rájor, the ruins of which are still to be seen in the south of Alwar, and they held much of Alwar and the neighbouring parts of Jaipur till dispossessed by the Kachwáha. Their head-quarters are now at Anúpshahr on the Ganges, but there is still a colony of them in Gurgáon on the Alwar border. Curiously enough, the Gurgáon Bargújar say that they came from Jálandhar about the middle of the 15th century; and it is certain that they are not very old holders of their present capital of Sohna, as the buildings of the Kambohs who held it before them are still to be seen there and are of comparatively recent date. Our figures for Gurgáon are certainly very far below the truth.

The Jadu (No. 8).—The Jádu or Jádúbansi are of Lunar race, and are called by Tod "the most illustrious of all the tribes of "Ind." But the name has been almost overshadowed by Bhatti, the title of their dominant branch in modern times. Only 4,580 persons have returned themselves as Jádu, and those chiefly in Dehli and the south of Patiála.

The Jatu (No. 9).—The Játu are said to be a Túnwar clan who once held almost the whole of Hissár, and are still most numerous in that district and the neighbouring portions of Rohtak and Jínd. In fact the Túnwar of Hariána are said to have been divided into three clans named after and descended from three brothers, Játu, Raghu and Satraula, of which clans Játu was by far the largest and most important, and once ruled from Bhiwáni to Agroha. They are the hereditary enemies of the Punwar of Rohtak, and at length the sandhills of Mahm were fixed upon as the boundary between them, and are still known as *Játu Punwár ka daula* or the Játu-Punwár boundary. Of the Karnál Játu 500 have returned themselves as Chauhán also, and are included under both heads.

The Bagri (No. 10).—The word Bágri is applied to any Hindu Rájpút or Jat from the Bágar or prairies of Bíkáner, which lie to the south and west of Sirsa and Hissár. They are most numerous in the latter district, but are found also in some numbers under the heading of Jat in Siálkot and Patiála. The Gurdáspur Bágri are Salahria who have shown themselves also as Bágar or Bhágar by clan, and probably have no connection with the Bágri of Hissár and its neighbourhood. Or it may be that the word is a misreading for Nágri, who claim to be Chauhán Rájpúts who migrated from Dehli in the time of Ala-ud-dín Ghori, and who hold 17 villages in the Siálkot district. These last are certainly Jats, not Rájpúts. The Bágri Rájpúts are probably Bhatti, or possibly Ráhtor. The Godára and Púniya are probably the Ját tribes that are most numerous in the Bágar.

The Rangar.—Rángar is a term, somewhat contemptuous, applied in the eastern and south-eastern districts to *any* Musalmán Rájpút; and I only notice it here because the Rángar are often, though wrongly, held to be a Rájpút tribe. I am told, however, that in Fírozpur and Gurdáspur there are small Rájpút colonies known only by this name; and if so it is probable that they have migrated from the Dehli territory. If a Hindu Chauhán Rájpút became Musalmán to-morrow, he would still be called a Chauhán Rájpút by both himself and his neighbours of both religions. But his Hindu brethren would also call him Rángar, which he would resent as only slightly less abusive than *chotikat*, a term of contempt applied to those who have, on conversion to Islám, cut off the *choti* or Hindu scalplock. The Rángar or Musalmán Rájpúts bear the worst possible reputation for turbulence and cattle-stealing, and gave much trouble in the mutiny. Many proverbs concerning them are quoted under the head of Gújar. Here is another—"A Rángar is best in a wineshop, or in a prison, or on horseback, or in a deep pit." I believe that in Central India the term Rángar is applied to any uncouth fellow [1].

The Baria (No. 11).—The Baria of Jálandhar are said to be Solar Rájpúts, descended from Rája Karan of the Mahábhárat. Their ancestor Mal (!) came from Jal Káhra in Patiála about 500 years ago. Those of Siálkot, where they are found in small numbers, but considered to be Jats, not Rájpúts, say they are of Lunar Rájpút descent. The tribe is practically confined to Patiála and Nábha, and the name of the ancestor Mal, if common to the tribe, looks as if they were not Rájpúts at all, though it is unusual in the Sikh States for Jats to claim the title of Rájpút. I have no further information regarding the tribe. There are Barhaiya Rájpúts in the Azimgarh and Gházípur neighbourhood.

The Atiras (No. 12).—This tribe is returned from Patiála only. I cannot find it mentioned in any of the authorities.

The Naipal (No. 13).—The Naipál are a clan of the great Bhatti tribe, who are found on the Satluj above Fírozpur. They once held the river valley as far down as that town, but were driven higher up by the Dogars, and in their turn expelled the Gújars. Mr. Brandreth says of them:—"They resemble very much in their habits the Dogars and Gújars, and are probably greater thieves "than either. They appear almost independent under the Ahlúwália rulers, and to have paid a small rent in kind only when the "Kárdár was strong enough to compel them to it, which was not often the case. They have lost more of their Hindu origin than "either the Dogars or Gújars, and in their marriage connections they follow the Muhammadan law, near blood relations being per-"mitted to enter into the marriage compact." All the Naipál have returned themselves as Bhatti as well, and it is possible that many of them have shown Bhatti only as their tribe, and are therefore not returned under the head Naipál.

The Rathor (No. 14).—The Ráthor are one of the 36 royal races, and Solar Rájpúts. Their old seat was Kanauj, but their more modern dynasties are to be found in Márwár and Bíkáner. They are returned from many districts in the Panjáb, but are nowhere numerous.

447. The Rajputs of the Western Plains.—The next group of Rájpút tribes that I shall discuss are those of the great Western Plains. I have already said much regarding the position of the Rájpút in this

[1] Mr. Wilson notes that he has heard Rángar applied to Hindu Rájpúts. This is, I think, unusual. The word is often spelt and pronounced Ránghar.

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

part of the Panjáb, and the difficulty of drawing any line between him and the Jat of the neighbourhood. Here the great Rájpút tribes have spread up the river valleys as conquerors. Traditionally averse from manual labour and looking upon the touch of the plough handle as especially degrading, they have been wont to content themselves with holding the country as dominant tribes, pasturing their great herds in the broad grazing grounds of the west, fighting a good deal and plundering more, and leaving agriculture to the Aráín, the Mahtam, the Kamboh, and such small folk. The old tradition is not forgotten; but the rule of the Sikh, if it afforded ample opportunity for fighting, destroyed much of their influence, and the order and equal justice which have accompanied British rule have compelled all but the most wealthy to turn their attention, still in a half-hearted sort of way, to agriculture.

Abstract No. 80 on the next page shows the distribution of these tribes. They are roughly arranged according to locality. First come the royal races of Punwár and Bhatti, who have held between them from time immemorial the country of the lower Satluj and the deserts of Western Rájpútána. They are the parent stocks whence most of the other tribes have sprung, though as they have moved up the river valleys into the Panjáb plains they have taken local tribal names which have almost superseded those of the original race. Thus the figures for all these tribes are more or less imperfect, some having returned the local and some the original tribe only, while others have shown both and are entered in both sets of figures. Next to these races follow the Wattu, Joya, Khíchi, and Dhúdhi, who hold the Satluj valley somewhat in that order. They are followed by the Hiráj and Siál of the Chanáb and lower Jahlam, and these again by the tribes of the upper Jahlam and the Sháhpur *bár*. Of these last the Ránjha, Gondal, and Mekan would probably not be recognised as Rájpúts by their neighbours the Tiwána, Janjúa, and the like. Last of all come five tribes who have already been considered under Jats. From what has already been said as to the confusion between Jat and Rájpút in these parts, it might be expected that many of these people will have been returned as Jats; and in such cases the figures are shown side by side. But in the case of at any rate the Bhatti and Punwár, it does not follow that these men are not Jats; for in many instances they have given their Jat tribe, and added to it the Rájpút tribe from which they have a tradition of origin.

448. Rajput tribes of the Western Plains. The Punwar (No. 1).—The Punwár or Pramara was once the most important of all the Agnikula Rájpúts. "The world is the Pramara's" is an ancient saying denoting their extensive sway; and the *Nau kot Márústhali*, extending along and below the Satluj from the Indus almost to the Jamna, signified the *máru asthal* or arid territory occupied by them, and the nine divisions of which it consisted. But many centuries have passed since they were driven from their possessions, and in 1826 they held in independent sway only the small State of Dhát in the desert. It will be seen from the Abstract that the Punwár are found in considerable numbers up the whole course of the Satluj and along the lower Indus, though in the Deraját all and in the Multán division many of them are shown as Jats. They have also spread up the Beás into Jálandhar and Gurdáspur. There is also a very large colony of them in Rohtak and Hissár and on the confines of those districts; indeed they once held the whole of the Rohtak, Dádri, and Gohána country, and their quarrels with the Játu Túnwar of Hissár have been noticed under the head *Játu*.

The Bhatti (No. 2).—Bhatti, the Panjáb form of the Rájputáná word Bháti, is the title of the great modern representatives of the ancient Jádúbansi royal Rájpút family, descendants of Krishna and therefore of Lunar race. Their traditions tell that they were in very early times driven across the Indus; but that returning, they dispossessed the Langáh, Joya, and others of the country south of the lower Satluj some seven centuries ago, and founded Jaisalmer. This State they still hold, though their territory has been greatly circumscribed since the advent of the Ráthor; but they still form a large proportion ofthe Rájpút subjects of the Ráthor Rájas of Bíkáner. At one time their possessions in those parts included the whole of Sirsa and the adjoining portions of Hissár, and the tract is still known as Bhattiána. The story current in Hissár is that Bhatti, the leader under whom the Bhattis recrossed the Indus, had two sons Dusal and Jaisal, of whom the latter founded Jaisalmer while the former settled in Bhattiána. From Dusal sprang the Sidhu and Barár Jat tribes (see section 436), while his grandson Rájpál was the ancestor of the Wattu. (But see further, section 449 *infra*). According to General Cunningham the Bhattis originally held the Salt-range Tract and Kashmír, their capital being Gajnipur, or the site of the modern Ráwalpindi; but about the second century before Christ they were driven across the Jahlam by the Indo-Scythians, and their leader, the Rája Rasálu of Panjáb tradition, founded Siálkot. The invaders however followed them up and dispersed them, and drove them to take refuge in the country south of the Satluj, though their rule in the Kashmír valley remained unbroken till 1339 A.D.

The Bhatti is still by far the largest and most widely distributed of the Rájpút tribes of the Panjáb. It is found in immense numbers all along the lower Satluj and Indus, though on the former often and on the latter always classed as Jat. It is hardly less numerous on the Chanáb, the upper Satluj, and the Beás, it is naturally strong in Bhattiána, there is a large colony in the Dehli district, while it is perhaps most numerous of all in the seats of its ancient power, in Siálkot, Gújrát and the Salt-range country. And if we reckon as Bhatti the Sidhu and Barár Jats of the Málwa, who are admittedly of Bhatti origin, we shall leave no portion of the Panjáb proper in which a large Bhatti population is not to be found. Many of those returned as Bhatti are also returned as belonging to other tribes, but these form a wholly insignificant fraction of the whole; and the only large numbers appearing twice over appear to be the 1,100 Naipál of Fírozpur already alluded to, 2,000 Bhatti Túnwar (*sic*) in Ráwalpindi, 2,400 Khokhar and 1,600 Kharral in Baháwalpur, and 1,700 Kashmíri Jats in Gújránwála. In this last case the word is probably Bhat, a great Kashmír tribe, and not Bhatti. But if the Bhatti formerly held Kashmír, it is not impossible that the two words are really identical. Perhaps also Bhatti has in many cases been given as their tribe by Jats or low-class Rájpúts, or even by men of inferior castes who returned themselves as Jats or Rájpúts for their own greater exaltation. But if this be so, it only shows how widespread is the fame of the Bhatti within the Panjáb. Almost every menial or artisan caste has a Bhatti clan, and it is often the most numerous of all, ranking with or above the Khokhar in this respect.

Yet it is strange, if the Bhatti did hold so large a portion of the Panjáb as General Cunningham alleges, how almost universally they trace their origin to Bhatner in Bhattiána, or at least to its neighbourhood. Either they were expelled wholly from the upper Panjáb and have since returned to their ancient seats, or else the glory of their later has overshadowed that of their earlier dynasties, and Bhatner and Bhattiána have become the city and country of the Bhatti from which all good Bhatti trace their origin. The subject population of Bíkáner is largely composed of Bhatti, while Jaisalmer is a Bhatti State; and it seems impossible that if the Bhatti of the higher Satluj are immigrants and not the descendants of the residue of the old Bhatti who escaped expulsion, they should not have come largely from both these States, and moreover should not have followed the river valleys in their advance. Yet the tradition almost always skips all intermediate steps, and carries us straight back to that ancient city of Bhatner on the banks of the long dry Ghaggar, in the Bíkáner territory bordering on Sirsa. The Wattu Bhatti of Montgomery, while tracing their origin from Rája Salváhan, the father of Rája Rásalu of Siálkot, say that their more immediate ancestors came from Bhatner; the Nún Bhatti of Multán trace their origin to the Dehli country; while the Bhatti of Muzaffargarh, Jhang, Gujránwála, Siálkot, Jahlam, and Pindi, all look to Bhatner as the home of their ancestors. It is probable either that Bhatner is used merely as a traditional expression, or that when the Ghaggar dried up or the Ráthor conquered Bíkáner, the Bhatti were driven to find new homes in the plains of the Panjáb. Indeed Mr. Wilson tells me that in Sirsa, or the old Bhattiána, the term Bhatti is commonly applied to any Musalmán Jat or Rájpút from the direction of the Satluj, as a generic term almost synonymous with Ráth or Pachháda.

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

Abstract No. 80, *showing the* Rajput Tribes *of the* Western Plains.

RAJPUTS OF THE WESTERN PLAINS.

	1		2		3		4		5		6		7
	Punwár.		Bhatti.		Wattu.		Joya.		Khichi.		Dhúdhi.		
	Rájpút.	Jat.	Rájpút.	Jat.	Rájpút.	Jat.	Rájpút.	Jat.	Rájpút.	Jat.	Rájpút.	Jat.	Hiráj.
Dehli	566	79	5,935	100	...	...	...	...	5,100	...	3	4	...
Gurgaon	1,236	862	118	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	145	...
Karnal	1,795	43	466	107	...	...	...	...	3	...	3	17	...
Hissar	4,301	362	3,775	214	401	...	1,533	100	46	3	36	626	...
Rohtak	11,789	329	292	14	...	...	...	...	2	2	...	162	...
Sirsa	5,571	122	7,232	126	3,786	24	5,439	55	147	16	450	544	...
Ambala	829	114	2,179	649	...	...	142	...	...	...	8	2	...
Ludhiana	267	10	2,038	1,004	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	8	...
Jalandhar	2,043	87	3,027	367	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	348	...
Hushyarpur	237	...	3,767	43	...	...	...	...	...	...	308	...	...
Kangra	...	...	55	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Amritsar	71	653	10,610	205	...	...	...	...	5	...	112	...	...
Gurdaspur	426	2,287	9,749	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	129	...	...
Sialkot	137	117	12,375	3,677	...	...	...	205	...	13	...	99	...
Lahore	1,598	311	15,854	10,287	86	739	1,284	390	489	518	1,063	710	...
Gujranwala	94	538	9,477	7,722	5	312	10	995	40	432	...	561	...
Firozpur	3,587	716	12,372	590	1,509	704	4,174	782	421	36	299	264	...
Rawalpindi	7,174	814	30,304	2,056	...	...	43	49	...	...	489	27	...
Jhelam	646	524	10,430	6,241	...	...	...	...	2	74	...	733	...
Gujrat	125	145	2,022	9,926	...	7	4	54	6	...	3	1,524	...
Shahpur	1,008	71	13,476	396	134	43	2,195	516	514	57	593	426	...
Multan	4,995	2,563	14,890	9,682	100	...	5,059	473	2,573	54	1,356	1,875	3,885
Jhang	490	284	17,392	2,874	246	107	670	1,532	983	483	1,090	1,578	345
Montgomery	2,083	726	12,600	3,528	11,190	454	4,397	2,165	2,363	373	1,507	1,349	28
Muzaffargarh	363	1,561	2,878	6,988	27	110	343	1,333	22	44	180	505	...
Derah Ismail Khan	193	1,317	76	13,767	...	167	...	1,788	...	877	...	605	...
Derah Ghazi Khan	262	1,919	23	12,971	...	13	8	1,421	3	355	...	66	...
Bannu	4	405	780	1,057	...	283	...	479	...	...	...	136	...
British Territory	**53,151**	**16,959**	**204,569**	**94,665**	**17,484**	**2,963**	**25,301**	**12,338**	**12,724**	**3,337**	**7,649**	**12,315**	**4,258**
Patiala	867	864	3,035	587	95	...	170	...	...	...	...	502	...
Nabha	3	...	676	1	1	...	35	...	—	...	...	...	...
Kapurthala	141	...	10,632	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	30	...	...
Jind	1,065	...	485	...	—	...	5	...	—	...	...	...	...
Faridkot	380	19	1,282	3	46	241	346	...	2	...	35	89	...
Total East. Plains	2,836	887	16,323	619	155	241	569	...	2	...	65	599	...
Bahawalpur	4,433	...	21,657	569	3,442	3	4,684	...	606	254	48	479	...
Total Hill States	582	...	282	5	107	...	9	...	...	...	...	9	...
British Territory	53,151	16,959	204,569	94,665	17,484	2,963	25,301	12,338	12,724	3,337	7,649	12,315	4,258
Native States	7,853	887	38,262	1,103	3,704	244	5,262	...	608	254	113	1,087	...
Province	61,004	17,846	242,831	95,858	21,188	3,207	30,563	12,338	13,332	3,591	7,762	13,402	4,258

	8		9		10		11		12	13	14	15	16	17
	Siál.		Ránjha.		Gondal.		Mekan.							
	Rájpút.	Jat.	Rájpút.	Jat.	Rájpút.	Jat.	Rájpút.	Jat.	Tiwána.	Chhádhar.	Virk.	Bhutta.	Langáh.	Súmra.
Dehli	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gurgaon	5	2	...	...	...	23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Karnal	2	1	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hissar	51	1	...	...	2	1,437	...	...	...	...	2	...	1	...
Rohtak	6	4	...	...	2	2,714	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...
Sirsa	246	13	1	...	2	3	30	...	...	...	4	31	12	11
Ambala	28	76	...	...	...	8	...	...	89	...	...	...	...	76
Ludhiana	35	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	7	...	...
Jalandhar	...	31	...	...	...	24	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...
Hushyarpur	...	333	...	...	5,301	203	...	...	...	...	...	691	...	...
Kangra	1,593	...	...	...	17,154	1,661	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Amritsar	...	221	...	...	82	65	...	...	9	...	...	241	91	6
Gurdaspur	5	137	11	230	...	443	...	...	...	...	...	...	936	...
Sialkot	7	719	...	...	11	1,791	...	67	...	...	...	98	1	...
Lahore	193	1,243	16	53	18	859	...	101	6	4	2	159	196	16
Gujranwala	349	433	102	1,166	60	3,953	...	12	—	333	6,871	...	...	7
Firozpur	367	285	...	14	51	161	2	52	12	...	2	57	25	1
Rawalpindi	828	141	14	8	139	611	24	...	1	...	...	...	464	...
Jhelam	576	256	103	1,601	69	6,354	30	1,125	8	131	...	11	284	...
Gujrat	78	1,091	...	6,924	...	24,825	...	918	...	...	...	...	2	...
Shahpur	2,403	71	6,789	258	19,272	305	5,181	160	3,202	1,877	66	162	20	...
Multan	23,037	560	152	143	26	196	352	19	45	638	28	169	96	88
Jhang	36,374	437	151	162	868	649	99	220	18	13,390	64	3,231	41	1
Montgomery	6,684	1,202	115	1	100	122	62	...	23	61	79	20	174	5
Muzaffargarh	2,520	2,453	10	168	...	155	39	119	...	...	...	3	1	5
Derah Ismail Khan	571	4,648	21	161	6	388	...	65	...	...	...	...	4	2
Derah Ghazi Khan	706	2,536	...	9	24	53	...	131	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bannu	207	189	...	5	13	48	149	168	37	1	...	...	...	...
British Territory	**76,957**	**17,093**	**7,490**	**10,903**	**43,220**	**47,276**	**5,968**	**3,157**	**3,598**	**16,435**	**7,118**	**4,891**	**2,348**	**218**
Patiala	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	194	...	1,564
Nabha	4	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	199
Kapurthala	10	269	...	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jind	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	23
Faridkot	91	4	...	22	3	46	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	301
Total East. Plains	113	273	...	49	6	86	...	...	9	...	...	194	1	2,101
Bahawalpur	133	...	...	...	4	107	...	...	...	1,311	...	...	...	...
Total Hill States	10	...	...	4	...	132	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
British Territory	76,957	17,093	7,490	10,003	43,220	47,276	5,968	3,157	3,508	16,435	7,118	4,891	2,348	218
Native States	256	273	...	53	10	325	...	...	9	1,311	...	104	1	2,101
Province	77,213	17,366	7,490	10,956	43,230	47,601	5,968	3,157	3,607	17,746	7,118	5,085	2,349	2,316

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

In Multán the Nún, a Bhatti clan, are the dominant tribe in the Shújábád *tahsil*, where they settled some four or five hundred years ago. The Mittru Bhatti of Multán came from Bíkáner. The Bhatti of Montgomery are probably Wattu and Khíchi who will be described presently. The Bhatti of Jhang hold a considerable tract called Bhattiora in the Chiniot uplands north of the Chanáb. They came first from Bhatner to the right bank of the Jahlam near the Sháhpur border, and thence to Bhattiora. They are described as "a fine race of men, industrious agriculturists, hardly at all in debt, good horse-breeders, and "very fond of sport. They do very little cattle-lifting, but are much addicted to carrying off each other's wives." The Bhatti of the Gújránwála *bár*, where they are the "natural enemies of the Virk," are descended from one Dhír who eighteen generations ago left Bhatner, and settled in the Núr Mahal jungles as a grazier and freebooter. His grandson went further on to the banks of the Rávi, and his son again moved up into the uplands of Gújránwála. The modern descendants of these men are described as "a "muscular and noble-looking race of men, agriculturists more by constraint than by natural inclination, who keep numerous herds of "cattle which graze over the pasture lands of the *bár*, only plough just sufficient to grow food for their own necessities, and are "famous as cattle-lifters and notorious thieves." The Bhatti of Gújránwála enjoyed considerable political importance in former times, and they still hold 86 villages in that district. In Siálkot the Bhatti claim descent from Bhoni seventh in descent from their eponymous ancestor Bhatti, who came to Gújránwála from Bíkáner, and thence to Siálkot. None of these Bhatti of the *bár* will give their daughters to the neighbouring Jat tribes, though they will take wives from among them without scruple. In the Salt-range Tract the Bhatti seem to hold a very subordinate position as Bhatti, though it may be that some of the innumerable Rájpút tribes of those tracts may consider themselves Bhatti as well as whatever their local name may be. In Kapúrthala and Jálandhar they have lost position greatly in recent times. Till dispossessed by the Ahlúwália Sikhs, the Rais of Kapúrthala were Bhatti Rájpúts.

449. Rajput Tribes of the Satlej.—The Wattu (No. 3).—The Wattu are a Bhatti clan, of whose origin the Hissár story has been given in section 448 above. The Sirsa tradition appears to be that one Rája Júnhar, a descendant of the Bhatti Rája Salváhan of Siálkot, was settled in Bhatner, where he had two sons Achal and Batera. From the latter sprang the Sidhu and Barár Jats. The former again had two sons Jaipál and Rájpál, of whom Jaipál was the ancestor of the Bhatti proper, and Rájpál of the Wattu. The Wattu date their conversion to Islám by Bába Faríd, from the time of Khíwa who ruled at Haveli in Montgomery, and was succeeded by the famous Wattu Chief Lakhe Khán. They hold both banks of the Satluj in the Sirsa district, and the adjoining parts of Montgomery and Baháwalpur, from Baggehi 16 miles above Fázilka, to Phuláhi 70 miles below it. Above them lie the Dogars, below them the Joya. They are said to have crossed from the right bank of the river and spread into the then almost uninhabited prairies of Sirsa only some five generations ago, when Fázil Dalel Rána came from Jhang near Haveli and settled the unoccupied riverain. There is also a small section of them on the Rávi in the Montgomery district. It is not impossible that some of the Wattu have returned themselves as Bhatti simply, for some few have returned themselves under both heads. The tribe was formerly almost purely pastoral, and as turbulent and as great marauders as other pastoral tribes of the neighbourhood; and the habits of the Rávi Wattu, who gave trouble in 1857, have hardly changed. But the Satluj Wattu who possess but little jungle have taken very generally to agriculture, and Captain Elphinstone says that "some of their "estates are well cultivated, their herds have diminished, and many of them cannot now be distinguished in appearance from "peaceful Aráins or Khokhars. The change in their habits has indeed been remarkable, as they still speak with exultation of "the Kárdárs they used to kill during the Sikh rule, and the years in which they paid no revenue because the Sikhs were unable "or afraid to collect it." Mr. Purser describes the Wattu as "priding themselves upon their politeness and hospitality. They are "of only moderate industry, profuse in expenditure on special occasions, indifferent to education and exceedingly fond of cattle." He classes them however with the Káthia, Kharral, Siál, Bahníwál, Biloch and Joya as "essentially robber tribes and more or less "addicted to cattle-stealing." This I suspect simply means that these are the dominant tribes of the tract, who look upon a pastoral as higher than an agricultural life.

The Joya (No. 4) and Mahar.—The Joya is one of the 36 royal races of Rájpúts, and is described in the ancient chronicles as "Lords of the Jangal-des," a tract which comprehended Hariána, Bhattiána, Bhatner, and Nagor. They also held, in common with the Dehia with whom their name is always coupled, the banks of the Indus and Satluj near their confluence. Some seven centuries ago they were apparently driven out of the Indus tract and partly subjugated in the Bágar country by the Bhatti; and in the middle of the 16th century they were expelled from the Joya canton of Bíkáner by the Ráthor rulers for attempting to regain their independence. Tod remarks that "the Rájpúts carried fire and sword into this country, of which they made a desert. Ever "since it has remained desolate, and the very name of Joya is lost, though the vestiges of considerable towns bear testimony to a "remote antiquity." The Joya however have not disappeared. They still hold all the banks of the Satluj from the Wattu border nearly as far down as its confluence with the Indus, though the Bhatti turned them out of Kahror, and they lost their semi-independence when their possessions formed a part of the Baháwalpur State; they hold a tract in Bíkáner on the bed of the old Ghaggar just below Bhatner, their ancient seat; and they are found in no inconsiderable numbers on the middle Satluj of Lahore and Fírozpur and on the lower Indus of the Deraját and Muzaffargarh, about a third of their whole number being returned as Jats. The Multán *bár* is known to this day as the Joya *bár*. General Cunningham says that they are to be found in some numbers in the Salt-range or mountains of Júd, and identifies them with the Jodia or Yodia, the warrior class of India in Paníni's time (450 B.C.), and indeed our figures show some 2,700 Joya in Sháhpur. But Paníni's Jodia would perhaps more probably be the modern Gheba, whose original tribal name is said to be Jodra, and Gheba a mere title. The Joya of the Satluj and of Hissár trace their origin from Bhatner, and have a curious tradition current apparently from Hissár to Montgomery, to the effect that they cannot trace their Rájpút descent in the male line. The Hissár Joya make themselves descendants in the female line of Sameja, who accompanied the eponymous ancestor of the Bhatti from Mathra to Bhatner. The Montgomery Joya have it that a lineal descendant of Benjamin, Joseph's brother, came to Bíkáner, married a Rája's daughter, begot their ancestor, and then disappeared as a *faqír*. The tradition is perhaps suggested by the word *joi*, meaning "wife." The Montgomery Joya say that they left Bíkáner in the middle of the 14th century and settled in Baháwalpur, where they became allies of the Langáh dynasty of Multán, but were subjugated by the Dáúdpotra in the time of Nádir Sháh. The Multán Joya say that they went from Bíkáner to Sindh and thence to Multán. This is probably due to the fact of their old possessions on the Indus having died out of the tribal memory, and been replaced by their later holdings in Bíkáner. They are described by Captain Elphinstone as "of smaller stature than the great "Rávi tribes, and considered inferior to them in regard of the qualities in which the latter especially pride themselves, namely "bravery and skill in cattle-stealing. They possess large herds of cattle and are bad cultivators."

The Mahar are a small tribe on the Satluj opposite Fázilka, and are said to be descended from Mahar, a "brother of the Joya. "They are said to be quarrelsome, silly, thievish, fond of cattle, and to care little for agricultural pursuits."

The Khichi (No. 5).—The Khíchi are a Chauhán clan, and are said to have come originally from Ajmer, the old seat of the Chauhán power, thence to Dehli, and from Dehli to the Satluj during the Mughal rule. This is probably a mere tradition of the movement of the Chauhán centre from Ajmer to Dehli. They are found along the lower and middle Satluj, and the Rávi from Multán to Lahore, there are a few of them on the Chanáb, and there are considerable numbers of them in the Dehli district. In Montgomery they are found chiefly on the Rávi, where they used to be hand-in-glove with the Kharral, but mended their ways under the later Sikh rule, and are now peaceful husbandmen.

The Dhudhi (No. 6).—I suspect that there is some confusion in these figures, and that some of the Dúd or Dúdwál Rájpúts of the eastern sub-montane have been included with the Dhúdhi of the Satluj. The former will be described in their proper place. The latter are a small Punwár clan found with their kinsmen the Ráthor scattered along the Satluj and Chanáb. Their original seat is said to have been in the Mailsi *tahsil* of Multán, where they are mentioned as early as the first half of the 14th century. When the Dehli empire was breaking up they spread along the rivers. One of them, Háji Sher Muhammad, was a saint whose shrine in Multán is still renowned. They are said to be "fair agriculturists and respectable members of society."

450. Rajput tribes of the Chanab. The Hiraj (No. 7).—The Hiráj is a Siál clan which holds a tract on the banks of the Rávi just above its junction with the Chanáb. It is possible that some of the clan have returned themselves as Siál simply, and are therefore not represented in the figures. The Hiráj of Multán have returned themselves as Siál-Hiráj to the number of 3,380, and are shown in both columns.

The Sial (No. 8).—The Siál is politically one of the most important tribes of the Western Plains. As Mr. Steedman ob-

serves, the modern history of the Jhang district is the history of the Siál. They are a tribe of Punwár Rájpúts who rose to prominence in the first-half of the 18th century [1]. Mr. Steedman writes: "They were till then probably a pastoral tribe, but little "given to husbandry, dwelling on the banks of the river, and grazing their cattle during the end of the cold and the first months of "the hot weather in the low lands of the Chanáb, and during the rainy season in the uplands of the Jhang *bár*. The greater por-"tion of the tract now occupied by them was probably acquired during the stormy century that preceded the conquest of Hindustán "by the Mughals. During this period the country was dominated from Bhera, and sometimes from Multán. The collection of re-"venue from a nomad population inhabiting the fastnesses of the *bár* and the deserts of the *thal* could never have been easy, and "was probably seldom attempted. Left alone, the Siáls applied themselves successfully to dispossessing those that dwelt in the "land—the Nols, Bhangus, Mangans, Marrals, and other old tribes—amusing themselves at the same time with a good deal of internal "strife and quarrelling, and now and then with stiffer fighting with the Kharrals and Biloches.

"Then for 200 years there was peace in the land, and the Siáls remained quiet subjects of the Lahore Súbah, the seats of local "government being Chiniot and Shorkot. Walídád Khán died in 1747, one year before Ahmad Sháh Abdáli made his first inroad "and was defeated before Dehli. It is not well known when he succeeded to the chieftainship, but it was probably early in the "century; for a considerable time must have been taken up in the reduction of minor chiefs and the introduction of all the improve-"ments with which Walídád is credited. It was during Walídád's time that the power of the Siáls reached its zenith. The country "subject to Walídád extended from Mankhera in the Thal eastwards to Kamália on the Rávi, from the confluence of the Rávi and "Chanáb to the *iláka* of Pindi Bhattián beyond Chiniot. He was succeeded by his nephew Ináyatulla, who was little if at all inferior "to his uncle in administrative and military ability. He was engaged in constant warfare with the Bhangi Sikhs on the north, and "the chiefs of Multán to the south. His near relations, the Siál chiefs of Rashídpur, gave him constant trouble and annoyance. Once "indeed a party of forty troopers raided Jhang, and carried off the Khán prisoner. He was a captive for six months. The history "of the three succeeding chieftains is that of the growth of the power of the Bhangis and of their formidable rival the Sukarchakia "misl, destined to be soon the subjugator of both Bhangis and Siáls. Chiniot was taken in 1803, Jhang in 1806. Ahmad Khán, "the last of the Siál Kháns, regained his country shortly after in 1808, but in 1810 he was again captured by the Mahárája, who "took him to Lahore and threw him into prison. Thus ended whatever independence the Siál Kháns of Jhang had ever enjoyed."

"The Siáls are descended from Rai Shankar, a Punwár Rájpút, a resident of Dáranagar between Alláhábád and Fattahpur. "A branch of the Punwárs had previously emigrated from their native country to Jaunpur, and it was there that Rai Shankar was "born. One story has it that Rai Shankar had three sons, Seo, Teo, and Gheo, from whom have descended the Siáls of Jhang, the "Tiwánas of Sháhpur and the Ghebas of Pindi Gheb. Another tradition states that Siál was the only son of Rai Shankar, and that "the ancestors of the Tiwánas and Ghebas were only collateral relations of Shankar and Siál. On the death of Rai Shankar we are told "that great dissensions arose among the members of the family, and his son Siál emigrated during the reign of Allauddín Ghori to "the Panjáb. It was about this time that many Rájpút families emigrated from the Provinces of Hindustán to the Panjáb, including "the ancestors of the Kharrals, Tiwánas, Ghebas, Chaddhars, and Punwár Siáls. It was the fashion in those days to be converted to "the Muhammadan religion by the eloquent exhortations of the sainted Báwa Faríd of Pák Pattan; and accordingly we find that Siál in "his wanderings came to Pák Pattan, and there renounced the religion of his ancestors. The saint blessed him, and prophesied that "his son's seed should reign over the tract between the Jhelam and Chanáb rivers. This prediction was not very accurate. Báwa "Faríd died about 1264-65. Siál and his followers appear to have wandered to and fro in the Rechna and Jetch doábs for some time "before they settled down with some degree of permanency on the right bank of the Jhelam. It was during this unsettled period "that Siál married one of the women of the country, Sohág daughter of Bhai Khán Mekhan, of Saiwál in the Sháhpur district, and "is also said to have built a fort at Siálkot while a temporary resident there. At their first settlement in this district, the Siáls occu-"pied the tract of country lying between Mankhera in the *thal* and the river Jhelam, east and west, and from Khusháb on the north to "what is now the Garh Mahárája *iláka* on the south."

The political history of the Siál is very fully described in the Jhang Setttement Report from which I have made the above extract, while their family history is also discussed at pages 502 *ff* and 520 of Griffin's *Panjáb Chiefs*. The clans of the Siáls are very numerous, and are fully described by Mr. Steedman in his Jhang Report, who remarks "that it is fairly safe to assume that any tribe (in Jhang only I suppose) whose name ends in *ána* is of Siál extraction."

The head-quarters of the Siáls are the whole southern portion of the Jhang district, along the left bank of the Chanáb to its junction with the Rávi, and the riverain of the right bank of the Chanáb between the confluences of the Jahlam and Rávi. They also hold both banks of the Rávi throughout its course in the Multán and for some little distance in the Montgomery district, and are found in small numbers on the upper portion of the river. They have spread up the Jahlam into Sháhpur and Gújrát, and are found in considerable numbers in the lower Indus of the Deraját and Muzaffargarh. Who the Siáls of Kángra may be I cannot conceive. There is a Siál tribe of Ghiraths; and it is just possible that some of these men may have returned their *caste* as Siál, and so have been included among Rájpúts. Mr. Purser describes the Siál as "large in stature and of a rough disposition, fond of "cattle and caring little for agriculture. They observe Hindu ceremonies like the Kharral and Káthia, and do not keep their women "in *pardah*. They object to clothes of a brown (*úda*) colour, and to the use of brass vessels."

451. Rajput tribes of the Jahlam.—The Ranjha (No. 9).—The Ránjha are chiefly found in the eastern uplands of Sháhpur and Gújrát between the Jahlam and Chanáb, though they have in small numbers crossed both rivers into the Jahlam and Gújránwála districts. They are for the most part returned as Jats except in Sháhpur. They are however Bhatti Rájpúts; and though they are said in Gújrát to have laid claim of late years to Qureshi origin as descendants of Abú Jáhil, uncle of the Prophet, whose son died at Ghazni whence his lineage emigrated to the Keràna *bár*, yet they still retain many of their Hindu customs. They are described by Colonel Davies as "a peaceable and well-disposed section of the population, subsisting chiefly "by agriculture. In physique they resemble their neighbours the Gondals, with whom they intermarry freely." They would perhaps better have been classed as Jats.

The Gondal (No. 10).—The Gondal hold the uplands known as the Gondal *bár*, running up the centre of the tract between the Jahlam and Chanáb in the Sháhpur and Gújrát districts. They are also numerous in the riverain of the right bank of the former river in the Jahlam district, and a few have spread eastwards as far as the Rávi. They are said to be Chauhán Rájpúts, and 1,388 in Jahlam and 6,674 in Sháhpur have shown themselves as Gondal Chauhán, and appear in both *columns* in consequence. But I do not think these men have any connection *with the Gondal* whom our figures show as so numerous in Kángra and Hushyárpur. I have had the figures for these last districts examined, and there is no mistake about the name. Who the Gondal of the hills are I do not know, as I can find no mention of them; but 3,451 of the Kángra Gondal have also returned themselves as Pathiál [2]. The Gondal of the plains are probably as much Jats as Rájpúts, as they appear to intermarry with the surrounding Jat tribes. Colonel Davies writes of them: "Physically they are a fine race, owing doubtless to the free and active "life they lead and the quantities of animal food they consume; and if we except their inordinate passion for appropriating the "cattle of their neighbours, which in their estimation carries with it no moral taint, they must be pronounced free from vice." They say that their ancestor came from Naushahra in the south to Pák Pattan, and was there converted by Bába Faríd; and if this be so they probably occupied their present abodes within the last six centuries.

The Mekan (No. 11).—The Mekan are a small tribe said to be of Punwár origin, and spring from the same ancestor as the Dhúdhi already described. They occupy the Sháhpur *bár* lying to the west of the Gondal territory, and are also found in smaller numbers in Jahlam and Gújrát. They are a pastoral and somewhat turbulent tribe.

The Tiwana (No. 12).—The Tiwána hold the country at the foot of the Sháhpur Salt-range, and have played a far more prominent part in Panjáb history than their mere numbers would render probable. They are said to be Punwár Rájpúts,

[1] General Cunningham states that the Siáls are supposed to be descended from Rája Húdi, the Indo-Scythian opponent of the Bhatti Rája Rasálu of Siálkot; but I do not find this tradition mentioned elsewhere

[2] Mr. Anderson suggests that Gondal may be the name of one of the Brahminical *gotras*. This would explain the extraordinarily large numbers returned under this heading; but I cannot find a *gotra* of that name in any of the lists to which I have access. This much appears to be certain; that there is no Gondal tribe of Rájpúts in Kángra which numbers over 17,000 souls.

and descended from the same ancestor as the Siál and Gheba (see Siál *supra*). They probably entered the Panjáb together with the Siál, and certainly before the close of the 15th century. They first settled at Jahángír on the Indus, but eventually moved to their present abodes in the Sháhpur *thal*, where they built their chief town of Mitha Tiwána. The subsequent history of the family is narrated at pages 519 to 534 of Griffin's *Panjáb Chiefs* and at pages 40*ff* of Colonel Davies' Sháhpur Report. The Tiwána resisted the advancing forces of the Sikhs long after the rest of the district had fallen before it. They are now "a half pastoral, "half agricultural tribe, and a fine hardy race of men who make good soldiers, though their good qualities are sadly marred by a "remarkably quarrelsome disposition, which is a source of never-ending trouble to themselves and all with whom they are brought "in contact."

452. **The Rajputs of the Western Hills.**—I have already described the position occupied by Rájpúts in the Salt-range Tract. The dominant tribes, such as the Janjúa, have retained their pride of lineage and their Rájpút title. But many of the minor tribes, although probably of Rájpút descent, have almost ceased to be known as Rájpúts, and are not unfrequently classed as Jat. Especially the tribes of the Hazára, Murree, and Kahúta hills, though almost certainly Rájpúts, are, like the tribes of the Chibhál and Jammu hills, probably of very impure blood. The tribes of the Salt-range Tract are exceedingly interesting, partly because so little is known about them. The names of many of them end in *ál*, which almost always denotes that the name is taken from their place of origin[1]; and a little careful local enquiry would probably throw much light on their migrations. The great Janjúa tribe appears to be Ráthor; and from the fact of the old Bhatti rule which lasted for so long in Kashmír, we should expect the hill tribes, most of whom come from the banks of the Jahlam, to be Bhatti also. But there is perhaps some slight ground for believing that many of them may be Punwár (see Dhúnd *infra*). If these tribes are really descendants of the original Jádúbansi Rájpúts who fled to the Salt-range after the death of Krishna, they are probably, among the Aryan inhabitants of the Panjáb proper, those who have retained their original territory for the longest period, unless we except the Rájpúts of the Kángra hills. The grades and social divisions of the Hill Rájpúts are dwelt upon in the section treating of the tribes of the eastern hills. The same sort of classification prevails, though to a much less marked extent, among the western hills; but the Janjúa are probably the only one of the tribes now under consideration who can be ranked as Mián Sáhu or first-class Rájpúts. Abstract No. 81 on the next page shows the distribution of these tribes. They are divisible into three groups, roughly arranged in order from north and west to south and east. First came the tribes of the hills on the right bank of the Jahlam, then the Salt-range tribes, then those of the cis-Jahlam submontane, and last of all the Tárars who have been already discussed as Jats. I had classed as separate castes those persons who returned themselves as Dhúnds and Kahúts, under Nos. 74 and 103 in Table VIII A. But I have brought those figures into this Abstract alongside of the Dhúnds and Kahúts who returned themselves as Rájpúts.

The figures for these tribes are probably more imperfect than those for any other group of the same importance, at any rate so far as the tribes of the Salt-range are concerned. In that part of the Panjáb it has become the fashion to be Qureshi or Mughal or Awán, rather even than Rájpút; and it is certain that very many of these men have returned themselves as such. Till the detailed clan tables are published the correct figures will not be ascertainable.

453. **Rajput tribes of the Murree and Hazara Hills.—The Dhund and Satti (Nos. 1, 2).**—The Dhúnd, Satti, and Ketwál occupy nearly the whole of the lower hills on the right bank of the Jahlam in the Hazára and Ráwalpindi districts. Of the three the Dhúnd are the most northern, being found in the Abbottábád *tahsil* of Hazára and in the northern tracts of Rawálpindi, while below them come the Satti. In Hazára I have classed as Dhúnd 2,776 persons who returned themselves as Andwál, which appears to be one of the Dhúnd clans. They claim to be descendants of Abbás, the paternal uncle of the Prophet; while another tradition is that their ancestor Takht Khán came with Taimur to Dehli where he settled; and that his descendant Zoráb Khán went to Kahúta in the time of Sháh Jahán, and begat the ancestors of the Jadwál, Dhúnd, Sarrára, and Tanáoli tribes. His son Khalúra or Kulu Rai was sent to Kashmír, and married a Kashmíri woman from whom the Dhúnd are sprung, and a Ketwál woman. From another illegitimate son of his the Satti, who are the bitter enemies of the Dhúnd, are said to have sprung; but this the Satti deny and claim descent from no less a person than Nansherwán. These traditions are of course absurd. Kulu Rai is a Hindu name, and one tradition makes him brought up by a Bráhman. Major Wace writes of the Dhúnd and Karrál: "Thirty "years ago their acquaintance with the Muhammadan faith was still slight, and though they now know more of it, and are more "careful to observe it, relics of their Hindu faith are still observable in their social habits." This much appears certain, that the Dhúnd, Satti, Bib, Chibh, and many others, are all of Hindu origin, all originally occupants of the hills on this part of the Jahlam, and all probably more or less connected. I find among the Punwár clans mentioned by Tod, and supposed by him to be extinct, the Dhoonda, Soruteab, Bheeba, Dhúnd, Jeebra, and Dhoonta; and it is not impossible that these tribes may be Punwár clans.

The history of these tribes is told at pages 592 *ff* of Sir Lepel Griffin's *Panjáb Chiefs*. They were almost exterminated by the Sikhs in 1837. Colonel Cracroft considers the Dhúnd and Satti of Ráwalpindi a "treacherous, feeble, and dangerous population," and rendered especially dangerous by their close connection with the Karrál and Dhúnd of Hazára. He says that the Satti are a finer and more vigorous race and less inconstant and volatile than the Dhúnd, whose traditional enemies they are. Sir Lepel Griffin remarks that the Dhúnd "have ever been a lawless untractable race, but their courage is not equal to their disposition to do evil." On the other hand Major Wace describes both the Dhúnd and Karrál as "attached to their homes and fields, which they cultivate "simply and industriously. For the rest their character is crafty and cowardly." Both tribes broke into open rebellion in 1857, and the Dhúnd were severely chastised in Ráwalpindi, but left unpunished in Hazára. Mr. Steedman says: "The hillmen of Ráwalpindi "are not of very fine physique. They have a good deal of pride of race, but are rather squalid in appearance. The rank and file are "poor, holding but little land and depending chiefly on their cattle for a livelihood. They have a great dislike to leaving the hills, "especially in the hot weather, when they go up as high as they can, and descend into the valleys during the cold weather. They "stand high in the social scale."

The Ketwal (No. 3).—The Ketwál belong to the same group of tribes as the Dhúnd and Satti, and hold the hills to the south of the Satti country. They claim descent from Alexander the Great (!) and say that they are far older inhabitants of these hills than either the Dhúnd or Satti; but the tribe was apparently almost exterminated by the Dhúnd at some time of which the date is uncertain, and they are now few and unimportant.

The Dhanial (No. 4).—The Dhaniál also appear to belong to the group of hill tribes of the Salt-range Tract and of probable Rajpút blood which we are now discussing. It is from them that the Dhani country in the Chakwál *tahsil* of Jahlam takes its name; and there appears still to be a colony of them in those parts, though they are now chiefly found in the lower western hills of the Murree range, being separated from the Satti by the Ketwál. They claim to be descended from Ali, son-in-law of the Prophet. They are a fine martial set of men and furnish many recruits for the army, but were always a turbulent set, and most of the serious crime of the surrounding country used to be ascribed to them. Most of them have been returned as Jats.

[1] This is not so, indeed, in the case of the Gakkhars, whose clan names all end in *ál*, and are pure patronymics.

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

Abstract No. 81, *showing* Rajput Tribes *of the* Western Hills.

	RAJPUTS OF THE WESTERN HILLS.																				
	1		2	3	4		5		6	7	8		9		10	11	12	13	14	15	
	Dhúnd.				Dhaniál.		Bhakrál.				Janjúa.		Manhás.								
	Rájpút.	Dhúnd (caste No. 74.)	Satti.	Ketwál.	Rájpút.	Jat.	Rájpút.	Jat.	Kaniál.	Kahút (caste No. 103).	Rájpút.	Jat.	Rájpút.	Jat.	Chibh.	Thakar.	Salahria.	Kátil.	Raghbansi.	Tárar.	
Hissar	...	...	...	34	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	1,615	...	Hissar
Ambala	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	19	...	18	2	...	3	...	...	899	...	Ambala
Hushyárpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,944	60	3,877	90	...	21	...	...	191	...	Hushyárpur
Kángra	...	...	18	188	109	...	17	...	2	...	128	55	2,058	...	84	566	...	...	154	...	Kángra
Amritsar	...	...	27	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	516	524	20	53	422	...	...	...	Amritsar
Gurdáspur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	136	610	5,590	67	168	937	7,611	2,645	3,716	...	Gurdáspur
Siálkot	...	...	7	14	...	...	54	21	...	...	520	1,110	4,835	1,156	295	5,937	28,114	...	1,058	...	Siálkot
Lahore	...	...	38	4	7	...	20	...	...	2	202	543	444	669	20	481	1,883	...	23	...	Lahore
Gujránwála	...	...	...	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	133	1,648	1,902	1,724	84	7	39	...	8	2,822	Gujránwála
Firozpur	...	...	41	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	109	44	44	158	2	15	205	...	10	...	Firozpur
Ráwalpindi	11,729	223	1,407	1,291	4,235	6,340	4,778	1,576	3,218	62	16,236	92	12,549	143	811	9	76	...	1	...	Ráwalpindi
Jhelam	15	...	31	3	31	3,680	207	1,253	191	8,766	9,964	232	15,199	1,711	614	35	19	...	4	5	Jhelam
Gujrát	...	...	40	88	6	6	...	1,965	1,156	...	1,363	732	1,110	48	6,994	19	93	...	7	...	Gujrát
Shahpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	42	48	35	377	3,727	39	340	...	66	...	30	...	...	1,173	Shahpur
Multan	1	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	28	22	896	253	6	74	7	4	28	...	8	...	Multan
Jhang	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	1,078	366	8	...	3	2	...	...	21	70	Jhang
Muzaffargarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	153	152	966	24	...	1	...	5	...	2	...	Muzaffargarh
Derah Ismail Khan	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	3	963	773	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	Derah Ismail Khan
Bannu	3	...	45	...	...	...	3	...	2	...	475	255	21	1	29	6	18	...	8	...	Bannu
Hazara	17,548	20,085	664	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	158	1	5	...	2	6	...	...	...	...	Hazara
British Territory	**29,314**	**20,315**	**2,373**	**1,642**	**4,388**	**10,026**	**5,144**	**4,863**	**4,640**	**9,468**	**38,552**	**8,419**	**49,424**	**6,570**	**9,245**	**8,158**	**38,698**	**2,645**	**8,646**	**4,228**	**British Territory**
Total East. Plains	...	...	...	...	...	...	69	13	...	34	4	...	82	15	...	929	5	...	577	...	Total East. Plains
Baháwalpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,309	...	...	...	...	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Baháwalpur
Total Hill States	...	...	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	134	...	...	218	...	...	1,355	...	Total Hill States
British Territory	**29,314**	**20,315**	**2,373**	**1,642**	**4,388**	**10,026**	**5,144**	**4,863**	**4,640**	**9,468**	**38,552**	**8,419**	**49,424**	**6,570**	**9,245**	**8,158**	**38,698**	**2,645**	**8,646**	**4,228**	**British Territory**
Native States	...	...	**28**	...	...	...	**3,378**	**13**	...	**34**	**11**	**15**	**216**	**15**	...	**1,147**	**5**	...	**1,932**	...	**Native States**
Province	**29,314**	**20,315**	**2,401**	**1,642**	**4,388**	**10,026**	**8,522**	**4,876**	**4,640**	**9,502**	**38,563**	**8,434**	**49,640**	**6,585**	**9,245**	**9,305**	**38,703**	**2,645**	**10,578**	**4,228**	**Province**

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

The Bhakral (No. 5) and Budhal.—These are two more members of the same group of tribes, who hold considerable areas in the south-east portion of the Ráwalpindi district. The Bhakrál are also found in some numbers in Jahlam and Gújrát. I have not taken out separate figures for the Budhál. Of the Ráwalpindi Bhakrál 5,099 show themselves as Punwár also, and are included in both figures. The Budhál, like the Dhaniál, claim descent from Ali. Both these tribes probably came from the Jammu territory across the Jahlam. They do not approve of widow-marriage. Who the 3,000 odd Bhakrál returned for Baháwalpur may be I do not know; but it is improbable that they should be of the same tribe as those of the Salt-range Tract. Perhaps there has been some confusion of names.

The Alpial.—Here again I did not take out separate figures. But I find that 8,685 of the Manj Rájpúts of Ráwalpindi (see Abstract No. 82, page 250) are Alpiál of the Fatah Jhang *tahsil*. The Alpiál hold the southern corner of the Fatah Jhang *tahsil* of Ráwalpindi. They are admittedly a Rájpút tribe, and their marriage ceremonies still bear traces of their Hindu origin. They seem to have wandered through the Khusháb and Talagang country before settling in their present abodes, and if so, probably came up from the south. They are "a bold lawless set of men of fine physique and much given to violent crime."

The Kharwal.—The Kharwál, for whom I have no separate figures, claim to be a Janjúa clan and descendants of Rája Mal, and Mr. Steedman sees no reason to doubt the tradition. They occupy the hills of the eastern half of the Kahúta *tahsil* in Ráwalpindi, and are "a fine strong race, decidedly superior to the ordinary Rájpúts, and socially hold much the same position as "other Janjúas." They do not approve of widow-marriage.

The Kanial (No. 6).—The Kaniál belong, according to Mr. Steedman, to that miscellaneous body of men who call themselves Rájpúts, and hold a large portion of the south-eastern corner of the Ráwalpindi district; and are of much the same class as the Budhál and Bhakrál. They also appear to stretch along the sub-montane as far east as Gújrát.

454. The Rajput tribes of the Salt-range.—The Kahut (No. 7) and Mair.—I have classed the Kahút as a separate caste under No. 103 of Table VIII A. But they probably belong to the group we are now considering, and I therefore show them in Abstract No. 81 and discuss them here. With them I notice the Mair, for whom I have no separate figures; and with these two are commonly associated the Kasar, who will be described under the head Mughal. These three tribes occupy the Dhani country in *tahsil* Chakwál of Jahlam; the Kahút holding Kahútáni or its southern portion, the Mair the centre, and the Kasar the north. All three state that they came from the Jammu hills, joined Bábar's army, and were located by him in their present abodes which were then almost uninhabited. They seem to have been ever violent and masterful, and to have retained their independence in a singular degree. A graphic description of their character by Mr. Thomson is quoted at length under the head Mughal, to which I must refer the reader. They most probably belong to the group of Rájpút or *quasi*-Rájpút tribes who hold the hills on either bank of the Jahlam, and the Kahúta hills of Ráwalpindi now held by the Ketwál and Dhaniál, and the town of Kahúta now in the hands of the Janjúa, still bear their name. They now belong to the Salt-range and not to the Jahlam hills, but I have put them in the Abstract among the tribes with whom they are probably connected by origin. They are sometimes said to be Awán, as indeed are the Dhúnd also. Their bards claim for them Mughal origin, and it is quite possible that some of them may have returned themselves as either Awán or Mughal. Of the 8,766 Kahút returned from Jahlam, all but 293 have shown Mughal as their clan. Besides the Kahút shown under No. 103, Table VIIIA., 177 Rájpúts have returned their tribe as Kahút. The more respectable Mair call themselves Minhás, probably the same word as the well-known Manhás tribe presently to be described; and it may be that the Mair have been returned as Manhás Rájpúts.

The Jodra and Gheba.—I have no separate figures for these tribes, the only Gheba who have returned themselves as such being apparently 105, of whom 89 are in the Pesháwar division. They may have returned themselves as Mughal or some caste other than Rájpút, or as some other Rájpút tribe, or as Rájpút simply without specifying any tribe. The tradition which makes the Siál, Tiwána, and Gheba descendants of Saino, Teno, and Gheo, the three sons of Rai Shankar Punwár, has already been noticed under the head of Siál. An amended genealogy is given at page 520 of Griffin's *Panjáb Chiefs*. The Siál and Tiwána appear to admit the relationship, and, as already noticed under the head Dhúnd, it is not at all impossible that this group of Rájpút tribes may be of Punwár origin. The Gheba are said to have come to the Panjáb some time after the Siál and Tiwána, and to have settled in the wild hilly country of Fatah Jhang and Pindi Gheb in Ráwalpindi. Here they held their own against the Awáns, Gakkhars, and neighbouring tribes till Ranjít Singh subdued them. The Jodra are said to have come from Jammu, or according to another story from Hindústán, whence also Colonel Cracroft says that the Gheba traditions trace that tribe, and to have held their present tract before the Gheba settled alongside of them. They now occupy the eastern half of the Pindi Gheb, and the Gheba the western half of the Fatah Jhang tahsíl in Ráwalpindi, the two tracts marching with each other. I am informed, though unfortunately I cannot remember who was my authority, that the Gheba is really a branch of the original Jodra tribe that quarrelled with the others, and took the name of Gheba which till then had been simply a title used in the tribe; and the fact that the town of Pindi Gheb was built and is still held by the Jodra, and not by the Gheba, lends some support to the statement. The history of the Gheba family is told at pages 538 *ff* and of the Jodra family at pages 535 *ff* of Sir Lepel Griffin's *Panjáb Chiefs*. Colonel Cracroft describes the Jodra as "fine, "spirited fellows who delight in field sports, have horses and hawks, are often brawlers, and are ever ready to turn out and "fight out their grievances, formerly with swords, and now with the more humble weapons of sticks and stones." The same writer says that the Gheba are "a fine, hardy race of men, full of fire and energy, not addicted to crime, though their readi- "ness to resent insult or injury, real or imagined, or to join in hand-to-hand fights for their rights in land, and their factions "with the Jodra and Alpiál, are notorious.

The Janjua (No. 8).—The head-quarters of the Janjúa are the eastern Salt-range, but they are found in small numbers throughout the Multán and Deraját divisions, and in Hushyárpur. General Cunningham thinks that they are Aryan, and a branch of the Anuwán, Awán, or sons of Anu, and connects Janj the first syllable of their name, and Chach a tract in Ráwalpindi, with the old kings of the Hund on the Indus who are said by Masaudi to have borne the name of Chach or Jaj. Sir Lepel Griffin is inclined to think that they are a branch of the Yádúbansi Rájpúts, now chiefly represented by the Bhatti, who held Kashmír till the Mahomedan conquest of the Panjáb, and whose history has been briefly sketched under the head Bhatti; and Abu Fazl also makes them a branch of the Yádu stock. They themselves say they are descendants of Rája Mal Ráthor, who migrated about 980 A.D. either from Jodhpur or from Kanauj to the Jahlam and built Malot; and the Janjúa genealogies show a striking uniformity in only giving from 18 to 23 generations since Rája Mal. One of his sons is said to have been called Júd, the old name of the Salt-range; and Mr. Brandreth states that only the descendants of his brother Wír are now known as Janjúa. If this be so, and if the identification by General Cunningham of Bábar's Júd with the Awán be accepted, the connection of the two tribes by traditional descent from a common ancestor follows. The Janjúa once held almost the whole of the Salt-range Tract, but were gradually dispossessed by the Gakkhars in the north and by the Awáns (if they be a separate people) in the west; and they now hold only the central and eastern parts of the range as tribal territory, which is exactly what they held at the time of Bábar's invasion. They still occupy a social position in the tract which is second only to that of the Gakkhars, and are always addressed as Rája. They do not permit widow-marriage. The history of the tribe is told fully at paragraphs 50 *ff* of Brandreth's Jahlam Report, and that of its leading family at pages 602 *ff.* of the *Panjáb Chiefs*. The tribe is very fully described by Mr. Thomson in his Jahlam Report. He too makes them Ráthor Rájpúts from Jodhpur, and says they are the only undoubtedly and admittedly Rájpút tribe in Jahlam. He describes them as physically well-looking, with fine hands and feet; much given to military service, especially in the cavalry; poor agriculturists, bad men of business, and with great pride of race.

455. Rajput tribes of the Jammu border.—The Manhas (No. 9).—The Manhás or Jamwál claim Solar origin by direct descent from Rám Chandra. They say that their ancestor came from Ajudhia and conquered Jammu, and founded the city of that name. Some say that before this conquest they first settled in Siálkot; others, that they went first to Kashmír, then to Siálkot, and then to Jammu. All seem agreed that they moved into Jammu from the plains. The name Jamwál appears to have been the old name of the whole tribe, but to be now confined to the royal branch who do not engage in agriculture, and look down upon their cultivating brethren who are commonly styled Manhás. The Manhás intermarry with the Salahria and other second-class Rájpúts of the neighbourhood. They call their eldest son Rája and the younger ones Mián, and use the salutation *Jai!* They are for the

[1] Mr. Brandreth says that Major Tod comes to the same conclusion; but I have been unable to find the passage.

most part Hindus, at least in the cis-Jahlam tract. They pour water on a goat's head at *mukláwa*, and consider that his shaking his head in consequence is pleasing to their ancestors. The Manhás are found in large numbers throughout the country below the Jammu border, in Ráwalpindi, Jahlam, Siálkot, and Gurdáspur, but especially in the two first. In Siálkot 765 Manhás have returned themselves also as Bhatti, 741 as Salahria, and 775 as Raghbansi; while in Gurdáspur 2,080 are also shown as Raghbansi. So of the Jat Manhás of Gújránwála, 1,325 are Virk who have shown themselves as Manhás also. The Manhás are real husbandmen, and therefore occupy a very inferior position in the local scale of Rájpút precedence.

The Chibh (No. 10).—The Chibh claim to be descended from the Katoch Rájpúts of Kángra, at least on the female side [1]. If so, their position must once have been much higher than it now is; but the story is probably untrue. I have suggested under the head Dhúnd that the Chibh may perhaps be Punwár. Their ancestor Chib Chand is said to have left Kángra some 1,400 years ago, and have settled at Bhimbar in the Jammu hills. The first Chibh to become a Musalmán was one Súr Sadi of the time of Aurangzeb. He died a violent death and is still venerated as a martyr, and the Mahomedan Chibh offer the scalplocks of their male children at his tomb, till which ceremony the child is not considered a true Chibh, nor is the mother allowed to eat meat. Within the Panjáb the Chibh are found almost entirely in the northern portion of Gújrát under the Jammu hills. The hills above this territory are their proper home, and are attached to the State of Kashmír. The tribe has also given its name to the Chibhál, or hill country of Kashmír on the left bank of the Jahlam along the Hazára border, though I believe that they do not now occupy those hills. The Chibh is a tribe of good position; they, like the Janjúa, enjoy the title of Ràja; Saiyads and Gakkhars do not hesitate to marry their daughters; and till the Sikh rule they did not cultivate themselves. Now-a-days, however, they follow the plough. The history of the Chibh chiefs is related at page 583 of the *Panjáb Chiefs*. The Chibh are identified by some with the Sibæ of the ancients.

The Thakar (No. 11).—The Thakar Rájpúts shown in the Abstract are almost all Salahria Rájpúts of Siálkot, where 5,279 men returned themselves as Rájpút Salahria Thakar. They are shown again under the head Salahria. So 921 of the Nábha Thakar are Chauhán. The significance of the expression Thakar is discussed under the head of Rájpúts of the Eastern Hills; but Thákur is also sometimes used by the high Rájpúts of the hills as a title of dignity, and the two words are often confused.

The Salahria (No. 12).—The Salahria are Sombansi Rájpúts who trace their descent from one Raja Saigal of fabulous antiquity, and from his descendant Chandra Gupta. They say that their eponymous ancestor came from the Deccan in the time of Sultán Mamdáh as commander of a force sent to suppress the insurrection of Shúja the Khokhar, and settled at Siálkot; and that his descendants turned Musalmán in the time of Bahlol Lodi. They are for the most part Mahomedan, but still employ Bráhmans, and do not marry within the tribe. They mark the foreheads of the bride and bridegroom with goats' blood at their weddings. Their head-quarters are in the eastern portion of Siálkot, but they are also found in Gurdáspur and Lahore. The Thakar returned from Siálkot under No. 11 of the Abstract are for the most part Salahria, and have been included in the figures for both tribes; while 741 of the Siálkot Salahria show themselves as Manhás and 347 as Bhatti. In all these cases the men are shown under both headings. In Gurdáspur 3,712 of the Salahria are shown also as Bágar or Bhágar, and have been included under both Salahria and Bágri.

The Katil (No. 13).—The Kátil are a Rájpút clan in Gurdáspur, regarding whom I have no information save that they intermarry with the Salahria.

The Raghbansi (No. 14).—The Raghbansi Rájpúts are perhaps most numerous in the eastern part of the North-Western Provinces. In the Panjáb they are chiefly found in the Hill States and the sub-montane of Gurdáspur and Siálkot, though there are a few in the Jamna districts also. But the name would appear to imply little more than traditional origin. Thus of the Gurdáspur Raghbansi 2,080, and 775 of those of Siálkot, have returned themselves as Manhás also, and are shown under both headings.

456. The Rajputs of the Eastern Hills.—The last, and in many respects the most interesting group of Rájpút tribes that I have to discuss, are those of the Kángra and Simla Hills and the sub-montane tract at their foot between the Beás and the Jamna. Not only are the Hill Rájpúts probably those among all the peoples of the Pánjab who have occupied from the most remote date their present abodes, but they have also retained their independence longest. Often invaded, often defeated, the Rájas of the Kángra Hills never really became subjects of the Musalmán; and it was reserved to Ranjít Singh to annex to his dominions the most ancient principalities in Northern India. Thus the Kángra Hills are that portion of the Panjáb which is most wholly Hindu, not merely by the proportion which the number of real or nominal Hindus bears to the total population, but still more because there has never been any Musalmán domination, which should either loosen the bonds of caste by introducing among the converted people the absolute freedom of Islám in its purity, or tighten them by throwing the still Hindu population, deprived of their Rájpút rulers, more wholly into the hands of their priests. It is here then that we may expect to find caste existing most nearly in the same state as that in which the first Musalmán invaders found it when they entered the Panjáb. It is certainly here that the Bráhman and Kshatriya occupy positions most nearly resembling those assigned them by Manu.

The constitution of Rájpút society in these hills will best be explained by the following extract from Mr. Barnes' Kángra Report, and by the further extract which I shall make under the head Thakar and Ráthi. The extracts are long; but the matter is so important as bearing upon the whole question of caste, that I do not hesitate to give them. Mr. Barnes writes:—

"Any member of a royal house, whether belonging to the Dogar circle of municipalities across the Rávi, or to the Jálandhar circle "on this side of the river, is essentially Rájpút. Those also with whom they condescend to marry are included under this honourable "category. The name is assumed by many other races in the hills; but by the general feeling of the country the appellation of Rájpút is the legitimate right of those only to whom I have here restricted it.

"The descendants of all these noble houses are distinguished by the honorary title of 'Miáns.' When accosted by their inferiors "they receive the peculiar salutation of 'Jai Dya,' offered to no other caste [2]. Among themselves the same salutation is inter"changed; and as there are endless gradations even among the Miáns, the inferior first repeats the salutation and the courtesy is "usually returned. In former days great importance was attached to the Jai Dya: unauthorized assumption of the privilege was "punished as a misdemeanour by heavy fine and imprisonment. The Rája could extend the honour to high-born Rájpúts not strictly "belonging to a royal clan, such, for instance, as the Sonkla or the Manhás. Any deviation from the austere rules of the caste was "sufficient to deprive the offender of this salutation, and the loss was tantamount to excommunication. The Rájpúts delight to "recount stories of the value of this honour, and the vicissitudes endured to prevent its abuse. The Raja Dhián Singh, the Sikh "Minister, himself a Jamwál Mián, desired to extort the Jai Dya from Rája Bhír Singh, the fallen chief of Núrpur. He held "in his possession the grant of a jágír valued at R25,000, duly signed and sealed by Ranjít Singh, and delayed presenting the deed "until the Núrpur chief should hail him with this coveted salutation. But Bhír Singh was a Rája by a long line of ancestors, and "Dhián Singh was a Rája only by favour of Ranjít Singh. The hereditary chief refused to compromise his honour, and preferred "beggary to affluence rather than accord the Jai Dya to one who by the rules of the brotherhood was his inferior. The derivation

[1] They have however a wonderful story about a son of one of the kings of Persia marrying the daughter of a Rája in the Deccan, and having by her descendants, one of whom Nahar Chand (?) became king of Kángra. His son Chibh Chand became ruler of Bhimbar; hence the Chibh.

[2] Hence the word Jaikári commonly used to denote first-class Rájpúts in the hills.

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

"of the phrase is supposed to be *Jai*, victory, and *Deb*, king; being synonymous, when used together, to the national expression "of *Vive le Roi*, or 'the king for ever.'

"A Mián, to preserve his name and honour unsullied, must scrupulously observe four fundamental maxims:—*first*, he must never "drive the plough; *secondly*, he must never give his daughter in marriage to an inferior, nor marry himself much below his rank; *thirdly*, he must never accept money in exchange for the betrothal of his daughter; and *lastly*, his female household must observe strict "seclusion. The prejudice against the plough is perhaps the most inveterate of all; that step can never be recalled. The offender "at once loses the privileged salutation; he is reduced to the second grade of Rájpúts; no Mián will marry his daughter, and he must "go a step lower in the social scale to get a wife for himself. In every occupation of life he is made to feel his degraded position. In "meetings of the tribe and at marriages the Rájpúts undefiled by the plough will refuse to sit at meals with the *Hal Báh*, or plough "driver, as he is contemptuously styled; and many, to avoid the indignity of exclusion, never appear at public assemblies. This "prejudice against agriculture is as old as the Hindu religion; and I have heard various reasons given in explanation of it. Some "say it is sacrilegious to lacerate the bosom of mother-earth with an iron plough-share; others declare that the offence consists in "subjecting sacred oxen to labour. The probable reason is that the legitimate weapon of the Kshatriya, or military class, is the "sword; the plough is the insignia of a lower walk in life, and the exchange of a noble for a ruder profession is tantamount to a renunciation of the privileges of caste.

"The giving one's daughter to an inferior in caste is scarcely a more pardonable offence than agriculture. Even Ranjít Singh, in "the height of his prosperity and power, felt the force of this prejudice. The Rája of Kángra deserted his hereditary kingdom rather "than ally his sisters to Dhián Singh, himself a Mián of the Jammu stock, but not the equal of the Katoch prince. The Rájpúts "of Katgarh, in the Núrpur parganah, voluntarily set fire to their houses and immolated their female relatives to avoid the disgrace "of Ranjít Singh's alliance; and when Mián Padma, a renegade Pathánia, married his daughter to the Sikh monarch, his brethren, "undeterred by the menaces of Ranjít Singh, deprived him and his immediate connexions of the Jai Dya, and to this day refuse "to associate with his descendants. The seclusion of their women is also maintained with severe strictness. The dwellings of Rájpúts "can always be recognised by one familiar with the country. The houses are placed in isolated positons, either on the crest of "a hill which commands approaches on all sides, or on the verge of a forest sedulously preserved to form an impenetrable screen. "When natural defences do not exist, an artificial growth is promoted to afford the necessary privacy. In front of their dwellings, removed about fifty paces from the house, stands the 'mandi' or vestibule, beyond whose precincts no one unconnected with the "household can venture to intrude. A privileged stranger who has business with the master of the house may by favour occupy "the vestibule. But even this concession is jealously guarded, and only those of decent caste and respectable character are allowed "to come even as far as the 'mandi.' A remarkable instance of the extremes to which this seclusion is carried occurred under my "own experience. A Katoch's house in the Mandi territory accidentally caught fire in broad day. There was no friendly wood to "favour the escape of the women, and rather than brave the public gaze they kept their apartments and were sacrificed to a horrible "death. Those who wish to visit their parents must travel in covered palanquins, and those too poor to afford a conveyance travel "by night, taking unfrequented roads through thickets and ravines.

"It is melancholy to see with what devoted tenacity the Rájpút clings to these deep-rooted prejudices. Their emaciated looks "and coarse clothes attest the vicissitudes they have undergone to maintain their fancied purity. In the quantity of waste land which "abounds in the hills, a ready livelihood is offered to those who will cultivate the soil for their daily bread; but this alternative "involves a forfeiture of their dearest rights, and they would rather follow any precarious pursuit than submit to the disgrace. Some "lounge away their time on the tops of the mountains, spreading nets for the capture of hawks; many a day they watch in vain "subsisting on berries and on game accidentally entangled in their nets; at last when fortune grants them success they despatch the "prize to their friends below, who tame and instruct the bird for the purpose of sale. Others will stay at home, and pass their time "in sporting either with a hawk, or, if they can afford it, with a gun; one Rájpút beats the bushes, and the other carries the hawk "ready to be sprung after any quarry that rises to the view. At the close of the day, if they have been successful, they exchange "the game for a little meal, and thus prolong existence over another span. The marksman armed with a gun will sit up for wild pigs "returning from the fields, and in the same manner barter their flesh for other necessaries of life. However, the prospect of starvation has already driven many to take the plough, and the number of seceders daily increases. Our administration, though just "and liberal, has a levelling tendency; service is no longer to be procured, and to many the stern alternative has arrived of taking "to agriculture and securing comparative comfort, or enduring the pangs of hunger and death. So long as any resource remains the "fatal step will be postponed, but it is easy to foresee that the struggle cannot be long protracted; necessity is a hard task-master, and sooner or later the pressure of want will eventually overcome the scruples of the most bigoted.

"Next to the royal clans in social importance are those races with whom they are connected by marriage. The honour of the "alliance draws them also within the exclusive circle. It is not easy to indicate the line which separates the Rájpúts from the clans "immediately below him, and known in the hills by the appellation of Ráthi; the Mián would restrict the term (Rájpút) to those of "royal descent; the Ráthi naturally seeks a broader definition, so as to include his own pretensions. Altogether, I am inclined to think "that the limit I have fixed will be admitted to be just, and those only are legitimately entitled to rank as Rájpúts who are themselves "the members of a royal clan, or are connected in marriage with them. Among these (second-class) tribes the most eminent are the "Manhás, Juriál, and Sonkla Rájpúts. The two former are indeed branches of the Jammuwál clan, to which they are considered "but little inferior. They occasionally receive the salutation of Jai Dya, and very few of them engage in agriculture. Another "class of Rájpúts who enjoy great distinction in the hills are the descendants of ancient petty chiefs or Ránas, whose title and tenure "generally preceded even the Rájas themselves. These petty chiefs have long since been dispossessed, and their holdings absorbed "in the larger principalities which I have enumerated. Still the name of Rána is retained, and their alliance is eagerly desired by "the Miáns. All these tribes affect most of the customs of Rájpúts. They select secluded spots for their dwellings, immure their "women, are very particular with whom they marry or betroth in marriage, but have generally taken to agriculture. In this particular consists their chief distinction from the Miáns."

On this Mr. Lyall notes that there are now-a-days not many even of the better Rájpút families who do not themselves do every kind of field work other than ploughing. He also points out that the Rájpúts of the second grade might more properly be called Thakars of the first grade. For the absence of any definite line of demarcation between Rájpút and Thakar, see the extracts quoted under the head Thakar (section 459). Finally I may state that throughout the Hill States, the Rájpúts of proximate descent from ruling chiefs entered themselves in the present Census as Kshatriyas, to distinguish themselves from mere Rájpúts. I have taken the two figures together. The Rájpúts of the sub-montane of Hushyárpur, Jálandhar, and Ambála differ little if at all from those of the Eastern Plains who have already been described. The following Kángra proverbs illustrate Mr. Barnes' description of the Hill Rájpúts: "It is bad "to deal with a Rájpút; sometimes you get double value, and sometimes nothing at all:" and "A Rájpút's "wedding is like a fire of maize stalks; great rolling of drums, and very little to eat."

Abstract No. 82 on the next page gives the figures for the several tribes roughly grouped by locality, those of the higher hills coming first, then those of Hushyárpur, and then those of Jálandhar and Ambála. Many of these are mere local clans named after their principal seats. It is probable that all these royal families sprang from a common stock, but all traces of what that stock was seem to be lost in obscurity. Unfortunately the Settlement Reports give little or no information regarding these tribes or clans; while Mr. Coldstream's report, from which I had hoped for much information, is wholly silent on the subject. The figures for tribal divisions of the Rájpúts of the Hill States appear to be exceedingly imperfect. Indeed the divisions themselves do not seem to be very clearly marked. Mr. Barnes writes:—

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

"Each class comprises numerous sub-divisions. As the family increased, individuals left the court to settle on some estate in "the country, and their descendants, though still retaining the generic appellation of the race, are further distinguished by the name "of the estate with which they are more immediately identified. Sometimes, though not so frequently, the designation of the "ancestor furnishes a surname for his posterity. Thus among the Patháníás or Núrpur Míáns there are twenty-two recognised sub-"divisions; the Golerias are distributed into thirteen distinct tribes; the Katoch clan has four grand divisions, each of which "includes other subordinate denominations. A Rájpút interrogated by one who he thinks will understand these refined distinctions, "will give the name, not of his clan but of his patronymic. To a stranger he gives no detail, but ranges himself under the general "appellation of Kshatriya or Rájpút."

Abstract No. 82, *showing the* Rajput tribes of the Eastern Hills.

	RAJPUTS OF THE EASTERN HILLS.															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14		15
														Manj.		
	Katoch.	Goleria.	Dharwál.	Chandel.	Pathiál.	Patbánia.	Jaswál.	Dúdwal.	Laddu.	Kilchi.	Khoja.	Náru.	Ghorewáha.	Rájpút.	Jat.	Táoni.
Ambala	1	...	...	29	4	10	24	...	81	...	...	945	2,351	38	...	12,982
Ludhiana	...	...	...	10	4	..	10	2	20	...	...	2,020	4,254	5,680	...	...
Jalandhar	...	...	...	292	214	...	766	190	37	...	...	4,628	8,848	5,754	...	113
Hushyarpur	5	...	...	81	291	6,601	4,113	7,028	6,596	6,346	5,819	8,787	2,716	1,645	...	63
Kangra	3,038	3,035	7,368	26	6,070	3,466	2,289	1,166	405	...	...	3	...	...	...	...
Amritsar	1	...	...	4	...	...	...	12	...	...	...	805	32	1,170	58	...
Gurdaspur	...	...	...	17	7	...	161	38	...	...	...	1,565	...	1,151	1,599	...
Sialkot	...	...	...	...	37	...	...	155	...	...	...	6.2	62	266	81	...
Lahore	1	...	...	3	4	17	4	35	...	...	...	1,260	146	103	557	...
Firozpur	...	...	...	42	...	...	5	2	2	314	...	611	58	1,488	43	35
Rawalpindi	43	...	...	5	302	619	25	6	...	...	...	311	2	8,930	...	...
British Territory	**3,121**	**3,037**	**7,368**	**690**	**7,101**	**10,777**	**7,423**	**8,706**	**7,144**	**6,754**	**5,819**	**22,107**	**18,493**	**26,309**	**2,654**	**13,284**
Patiala	...	...	...	148	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	362	886	653	...	6,092
Nabha	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	126	266	...	...	210
Kapurthala	...	...	...	...	...	...	34	...	...	...	...	930	...	1,628	...	...
Maler Kotla	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	157	395	...	7
Kalsia	...	...	...	4	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	5	86	...	...	1,001
Total East. Plains	...	...	...	155	4	1	47	...	...	3	...	1,493	1,443	2,676	1	7,310
Mandi	133	...	...	...	412	154	51	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bilaspur	...	37	...	3,000	24	67	3	...	...	...	...	...	45	...	...	6
Total Hill States	632	37	...	3,377	440	378	58	14	...	...	...	1	45	...	...	8
British Territory	**3,121**	**3,037**	**7,368**	**690**	**7,101**	**10,777**	**7,423**	**8,706**	**7,144**	**6,754**	**5,819**	**22,107**	**18,493**	**26,309**	**2,654**	**13,284**
Native States	**632**	**37**	**...**	**3,532**	**444**	**379**	**105**	**14**	**...**	**3**		**1,562**	**1,488**	**2,676**	**1**	**7,318**
Province	**3,753**	**3,074**	**7,368**	**4,222**	**7,545**	**11,156**	**7,528**	**8,720**	**7,144**	**6,757**	**5,819**	**23,669**	**19,981**	**28,985**	**2,655**	**20,602**

457. **Rajput tribes of the Eastern Hills.—The Katoch, Goleria, and Dharwal (Nos. 1, 2, 3).**—The Katoch is the family of the Kángra dynasty, a dynasty which dates from certainly some centuries before Christ, whose tree shows an unbroken line of four hundred and seventy kings, and whose kingdom once included the whole of the Hushyárpur and Jálandhar districts. The ancient name of the kingdom is said to have been Katoch. Sir Lepel Griffin writes thus of the Katoch of Kángra, and the neighbouring Hill Rájas:—

"Antecedent to what are called historic times, conjecture must take the place of truth; but it is not difficult to imagine that "those long genealogies, by the side of which the noblest names of Europe seem but as of yesterday, contain some semblance of "the truth. These quiet mountain valleys, guarded by difficult passes, by ice and by snow, lay altogether out of the path of the "invading armies which, one after another, in quick succession, poured down upon the plains of Hindustán from the north-west. "Here a peaceful race, with no ambition urging them to try their strength against their neighbours, and with little wealth to "tempt invasion, may have quietly lived for thousands of years, and their royal dynasties may have been already ancient when "Moses was leading the Israelites out of Egypt, and the Greeks were steering their swift ships to Troy."

Their pride is expressed in the following proverb:—"In the house of the Katoch the workman gets coarse flour, and the flat-"terer fine rice." The Katoch claim to form a third section of the great Rájpút stock, Súrajbansi and Chandrabansi being the other two. They say they are descended from an ancestor called Bhúmi who was formed from the sweat on Bhágvatí's forehead; and as *bhúmia* means earth, it may be that their division completes the triplet of the Sun, the Moon, and the Earth-born races.

The Goleria are the ruling family of Goler, and a branch of the Katoch stock; the Dharwál I cannot identify. Some of the Kángra Ráthor have returned their clan as Dharwál.

The Chandel and Pathial (Nos. 4, 5).—The Chandel are one of the 36 royal races, and are fully described in Elliott's *Races of the N. W. Provinces*. It is not impossible that they are the same stock as the Chandál, outcasts where subjects, Rájpúts where dominant. They are returned chiefly from the Native State of Bilaspur. It would be interesting to know how this lowest of all the Rájpút races finds a place among the Simla States, and whether the ruling family of Bilaspur is Chandel. The Pathiál appears to be among the most distinguished of the second class Rájpúts, and might, according to Mr. Lyall, more properly be classed as first-class Thakars. In Kángra 3,451 persons have entered themselves as Gondal Pathiál, and are shown under both headings.

The Pathania (No. 6).—This is the tribe to which the ruling family of Núrpur in Kángra belonged, and is said to take its name from Pathánkot in Gurdáspur, "the first possession which the family occupied on their emigration to this neighbourhood from Hindústán;" though in this case it would seem more probable that they gave their name to the town. I have however received a tradition, though not from good authority, that the Pathánia Rájpúts only occupied Pathánkot some five or six centuries ago. They are chiefly found in the Hushyárpur and Kángra districts. They are said to be of the same stock as the Katoch.

The Jaswal (No. 7.)—The Jaswál are the ancient ruling family of the Jaswán *dún* in the low hills of Hushyárpur. They are nearly allied with the Katoch house of Kángra.

The Dudwal (No. 8).—The Dúdwál are the ancient ruling family of Dutárpur, and are said to take their name from Dáda in Kángra on the Hushyárpur border. The Ránas of the Bít Mánaswál or tableland of the Hushyárpur Siwáliks were Dúdwál Rájpúts, and the clan still holds the tract. They are chiefly found in Hushyárpur.

The Laddu, Kilchi, and Khoja (Nos. 9, 10, 11).—The Kilchi is said to be a clan of the Manj Rájpúts, which see further on;

but the Hushyárpur Kilchi have returned their second sub-division as follows: Bhatti, 240; Chauhán, 255; Ghorewáha, 134; Laddu, 905; Manj, 127; Náru, 1,279; Patbánia, 86. Of the Khoja 2,278 have shown themselves as Janjúa and 1,189 as Náru. Of the Laddu 905 have shown themselves as Kilchi also. All these are confined almost entirely to Hushyárpur, and are probably local clans.

The Naru (No. 12).—The Náru are with the exception perhaps of the Manj, the most widely spread of the Hill Rájpúts; but their head-quarters are the districts of Jálandhar and Hushyárpur. The Náru would appear to differ in their accounts of their own origin. Those of Hushyárpur, many or most of whom are still Hindu, and those of the adjoining northern portions of Jálandhar say that they are Chandrabansi and came from the hills; while those of the east of Jálandhar about Philaur, who are all Musalmáns, say their ancestor was a Raghbansi Rájpút who came from Ajudhia, entered the service of Shahab-ul-dín Ghori, and eventually settled near Philaur. A third story makes the common ancestor a son of a Rája of Jaipur or Jodhpur, who was converted in the time of Mahmúd Ghaznavi, and settled at Bajwára in Hushyárpur. The Náru held the Hariána tract on the Jálandhar and Hushyárpur border till the Sikhs dispossessed them. The original settlement of the Jálandhar Náru was Mau, a name which, as Mr. Barkley points out, suggests an origin from eastern Hindústán or Central India. Of the Hushyárpur Náru 1,279 have also shown themselves as Kilchi, 556 as Manhás, and 903 as Gondal.

The Ghorewaha (No. 13).—The head-quarters of the Ghorewáha are the Jálandhar district, of which they occupy the eastern corner, and are found in small numbers in all the adjoining districts. To the west of them are the Manj, and to the north of them the Náru. They are almost all Musalmán. They are Kachwáha Rájpúts, descendants of Kash the second son of Ráma. They say that Rája Mán, sixth in descent from Kash, had two sons Kachwáha and Hawáha, and that they are of the lineage of Hawáha. The two brothers met Shaháb-ul-dín Ghori (!) with an offering of a horse, and received in return as large a territory as they could ride round in a day; hence their name. The division of their country took place while they were yet Hindus, so that their settlement in their present tract was probably an early one. The Ráhon Ghorewáha, who are still Hindus, would seem to have immigrated more lately than the rest of the tribe, as they trace their origin from Jaipur, and their genealogists still live in Kota and Bundi in Rájpútána. Mr. Barkley is disposed to put the Ghorewáha conquest of their present territory at some five centuries ago. In the time of Akbar their possessions would seem to have been more extensive than they are now.

The Manj (No. 14)[1].—The Manj are the most widely distributed of all the sub-montane Rájpúts, if our figures are to be accepted as correct. They hold the south-western portion of the Jálandhar and the north-western portion of the Lúdhiána district, and are to be found in all the adjoining districts and states. There are also some 9,000 of them shown in the Pindi district. These last are the Alpiál of that district who have returned themselves as Manj Alpiál; but whether they are of the same stock as the Manj of Lúdhiána and Jálandhar, I cannot say. The Manj say that they are Bhatti Rájpúts, and descended from Rája Salváhan, father of Rája Rasálu of Siálkot. Some 600 years ago Shekh Cháchu and Shekh Kilchi, two Manj Rájpúts, are said to have settled at Hatur in the south-west of Lúdhiána, whence their descendants spread into the neighbouring country; and the Jálandhar traditions refer their conquest of the tract to the time of Ala-ul-dín Khilji. As however they state that Shekh Cháchu was converted by Makhdúm Sháh Jahánia of Uchh, who died in 1383 A.D., it would appear that if the tradition has any foundation, Ala-ul-dín Saiyad must be meant. After the dissolution of the Dehli Empire the Manj Rais of Talwandi and Raikot ruled over a very extensive territory south of the Satluj, till dispossessed of it by the Ahlúwália Sikhs and Ranjít Singh; and even earlier than this the Manj Nawábs of Kot Isa Khán had attained considerable importance under the Emperors. North of the Satluj the Manj never succeeded in establishing a principality; but they held a large tract of country in the south-west of the Jálandhar district about Talwan, Nakodar, and Malsián, and held much of it in *jágír* under the Mughals, but were dispossessed by Tára Singh Gheba and the Sindhánwála Sikhs. The Manj are now all Musalmán, though many were still Hindu after the time of Shekh Cháchu. Their genealogists live in Patiála, as do those of the Bhatti of Jálandhar. In the *Ayín-i-Akbari* the Manj are wrongly shown as Main, a title which is said to belong properly to the Ghorewáha of Lúdhiána.

The Taon (No. 15).—The Táoni are also Bhatti and descendants of Rája Salváhan, whose grandson Rai Tán is their eponymous ancestor. One of his descendants, Rai Amba, is said to have built Ambála. They occupy the low hills and sub-montane in the north of Ambála district including the Kalsia State, and some of the adjoining Patiála territory. They are said to have occupied their present abode for 1,800 years.

CASTES ALLIED TO THE RAJPUTS.

458. The Thakar, Rathi, and Rawat (Caste Nos. 60, 39, and 82).—The figures for these castes are given in Abstract No. 71 on page 219. The Ráwat has already been described in section 445. The Thakar (or, as I believe it more properly should be, Thakkar) and Ráthi, are the lower classes of Hill Rájpúts who, though they are admittedly Rájpúts and give their daughters to Rájpúts who are styled by that title, do not reach the standard defined in section 456 which would entitle them to be *called* Rájpút, but are on the other hand above the Ráwat. The line between Rájpút and Thakar is defined, so far as it is capable of definition, in the following section. The line between Thakar and Ráthi may be roughly said to consist in the fact that Ráthis do and Thakars do not ordinarily practise widow-marriage; though the term Ráthi is commonly applied by Rájpúts of the ruling houses to all below them. Again the line between Ráthi and Kanet is exceedingly difficult to draw; in fact in Chamba Ráthi and Kanet are considered identical and are said to eat and marry together, and it is said that Ráthi is in Chamba and Jammu only another name for the same people who are called Kanet in Kúlu and Kángra. Thus no Kanets but numerous Ráthis are returned from Chamba. On the other hand, no other of the Hill States returns either Thakars or Ráthis, having probably included the former with Rájpúts and the latter with Kanets. Even Mr. Lyall says: "Our Kángra term Ráthi is a rough word to apply to any but the lowest class;" and speaking of Kúlu, he says: "The children of a Bráhman or Rájpút by a Kanet wife are called Bráhmans "and Rájpúts, the term Ráthi being often added as a qualification by any one who himself pretends to "unmixed blood."

459. Mr. Barnes writes thus of the distinction between Thakar and Ráthi:—

"The Ráthis are essentially an agricultural class, and prevail throughout the Núrpur and Naddon parganahs. The Ráthis "and the Ghiraths constitute the two great cultivating tribes in these hills; and it is a remarkable fact that in all level and irrigated "tracts, wherever the soil is fertile and produce exuberant, the Ghiraths abound; while in the poorer uplands, where the crops are "scanty and the soil demands severe labour to compensate the husbandmen, the Ráthis predominate. It is as rare to find a Ráthi in "the valleys as to meet a Ghi-ath in the more secluded hills. Each class holds possession of its peculiar domain, and the different habits "and associations created by the different localities have impressed upon each caste a peculiar physiognomy and character. The Ráthis generally are a robust and handsome race; their features are regular and well-defined; the colour usually fair; and their limbs "athletic, as if exercised and invigorated by the stubborn soil upon which their lot is thrown. On the other hand, the Ghirath is dark "and coarse featured; his body is stunted and sickly; goitre is fearfully prevalent among his race; and the reflection occurs to the "mind that, however teeming and prolific the soil, however favourable to vegetable life, the air and climate are not equally adapted "to the development of the human frame.

[1] For the greater part of the description of the Rájpúts of the Jálandhar district, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Barkley, who has given me access to a most valuable collection of MS. notes made when he was Deputy Commissioner of that district.

Part III.—The Jat, Rajput, and Allied Castes.

"The Ráthis are attentive and careful agriculturists. Their women take little or no part in the labours of the field. In origin "they belong neither to the Kshatriya nor to the Súdra class, but are apparently an amalgamation of both. Their ranks are being "constantly increased by defections from the Rájpúts, and by illegitimate connections. The offspring of a Rájpút father by a "Súdra mother would be styled a Ráthi, and accepted as such by the brotherhood. The sects of the Ráthis are innumerable; no "one could render a true and faithful catalogue of them. They are as numerous as the villages they inhabit, from which indeed "their distinguishing names are generally derived. A Ráthi is cognizant only of the sects which immediately surround him. They "form a society quite sufficient for his few wants, and he has little idea of the extent and ramifications of his tribe. The higher sects "of the Ráthis are generally styled Thakars. They are affronted at being called Ráthis, although they do not affect to be Rájpúts. "The best families among the Thakars give their daughters in marriage to the least eligible of the Rájpúts, and thus an affinity is "established between these two great tribes. The Ráthis generally assume the thread of caste. They avoid wine, and are extremely "temperate and frugal in their habits. They take money for their daughters, or exchange them,—a practice reprobated by the Shás-"tras and not countenanced by the highest castes. On the death of an elder brother the widow lives with the next brother, or, if "she leaves his household, he is entitled to recover her value from the husband she selects. Altogether, the Ráthis are the best hill "subjects we possess;—their manners are simple, quiet, and unaffected; they are devoted to agriculture, not unacquainted with the "use of arms; honest, manly, industrious and loyal."

Here he makes Thakars first class Ráthis. Mr Lyall on the other hand seems inclined to class Thakars as second or third class Rájpúts. Speaking of the caste tables which he appends to his reports, in which he classes the Hindu population under the heads of first grade Bráhman; second grade Bráhman; first grade Rájpút; second grade Rájpút; Khatris, Mahájans, Kirárs, &c.; first grade Súdras, Thakars, Ráthis, &c.; second grade Súdras; he writes:—

"The Rájpút clans of the second grade might more properly be called first grade Thakars: among the most distinguished and "numerous of them are the Habrols, the Pathiáls, the Dhatwáls, the Indaurias, the Nángles, the Gumbaris, the Ránes, the "Baniáls, the Ranáts, the Mailes. They marry their daughters to the Miáns, and take daughters in marriage from the Ráthis. "In the statements most of the Thakars have been entered as second class Rájpúts, and a few as first class Súdras. Most of the "Thakars entered in this last class might more properly have been classed as Ráthis. The Núrpur Thakars are all no better than "Ráthis. A Thakar, if asked in what way he is better than a Ráthi, will say that his own manners and social customs, particularly "in respect of selling daughters, marrying brother's widow, &c., are more like those of the Mián class than those of the Ráthis "are. The best line of distinction however is the marriage connection; the Mián will marry a Thakar's daughter, but not a "Ráthi's. The Ráthi's daughter marries a Thakar, and her daughter can then marry a Mián. No one calls himself a Ráthi, or "likes to be addressed as one. The term is understood to convey some degree of slight or insult; the distinction between Thakar "and Ráthi is however very loose. A rich man of a Ráthi family, like Shib Diál Chaudhri of Chetru, marries his daughter to "an impoverished Rája, and his whole clan gets a kind of step and becomes Thakar Rájpút. So again a Rája out riding falls in love "with a Pathiál girl herding cattle, and marries her, whereupon the whole clan begins to give its daughters to Miáns. The whole "thing reminds one of the struggles of families to rise in society in England, except that the numbers interested in the struggle are "greater here, as a man cannot separate himself entirely from his clan, and must take it up with him or stay where he is, and except "that the tactics or rules of the game are here stricter and more formal, and the movement much slower."

And the quotation from the same report given on page 221 may be referred to. The Ráthi does not seem to be a favourite in Kángra. Here are two proverbs about him: "The Ráthi in the stocks, the barley in "the mill;" and "A Ráthi, a goat, a devotee, and a widow woman; all need to be kept weak, for if strong "they will do mischief."

Of the Thakars of Kángra 2,273 have shown their tribe as Phúl, and 4,304 as Jarautia. In Gurdáspur 1,007 are shown as Pangláña and 294 as Balotra. Some 6,000 altogether show Kásib as their clan, which is probably only their Brahminical gotra. Among the Ráthis of Kángra there are 1.078 Balotra, 1,716 Barhái, 3,029 Chángra, 1,879 Dharwál, 1,632 Gurdwál, 1,113 Goital, 1,101 Mangwál, 518 Phawál, and 1,774 Rákor. In Chamba there are 2,350 Chophal. Altogether 15,000 show themselves as Kásib. There is a local saying that there are as many clans of Ráthis as there are different kinds of grass.

459a. The Dhund and Kahut (Caste Nos. 74 and 103).—These have been already discussed together with the Rájpúts of the Western Hills in sections 453, 454.

PART IV.—MINOR LAND-OWNING AND AGRICULTURAL CASTES.

460. Introductory and General.—I have roughly grouped the tribes and castes which I propose to discuss in this part of the present chapter under three heads, Minor Dominant Tribes, Minor Agricultural and Pastoral Tribes, and Foreign Races. The figures for each group will be found prefixed to the detailed discussion of the castes which compose it. No very definite line can be drawn between the several groups; but the general idea of the classification has been to include in the first such tribes or castes as, while not of sufficient magnitude or general importance to rank with the four great races which have been discussed in the two preceding parts of the chapter, yet occupy a social position somewhat similar to theirs, and either are or have been within recent times politically dominant in their tribal territories. In the second group I have included those cultivating tribes who, while forming a very large and important element in the agricultural section of the population, occupy a subject or subordinate position, and have not, at least within recent times, risen to political prominence. The third group includes that miscellaneous assortment of persons who bear titles, such as Shekh or Mughal, which purport to denote foreign origin. Many, perhaps most of them, are really of Indian origin, and many of them are neither agriculturists nor land-owners. But no general grouping of castes in the Panjáb can hope to be exact; and this appeared to be the most convenient place in which to discuss them. The tribes discussed in this part of the chapter complete the essentially land-owning or agricultural tribes of the Panjáb. The Bráhmans and Saiyads cultivate largely, while the mercantile classes own large areas; but they will be more conveniently dealt with under a separate head in the next part of the chapter.

MINOR DOMINANT TRIBES.

461. Minor dominant tribes.—The tribes or castes which I have included in Abstract No. 83 on the next page, are those which are, like the Jats and Rájpúts, dominant in parts of the Panjáb, but are not so numerous or so widely spread as to rank with those great races. Indeed many of them are probably tribes rather than castes or races; though in some cases their origin has been forgotten, while in others an obviously false origin has been invented. They are divided into four groups, the Karrál, Gakkhar, Awán, and Khattar of the Salt-range Tract, the Khokhar, Kharral, and Dáúdpotra of the Western Plains, and the Dogar, Ror, Taga, Meo, and Khánzádah of the Eastern Plains; while the Gújar, who is more widely distributed than the rest, comes last by himself. With the Western Plains group are included the Káthia, Háns, and Khagga, for whom I have no separate figures: indeed it will be apparent from a perusal of the following paragraphs that the figures for all these minor castes in the western half of the Province are exceedingly imperfect. Not only are the lax use of the word Jat and the ill-defined nature of the line separating Jats from Rájpúts already alluded to sources of great confusion, but many of these tribes have set up claims to an origin which shall connect them with the founder of the Mahomedan religion, or with some of the great Mahomedan conquerors. Thus we find many of them returned or classed as Shekh, Mughal, or what not; and the figures of the Abstract alone are exceedingly misleading. I have in each case endeavoured to separate the numbers thus returned, and to include them under their proper caste headings; and it is the figures thus given in the text, and not those of the tables, that should be referred to. Even these are not complete, for till we have the full detail of clans we cannot complete the classification.

The ethnic grouping of the tribes discussed in this section is a subject which I had hoped to examine, but which lack of time compels me to pass by unnoticed. I will only note how the tendency on the frontier and throughout the Salt-range Tract is to claim Arab, or Mughal, and in the rest of the Province to claim Rájpút origin. The two groups of tribes which occupy the mountain country of the Salt-range and the great plateaus of the Western Plains are the most interesting sections of the Panjáb land-owning classes, need the most careful examination, and would reward it with the richest return.

462. The Karral (Caste No. 101).—The Karráls are returned for Hazára only; and I have no information concerning them save what Major Wace gives in his Settlement Report of that district. He writes: "The Karrál country consists of the Nára *iláqah* in the Abbottábád *tahsil*. The Karráls were "formerly the subjects of the Gakkhars, from whom they emancipated themselves some two centuries ago. "Originally Hindus, their conversion to Islám is of comparatively modern date. Thirty years ago "their acquaintance with the Mahomedan faith was still slight; and though they now know more of it, "and are more careful to observe it, relics of their former Hindu faith are still observable in their social "habits. They are attached to their homes and their fields, which they cultivate simply and industriously. "For the rest, their character is crafty and cowardly." Major Wace further notes that the Karráls are "identical in origin and character with the Dhúnds." This would make the Karráls one of the Rájpút tribes of the hills lying along the left bank of the Jahlam; and I have been informed by a native officer that they claim Rájpút origin. They are said too to have recently set up a claim to Kayáni Mughal origin, in common with the Gakkhars; or, as a variety, that their ancestor came from Kayán, but was a descendant of Alexander the Great! But the strangest story of all is that a queen of the great Rája Rasálu of Panjáb folklore had by a paramour of the scavenger class four sons, Seo, Teo, Gheo, and Karu, from whom are respectively descended the Siáls, Tiwánas, Ghebas, and Karráls. They intermarry with Gakkhars, Saiyads, and Dhúnds.

Part IV.—Minor Land-owning and Agricultural Castes.

Abstract No. 83, *showing the* Minor Dominant Tribes *for* Districts and States.

	MINOR DOMINANT TRIBES — FIGURES													PROPORTION PER 1,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION																
	101	68	12	162	58	77	79	46	55	86	34	123	8	101	68	12	162		58	77	79		46	55	86	34	123		8	
	Karral.	Gakkhar.	Awán.	Khattar.	Khokhar.	Kharral.	Dáúdpotra.	Dogar.	Ror.	Taga.	Meo.	Khánzádah.	Gújar.	Karral.	Gakkhar.	Awán.	Khattar.	TOTAL.	Khokhar.	Kharral.	Dáúdpotra.	TOTAL.	Dogar.	Ror.	Taga.	Meo.	Khánzádah.	TOTAL.	Gújar.	GRAND TOTAL.
Dehli	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	48	666	9,954	9,567	64	25,836	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	15	15	...	31	40	71
Gurgaon	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	149	103,678	3,671	20,955	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	161	6	167	33	200
Karnál	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	1,960	34,094	4,162	351	1	21,898	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	55	7	1	...	66	35	101
Hissar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,723	...	...	449	...	8,426	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	1	...	10	17	27
Rohtak	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	213	...	36	234	...	3,032	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	5
Sirsa	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	236	...	...	219	...	750	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	2	3	5
Ambala	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,417	4,861	4	889	7	51,077	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	1	...	5	48	53
Ludhiána	...	...	3,312	...	...	...	...	2,214	26	...	9	...	30,759	...	...	5	...	5	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	4	50	59
Jalandhar	...	...	9,420	...	...	...	...	4,079	...	...	...	...	18,394	...	...	12	...	12	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	5	23	40
Hushyárpur	...	...	9,771	...	...	...	...	4,073	...	...	...	...	68,302	...	...	11	...	11	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	5	76	92
Kangra	...	...	88	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	8,460	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	12
Amritsar	...	...	1,383	...	9	...	...	4,057	...	...	...	...	4,168	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	5	5	12
Gurdáspur	...	...	153	...	...	...	...	1,853	...	...	...	...	43,571	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	53	54
Siálkot	...	...	19,753	...	...	...	...	2,006	...	...	...	...	11,642	...	...	19	...	19	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	11	32
Lahore	...	...	2,470	...	...	70	...	6,733	...	...	...	4	7,079	...	...	3	...	3	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	7	8	18
Gujránwála	...	...	569	...	...	...	...	566	...	...	...	...	1,986	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	3	5
Firozpur	...	...	60	...	...	...	...	14,443	...	...	...	...	12,013	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	...	...	...	...	22	19	41
Ráwalpindi	119	10,667	124,834	...	438	4	1	6	...	...	...	...	25,403	...	13	152	...	165	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	31	197
Jahlam	...	9,920	92,856	...	1,745	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	18,924	...	17	158	...	175	3	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	32	210
Gujrát	...	75	13,029	...	393	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	93,442	...	...	19	...	19	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	136	156
Shahpur	...	114	48,485	...	10,265	1	...	7	...	...	...	...	886	...	...	115	...	115	24	...	...	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	141
Multan	...	...	2,399	235	7,696	2,492	1,315	186	...	...	3	5	604	...	...	4	...	4	14	5	2	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	26
Jhang	...	...	1,496	...	11,239	489	1	1	...	...	...	...	238	...	...	4	...	4	28	1	...	29	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	34
Montgomery	...	14	515	7	2,866	15,643	27	358	...	...	...	...	365	...	...	1	...	1	7	37	...	44	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	47
Muzaffargarh	...	65	626	...	951	112	108	6	...	...	...	...	63	...	...	2	...	2	3	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
Derah Ismail Khan	...	6	825	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	77	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Derah Ghazi Khan	...	5	286	...	...	...	99	...	...	...	...	...	37	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Bannu	...	50	20,908	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	...	...	63	...	63	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	63
Peshâwar	6	242	97,445	399	191	27	...	148	...	...	...	3	13,514	...	...	164	1	165	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	23	188
Hazara	10,288	4,613	65,606	600	302	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	60,948	25	11	161	1	198	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	150	349
Kohát	...	18	16,163	4	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	206	...	...	89	...	89	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	90
British Territory	**10,413**	**25,789**	**532,457**	**1,245**	**36,126**	**18,839**	**1,551**	**40,338**	**39,647**	**14,305**	**115,399**	**3,755**	**553,417**	**1**	**1**	**28**	...	**30**	**2**	**1**	...	**3**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**6**	...	**12**	**29**	**74**
Patiála	...	...	14	...	11	...	...	8,475	36	...	62	1	35,359	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	6	24	30
Nábha	...	...	7	...	...	6	...	185	...	...	374	1	5,456	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	2	21	23
Kapurthala	...	...	412	...	...	...	...	3,815	...	...	...	...	5,805	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	15	...	...	...	...	15	23	40
Jínd	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	189	1,048	...	6	...	1,740	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	4	...	...	...	5	7	12
Farídkot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,009	...	...	335	...	645	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	4	...	14	7	21
Maler Kotla	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	75	...	...	...	...	2,376	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	33	34
Kalsia	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	347	...	...	25	...	4,491	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	5	66	71
Total East. Plains	...	...	438	...	11	6	...	14,095	1,084	...	828	2	56,086	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	6	22	28
Baháwalpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	16,612	4	...	...	...	...	456	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	29	29	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	30
Mandi	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,259	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	9
Chamba	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	907	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	8
Náhan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,445	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	22
Biláspur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,083	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	36	36
Nálagarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8,952	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	168	168
Total Hill States	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	17,445	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	23	23
British Territory	10,413	25,789	532,457	1,245	36,126	18,839	1,551	40,338	39,647	14,305	115,009	3,755	553,317	1	1	28	...	30	2	1	...	3	3	2	1	6	...	12	29	74
Native States	...	...	438	...	11	6	16,612	14,097	1,084	...	828	2	73,087	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	4	...	...	...	...	4	19	27
Province	10,413	25,789	532,855	1,245	16,137	18,845	18,163	63,437	40,731	14,305	116226	3,757	627,304	...	1	23	...	24	2	1	1	4	3	2	1	5	...	11	18	67

Part IV.—Minor Land-owning and Agricultural Castes.

463. The Gakkhar (Caste No. 68).—The Gakkhars are the ancient rulers of the northern portion of the cis-Indus Salt-range Tract, just as are the Awáns and Janjúas of the southern portion of the same tract; and it appears probable that they at one time overran Kashmír, even if they did not found a dynasty there. Their own story is that they are descended from Kaigohar of the Kayáni family then reigning in Ispahán; that they conquered Kashmír and Tibet and ruled those countries for many generations, but were eventually driven back to Kábul, whence they entered the Panjáb in company with Mahmúd Ghaznavi early in the 11th century. This last is certainly untrue, for Ferishtah relates that in 1008 Mahmúd was attacked by a Gakkhar army in the neighbourhood of Peshávar. Sir Lepel Griffin thinks that they were emigrants from Khorásán who settled in the Panjáb not later than 300 A.D., and points out that, like the Persians and unlike the other tribes of the neighbourhood, they are still Shíahs. It is at any rate certain that they held their present possessions long before the Mahomedan invasion of India. Ferishtah writes of them during Muhammad Ghori's invasion in 1206 A.D.:—

"During the residence of Muhammad Ghori at Lahore on this occasion, the Gakkhars who inhabit the country along the banks "of the Níláb up to the foot of the mountains of Siwálik, exercised unheard of cruelties on the Muhammadans and cut off the "communication between the provinces of Pesháwar and Multán. These Gakkhars were a race of wild barbarians, without either "religion or morality. It was a custom among them as soon as a female child was born, to carry her to the door of the house and "there proclaim aloud, holding the child in one hand and a knife in the other, that any person who wanted a wife might take her "otherwise she was immediately to be put to death. By this means they had more men than women which occasioned the custom of "having several husbands to one wife. When this wife was visited by one of her husbands she left a mark at the door, which being "observed by any of the other husbands, he withdrew till the signal was taken away. This barbarous people continued to make "incursions on the Muhammadans till in the latter end of this king's reign their chieftain was converted to the true faith while "a captive. A great part of these mountaineers, having very little notion of any religion, were easily induced to adopt the tenets "of the true faith; at the same time most of the infidels who inhabited the mountains between Ghazni and the Indus were also "converted, some by force and others by persuasion, and at the present day (1609 A.D.) they continue to profess the faith of Islám." *Briggs' Ferishtah, i. 183 f.*

The Gakkhars however did not hesitate to assassinate Muhammad Ghori on his return from Lahore.

General Cunningham identifies the Gakkhars with the Gargaridæ of Dionysius, and holds them to be descendants of the great Yueti or Takhari Scythians of the Abár tribe, who moved from Hyrkania to Abryán on the Jahlam under either Darius Hystaspes (circa 500 B.C.), or still earlier under one of the Scytho-Parthian Kings. The whole origin and early history of the tribe will be found discussed at pages 22 to 33, Vol. II. of the Archæological Reports, and at pages 574 to 581 of Griffin's *Panjáb Chiefs;* while much information as to their early history is given in Brandreth's Settlement Report of the Jahlam district. As Mr. Thomson says: "The Turanian origin of the Gakkhars is highly probable; but the rest of the "theory is merely a plausible surmise. On the whole there seems little use in going beyond the sober "narrative of Ferishtah, who represents the Gakkhars as a brave and savage race, living mostly in the hills, "with little or no religion, and much given to polyandry and infanticide." They have now, in apparent imitation of the Awáns, set up a claim to Mughal origin; and many of the Ráwalpindi Gakkhars returned themselves as Mughals, while I am told that some of the Gakkhars of Chakwál entered themselves as Rájpúts.

464. At present the Gakkhars are practically confined to the Ráwalpindi, Jahlam, and Hazára districts, where they are found all along the plateaus at the foot of the lower Himálayas, from the Jahlam to Harípur in Hazára. To the figures given in Table VIII A should be added 1,543 persons who returned themselves in Ráwalpindi as Mughal Gakkhar, and perhaps 4,549 others who returned themselves as Mughal Kayáni, of whom 3,861 were in Ráwalpindi, 592 in Jahlam, and 93 in Kohát. This would raise the total number of Gakkhars to 31,881, of whom about half are in Ráwalpindi. They are described by Mr. Thomson as compact, sinewy, and vigorous, but not large boned; making capital soldiers and the best light cavalry in Upper India; proud and self-respecting, but not first-class agriculturists; with no contempt for labour, since many work as coolies on the railway; but preferring service in the army or police. Their race feeling is strong, and a rule of inheritance disfavours Gakkhars of the half-blood. Colonel Cracroft notes that they refuse to give their daughters in marriage to any other class except Saiyads, that they keep their women very strictly secluded, and marry only among the higher Rájpúts, and among them only when they cannot find a suitable match among themselves. "Some of their principal "men are very gentlemanly in their bearing, and show unmistakeably their high origin and breeding. They "still cling to their traditions and, though the Sikhs reduced them to the most "abject poverty, are looked up to in the district as men of high rank and "position, and in times of commotion they would assuredly take the lead one "way or the other." Thus the character of the "savage Gargars" seems to have been softened and improved by time. The Gakkhars do not seem always to have returned their clans, which are very well marked. I give in the margin the figures for a few of the largest. Their local distribution in the Jahlam district is fully described in Mr. Thomson's Settlement Report.

GAKKHAR CLANS.	
Bugiál	7,117
Iskandrál	2,668
Fírozál	1,822
Admál	1,801
Surangál	1,681

465. The Awan (Caste No. 12).—The Awáns, with whom have been included all who returned themselves as Qutbsháhi, are essentially a tribe of the Salt-range, where they once held independent possessions of very considerable extent, and in the western and central portions of which they are still the dominant race. They extend along the whole length of the range from Jahlam to the Indus, and are found in great numbers throughout the whole country beyond it up to the foot of the Sulemáns and the Safed Koh; though in Trans-Indus Bannu they partly and in Dehra Ismáíl almost wholly disappear from our tables, being included in the term Jat which in those parts means not very much more than *et cætera.* Thus we find among the Jats of our tables no fewer than 30,015 who returned Awán as their tribe and who should probably be classed as Awán, of whom the details are given in the margin.

AWAN JATS.			
Hushyarpur	2,400	Derah Ismail Khan	8.444
Lahore	831	Derah Ghazi Khan	1,015
Gujranwala	611	Bannu	9,147
Jahlam	668	Other places	2,015
Gujrat	715		
Multan	1,178		
Jhang	559		
Muzaffargarh	2,017	TOTAL	30,015

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The eastern limits of their position as a dominant tribe coincide approximately with the western border of the Chakwál and Pind Dádan Khán *tahsils*. They have also spread eastwards along the foot of the hills as far east as the Satluj, and southwards down the river valley into Multán and Jhang. They formerly held all the plain country at the foot of the western Salt-range, but have been gradually driven up into the hills by Patháns advancing from the Indus and Tiwánas from the Jahlam.

Their story is that they are descended from Qutb Sháh of Ghazni, himself a descendant of Ali the son-in-law of Mahomet, but by a wife other than the Prophet's daughter, who came from Hirát about 1035 A.D. and settled in the neighbourhood of Peshawar. Thence they spread along the Salt-range, forming independent clans by whom the Chief of Kálábágh was acknowledged as the head of the tribe. Mr. Brandreth is of opinion that they are more probably "descendants of the Bactrian Greeks driven south from "Balkh by Tartar hordes, and turning from Hírát to India," and that they entered the Panjáb not more than some 250 years ago as a conquering army under leaders of their own, and dispossessed the Janjúa Rájpúts of the Salt-range country. General Cunningham, on the other hand, is inclined to identify them with the Júd, whom Bábar mentions as being descended from the same ancestor as the Janjúas and occupying the western Salt-range at the time of his invasion, and who were so called from the old name of Mount Sakesar which is still the tribal centre of the Awán race. He would make both the Awáns and the Janjúas Anúwán or descendants of Anu; and thinks it probable that they held the plateaus which lie north of the Salt-range at the time of the Indo-Scythian invasion which drove them southwards to take refuge in the mountains. (*Archæological Reports*, Vol. II, page 17*ff*.) Bábar describes the Júd and Janjúas as having been from of old the lords of the Salt-range and of the plain country at its foot between the Indus and the Jahlam, and mentions that their minor Chiefs were called Malik, a title still used by the headmen of those parts. The Jálandhar Awáns state that they came into that district as followers of one of the early Emperors of Dehli who brought them with him from the Salt-range; and it is not impossible that they may have accompanied the forces of Bábar. Many of them were in former times in the imperial service at Dehli, keeping up at the same time their connection with their Jálandhar homes. It is almost certain that Mr. Brandreth's theory is incorrect. The Awáns have been almost the sole occupants of the Miánwáli Salt-range Tract for the last 600 years. Mr. Thomson considers the whole question in sections 73-74 of his Jahlam Settlement Report, and adduces many strong reasons in support of his conclusion that the Awáns are a Jat race who came through the passes west of Derah Ismáíl Khán and spread northwards to the country near Sakesar, a conclusion towards which some of the traditions of Derah Ismáíl Khán also are said to point. I may add that some of the Awáns of Gújrát are said to trace their origin from Sindh. Major Wace also is inclined to give the Awáns a Jat origin. In the genealogical tree of the Kálábágh family which used to be the chief family of the tribe, in which tree their descent is traced from Qutb Sháh, several Hindu names, such as Rai Harkaran, occur immediately below the name of Qutb Sháh. The Awáns still employ Hindu Bráhmans as family priests.

466. Mr. Thomson describes the Awáns as frank and pleasing in their manners, but vindictive, violent, and given to faction; strong and broad shouldered, but not tall; strenuous but slovenly cultivators; and essentially a peasant race. Colonel Davies thinks scarcely more favourably of them. He writes: "The "Awáns are a brave high-spirited race but withal exceedingly indolent. In point of character there is "little in them to admire; headstrong and irascible to an unusual degree, and prone to keeping alive old "feuds, they are constantly in hot water; their quarrels leading to affrays, and their affrays not unfre- "quently ending in bloodshed. As a set-off against this it must be allowed that their manners are frank "and engaging, and although they cannot boast of the truthfulness of other hill tribes, they are remarkably "free from crime." Mr. Steedman says: "The Awáns hold a high, but not the highest place among "the tribes of the Ráwalpindi district. As a rule they do not give their daughters in marriage to other "tribes, and the children of a low-caste woman by an Awán are not considered true Awáns." In Jahlam their position would scarcely seem to be so high as in Ráwalpindi, as Mr. Thomson describes them as distinctly belonging to the *samíndár* or peasant class, as opposed to the Gakkhars and Janjúas who are *Sahú* or gentry. The history of the Awáns is sketched by Sir Lepel Griffin at pages 570*ff* of his *Panjáb Chiefs*. The Awáns have returned very few large sub-divisions. I give the figures for some of the largest in the margin. Of the Khokhar 5,663 are in Ráwalpindi, 2,362 in Jahlam, 3,949 in Sháhpur, 2,438 in Bannu, and 3,301 in Hazára; while of the Khattar 10,916 are in Ráwalpindi. These men are probably really Khattars and Khokhars rather than Awáns, but have returned themselves thus in pursuance of the tradition of all the three tribes having a common origin.

AWÁN CLANS.

Clan	Number	Clan	Number
1. Khokhar	18,388	7. Babkál	6,118
2. Madhwál	11,903	8. Khurána	6,105
3. Khattar	11,278	9. Darhál	5,299
4. Kalghán	11,166	10. Gulsháhi	3,450
5. Rehán	8,394	11. Kang	2,979
6. Jand	6,288	12. Chahán	2,326

467. The Khattar (Caste No. 162).—The Khattars are a tribe which claims kinship with the Awáns, and to be, like them and the western Khokhars, descended from one of the sons of Qutb Sháh Qureshi of Ghazni. But the Awáns do not always admit the relationship, and the Khattars are said often to claim Rájpút origin. Mr. Steedman, however accepts their Awán origin, and says that an Awán admits it, but looks upon the Khattars as an inferior section of the tribe to whom he will not give his daughters in marriage. Sir Lepel Griffin, who relates the history of the principal Khattar families at pages 561 to 569 of his *Panjáb Chiefs*, thinks that they were originally inhabitants of Khorásán who came to India with the early Mahomedan invaders. But Colonel Cracroft notes that the Khattars of Ráwalpindi still retain marriage customs which point to an Indian origin; and they themselves have a tradition of having been driven out of their territory on the Indus near Attak into Afghánistán, and returning thence with the armies of Muhammad Ghori. General Cunningham, on the other hand, would identify them with a branch of the Kator, Cidaritæ, or Little Yúchi, from whom the Gújars also are descended and whose early history is related in section 480. (*Archæological Reports*, Vol. II, page 80). They now hold the tract known by their name which extends on both sides of the Kála Chitta Pahár from the Indus to the boundary of the Ráwalpindi *tahsil*, and from Usmán Kátar on the north to the

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Khair-i-Múrat hills on the south, and which they are said to have taken from Gújars and Awáns. The figures of Table VIIIA. are very imperfect, as the Khattars of Ráwalpindi have returned themselves as Awáns. Under the caste heading of Awán no fewer than 11,278 persons have shown their clan as Khattar, of whom all but 362 are in the Ráwalpindi district, thus bringing up the total numbers for the Province to 12,523. Colonel Cracroft writes: "The Khattars enjoy an unenviable notoriety in regard to "crime. Their tract has always been one in which heavy crime has flourished; they are bad agriculturists, "extravagant in their habits, keep hawks and horses, and are often backward in paying their revenue. "They do not allow their daughters to inherit excepting in cases of intermarriage with members of the "family, and even then only for some special reason." On this Mr. Steedman notes: "Since then they "have become more civilised and less addicted to deeds of violence. Socially the Khattars hold an inter-"mediate place, ranking below Gakkhars, Awáns, Ghebas, Jodras, and other high class Rajpúts."

468. The Khokhar (Caste No. 58).—The figures of Table VIIIA under the head Khokhar only represent a fraction of the Khokhars in the Panjáb. The Khokhars are ordinarily considered a Rájpút tribe, and most of the Khokhars of the central districts have so returned themselves. Many of the Khokhars of the western districts again, and all those of the frontier, have been returned as Jats; while only in the Ráwalpindi and Multán divisions are separate figures shown for the Khokhar caste. How far this inclusion is due to Khokhars having actually returned themselves as Rájpút or Jat by caste and Khokhar by tribe, and how far to the action of the divisional offices, I cannot say exactly till the detailed clan tables are ready. But from local enquiry it would appear that Khokhars did very generally return themselves as Jats or Rájpúts, especially the latter, and Mr. Thomson tells me that in Pind Dádan Khán the Jat Khokhars are said to be entirely distinct from the Rájpút Khokhars. The figures in the margin show those who are returned as Khokhar, Rájpút Khokar, and Jat Khokhar respectively. In the east of the Panjáb Khokhars appear to be admittedly of Rájpút origin, though in Jálandhar at least they are said to intermarry rather with their own clan, Shekhs, Awáns, and the like, than with their Rájpút neighbours. But in the west the Khokhars have set up a claim to be descended from Muhammad the eldest son of Qutb Sháh of Ghazni, the traditional ancestor of the Awáns; and the claim is often admitted by the Awáns themselves, though of course as mythical as the Awán's own story. Thus no fewer than 18,388 men, of whom the detail has already been given in section 466, have returned themselves as Awán by caste and Khokhar by clan, and should probably be counted as Khokhars and added to the figures given above. Mr. Barkley points out that the annals of Jaisalmer given by Major Tod narrate the quarrels between the Khokhars and the Bhattis of Jaisalmer long before the time of Mahomet; though I should add that Major Tod thinks Khokhar may be a misreading for Gakkhar. Major Tod gives Khokra as one of the clans of the Ráthor Rájpúts. In Baháwalpur I find that 2,412 of the Khokhar Rájpúts have returned their main tribe as Bhatti. On the whole it would appear most probable that they are really Rájpúts, perhaps not of the purest descent; while the low repute in which Rájpúts are held on the frontier would account for the rise of the claim to Qureshi origin, which would quickly spread among a Musalmán tribe. In Sirsa, where the prohibition against marriage out of the caste is very strictly observed, the Khokhars intermarry with the local Rájpút tribes. Sir Lepel Griffin indeed separates the Khokhar Rájpúts from those Khokhars who claim kindred origin with the Awáns; but it is doubtful whether this is allowable, for the Awán tradition is apparently spreading, even among those Khokhars who are still recognised as Rájpúts throughout the country side. At the same time the Khokhars are so widely spread, and have been at one time or another so powerful, that Khokhar is almost as favourite a name as Bhatti for the clans of the lower castes in the Panjáb; and it may be that there is a distinct Khokhar caste apart from the Khokhar Rájpúts, just as both are certainly distinct from the Khokhar Chúhras. Colonel Davies notes that many of the social customs of the Khokhars of Sháhpur denote Hindu origin; and this would be quite decisive against the Qutb Sháhi myth.

KHOKHARS.

(Small numbers omitted in the details but included in the totals.)

District or State.	Caste Khokhar.	Caste Rájpút.	Caste Jat.	Total.
Rohtak	...	27	1,675	1,702
Sirsa	...	1,100	276	1,376
Jálandhar	...	3,682	...	3,682
Amritsar	9	3,016	134	3,159
Gurdáspur	...	1,785	1,310	3,095
Siálkot	...	1,870	1,243	3,113
Lahore	...	8,349	2,184	10,533
Gujránwála	...	961	3,767	4,728
Firozpur	...	2,404	427	2,831
Ráwalpindi	438	295	161	894
Jahlam	1,745	2,208	2,011	5,964
Gujrát	393	5,208	1,745	7,346
Shahpur	10,265	4,524	1,800	16,589
Multán	7,696	236	963	8,895
Jhang	11,239	6,605	5,040	22,884
Montgomery	2,866	1,058	2,157	6,081
Muzaffargarh	951	18	2,937	3,906
Derah Ismail Khán	...	20	8,013	8,033
Derah Ghazi Khán	...	12	4,690	4,702
Bannu	...	70	1,115	1,185
Kapúrthala	...	2,375	10	2,385
Baháwalpur	...	6,310	...	6,310
British Territory	36,126	45,731	42,110	123,967
Native States	11	9,649	221	9,881
Province	36,137	55,380	42,331	133,848
Add Awán Khokhar	...	...	...	18,388
Grand Total	...	...	...	152,236

469. The Khokhars are most numerous along the valleys of the Jahlam and Chanáb, and especially in the Jhang and Sháhpur districts; but they are also found, though in smaller numbers, on the lower Indus and the Satluj, and especially in Lahore, and also all along the foot of the hills from the Jahlam to the Satluj. Pind Dádan Khán is said to have taken its name from a Khokhar Chief who founded it and was Rája of those parts in the time of Jahángír; and the history of the family, which at one time possessed some importance, and of the struggles between the Janjúas and the Khokhars for the possession of the tract, is told at pages 589*ff* of Griffin's *Panjáb Chiefs*. In Jhang too they once ruled over an extensive tract lying east of the Jahlam. The Khokhars of Gújrát and Siálkot have a tradition that they were originally settled at Garh Karánah, which they cannot identify [1], and were ejected by Tamerlane; and that they then

[1] Mr. Steedman suggests Koh Keréna, lying south of Sháhpur, in the Jhang district.

went to Jammu, whence they spread along the hills; and the concentration of the Khokhars of the plains on the Jahlam and the Chanáb, and the wide diffusion of those of the sub-montane tract, lend some colour to the theory that they spread downwards from the hills, and not upwards from the south. In Akbar's time the Khokhars were shown as the principal tribe of the Dasúya parganah of Hushyárpur; and the Mahomedan historians tell us that the Khokhars held Lahore and were powerful in the Upper Bári *Doáb* at the time of Taimur's invasion[1].

The Khokhars of Sháhpur are said to be split up into innumerable clans, among whom the Nissowána, notorious for their thieving propensities and generally lawless character, are alone important; but in Jhang Mr. Steedman describes the Khokhars as among the best of the agricultural classes, hard-working, thrifty, and not given to crime.

470. The Kharral (Caste No. 77).—The Kharrals would appear to be a true Rájpút tribe, though a very considerable portion of them have been returned as Jat. The figures in the margin show the total number returned under the several headings of Jat, Rájpút, and Kharral. Of the Rájpút Kharrals of Bahawálpur 1,613 have returned their main tribe as Bhatti. The few Kharrals of Jálandhar are there recognised as Rájpúts, and the Kharrals of Montgomery claim descent from Rája Karan. They are found in large numbers only along the valley of the Rávi, from its junction with the Chanáb to the boundary between Lahore and Montgomery; while a few have spread up the Deg river into the Lahore and Gújránwála *bár*, and smaller numbers are found all along the Satluj valley as high up as Fírozpur. The tribes of this portion of the Rávi are divided into two classes, the Great Rávi tribes and the Little Rávi tribes. The former are pastoral rather than agricultural, and include the Kharrals, Káthias, and many of the great tribes of Mahomedan Jats. They look down upon the little Rávi tribes who live within their limits, and who are agricultural rather than pastoral, consisting of Aráíns, Kambohs, and similar tribes common in the Eastern Panjáb. The great Rávi tribes are notorious for their propensity to cattle-stealing, and among them a young man is not allowed to wear a turban or to marry a wife till he shows by stealing a buffalo that he is able to support her, while a headman who has not a number of dependants ready to steal for or with him is popularly known as "an orphan."

KHARRALS.
(Small numbers omitted in the details, but included in the totals.)

DISTRICTS.	KHARRALS.			
	Kharral.	Jat.	Rájpút.	TOTAL.
Sirsa	...	35	2,026	2,061
Amritsar	...	1,001	...	1,001
Lahore	70	5,992	35	6,097
Gujránwála	...	3,070	4,470	7,540
Firozpur	...	1,441	278	1,719
Multán	2,492	364	500	3,356
Jhang	489	673	2,054	3,216
Montgomery	15,643	2,361	3,444	21,448
Derah Ismail Khan	...	1,300	...	1,300
Baháwalpur	...	237	2,042	2,279
British Territory	18,839	18,582	14,242	51,663
Native States	6	237	2,042	2,285
Province	18,845	18,819	16,284	53,948

471. Among the tribes of the great Rávi the Kharrals are the most northernly and one of the most important. They are themselves divided into two factions, the upper Rávi and lower Rávi, the headquarters of the latter being at Kot Kamália. The two are at bitter feud, and the only tie between them is their hatred of their common enemy, the Siál Rájpúts of Jhang. The Kamália Kharrals rose to some prominence in the time of Alamgír, and still hold remains of grants then made them, but the upper Kharrals are now the more powerful branch of the two. The Kharrals have ever been notorious for turbulence, and Mr. Purser's Montgomery Report contains details of their doings before and under Sikh rule, while the history of the family is narrated in full at pages 509*ff* of Griffin's *Panjáb Chiefs*. They trace their origin from one Bhúpa a descendant of Rája Karan, who settled at Uchh and was there converted by Makhdúm Sháh Jahánia. From Uchh they moved up to their present territory. There are now very few in the Multán district; but the fact of their being found along the Satluj, though in small numbers only, lends some support to the story of their having come upwards from below. Captain Elphinstone thus describes the Kharrals in his Gugaira Report:—

"The 'Kharrals' are the most northernly of the 'Great Ravi' tribes. They occupy a great portion of the land between "Gugaira and the Lahore district, on both sides of the river, and extend some distance into the Gujránwala district. In turbulence "and courage they have been always considered to excel all the others except the Káthias; but the tract occupied by them has been "gradually denuded by the rapid extension of cultivation, of what formerly constituted their greatest strength,—heavy jungle. "In case of disturbances, therefore, they have had at more recent periods to evacuate their own lands on the approach of large military forces, thus sustaining much damage by the destruction of their villages. Their most celebrated leader, Ahmad Khan, who was "killed in September 1857 by a detachment under Captain Black, headed the combined tribes, however, in no less than five in"surrections, which to a certain extent all proved successful, their chief object—the plunder of the Khatris and Hindus—having usually "been accomplished at the expense of a moderate fine imposed on them under the name of 'Nazarána,' after the conclusion of "peace. This success had spread his renown far and wide, and had given him a great influence over the whole of the 'Great Ravi,' "as was proved by the outbreak of 1857, which appears to have been mainly planned and organized by him. In stature the Kharrals "are generally above the average height, their features are very marked, and their activity and endurance are remarkable. Like all "the other Jats they pretend to a descent from the Rájputs, and like that class look down with some contempt upon men who handle "the plough. The cultivation in their villages is, therefore, almost exclusively left to the Vysiwáns and inferior castes, the Kharral "proprietors contenting themselves with realizing their share of the produce. They only possess land in tracts inundated by the "rivers, mere well-cultivation being too laborious a task even for their dependants."

Mr. Purser adds that they are wasteful in marriage expenditure, hospitable to travellers, thievish, and with little taste for agriculture; and that they still follow many Hindu customs, especially on the occasion of marriage. In Lahore they appear to bear a no better character than in Montgomery; and there is a Persian proverb: "The Dogar, the Bhatti, the Wattu, and the Kharral are all rebellious and ought to be "slain." Sir Lepel Griffin writes of them: "Through all historic times the Kharrals have been a turbu"lent, savage, and thievish tribe, ever impatient of control, and delighting in strife and plunder. More "fanatic than other Mahomedan tribes, they submitted with the greatest reluctance to Hindu rule; and

[1] The English Editors generally suggest Gakkhar as an emendation: probably because they do not know the word Khokhar.

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"it was as much as Díwán Sáwan Mal and the Sikhs could do to restrain them; for whenever an organised "force was sent against them they retired into the marshes and thick jungles, where it was almost im-"possible to follow them." In Gújránwála they are said to be "idle, troublesome, bad cultivators and noto-"rious thieves, their persons generally tall and handsome, and their habits nomad and prædatory."

472. The Kathia, Khagga, and Hans.—The Káthia is another of the Great Rávi tribes, and comes next in importance among them to the Kharral. It is not shown in our tables as a separate caste, and nobody seems to have returned himself as Káthia. But there are 3,878 men in Montgomery and 1,972 in Multán who have returned their *caste* as Punwár; and as the Káthias claim to be Punwár Rájpúts, and were so entered in the settlement, it is probable that these are the Káthias. This is the explanation given by the Deputy Commissioner of Montgomery after local inquiry. These men have been included under the head Rájpút in our tables. The Káthias are almost confined to the Rávi valley of the Multán and Montgomery districts; but they hold a considerable area in the south of Jhang, which they are said to have acquired from the Siál in return for aid afforded to the latter against the Nawáb of Multán. They are supposed to be the same people as the Kathæi, who in their stronghold of Sangala so stoutly resisted the victorious army of Alexander. The question is elaborately discussed by General Cunningham at pages 33 to 42 of Volume II of his *Archæological Reports*, and in Volume I, pages 101*ff* of Tod's *Rájasthán* (*Madras Reprint*, 1880). Captain Elphinstone thus describes them in his Montgomery Report:—

"The remarkable fact that a people called 'Kathaioi' occupied a part of the Gugaira district when Alexander invaded the "Panjab, invests the Kathia tribe with a peculiar interest. After much enquiry on the subject, I have come to the conclusion "that the Kathias of the present day have a strong claim to be considered the descendants of the same 'Kathaioi' who so gallantly "resisted the Macedonian conqueror. Their own account of their origin is, of course, far different. Like all Jats they take a parti-"cular pride in tracing their descent from a Rajput prince about the time of their conversion to Muhammadanism under the Emperor "Akbar. But an examination of their alleged pedigree shows that, like many other popular traditions of this kind, this account of "their origin must be altogether fictitious. They state that a prince named 'Khattya,' reigning in Rajputana, was compelled to "yield up one of his sisters in marriage to the Emperor of Dehli. After brooding for some time over this great outrage to Rajput "honour, he contrived to assemble a large army with which he attacked the imperial forces: he was, however, overcome by superior "numbers, and was made a prisoner after nearly all his adherents had been slain. He was then conducted with great honour to the "Court of Dehli, where the Emperor treated him with kindness, and at last induced him to embrace the Muhammadan faith, and "placed under his charge an important post near the Court. Some time afterwards he was sent with a force to subdue a portion "of the Ravi tribes who had risen in insurrection, and after conquering them was so much attracted by the beauty of the country, "that he remained and received a grant of the whole tract for himself and his descendants. All the Kathias claim descent from "this prince, but, unfortunately for the credibility of this story, the only way that his 8,000 descendants manage to arrange the "matter is by assuming that the prince had no less than 150 sons; whilst in a pedigree prepared by the chief mírási of the tribe, in "which the increase of offspring in the different generations is arranged with more accordance to probability, the line is only brought "down to a few of the principal families of the tribe.

"In their habits the Kathias differ little from the other Jat tribes. Before the accession of Ranjit Singh they lived chiefly "on cattle-grazing and plunder. Like the Kharrals and Fattianas they still keep up Hindu '*Parohits*,' who take a prominent part "at all marriage festivities, an undoubted sign of their conversion to Muhammadanism having been of recent date. They are a hand-"some and sturdy race, and like nearly all Jats of the 'Great Ravi' do not allow their children of either sex to marry until they "have attained the age of puberty, because, as they justly consider, too early marriages would be detrimental to the physique of the "race. Their chief and favourite article of food is buttermilk; the consumption of wheat among them is very inconsiderable."

Mr. Purser, however, gives a somewhat different account of their migrations. He says:—

"The Káthias have been identified with the 'Kathaioi' of Alexander's time. According to their account they are descended from Rája Karan, Súrajbansi. Originally they resided in Bíkáner, whence they emigrated and founded the State of Káthiáwár. "From there they went to Sirsa and then to Baháwalpur. Next they crossed over to Kabula and went on to Daira Dínpanah. Here "they quarrelled with the Bilochis and had to leave. They then settled at Mírah Siál in Jhang. They stole the cattle of Aláwal Khán "of Kamália, who was killed pursuing them. Saádat Yár Khán obtained the release of their leaders (who were imprisoned on account "of this affair) on condition of their settling on the Rávi. Thus the Káthias obtained a footing in this district. They always held "by the Kamália Kharrals, but plundered the others whenever they could get a chance." The Káthias are Punwár Rájpúts. There "are two main divisions; the Káthias proper, and the Baghelas."

This would make the Káthias of the Rávi immigrants from Káthiawár. But a Pandit of Gújarát who was sent into the Panjáb by the Rája of Jazdán, one of the principal Káthiawár States, to make enquiries on the subject, tells me that the Káthiawár Rájpúts, who also claim descent from Rája Karan, have a tradition that they came to their present territory from the Panjáb *viá* Sindh and Kach. The Káthia tradition is that they were driven out of Sarsa Rânia, or the valley of the lower Ghaggar, about the time of Tamerlane's invasion.

The Khagga and Hans appear to have returned themselves as Qureshi, and are described in section 503 under the head Shekh.

473. The Daudpotra (Caste No. 79).—The Dáúdpotra are the reigning family of Bahawalpur, and usually claim to be Qureshi Arabs, though occasionally said to be Rájpúts; but all that is certain about their origin is that their ancestor Dáúd Khán was a Juláha by occupation, if not by caste. Besides the numbers shown in Table VIIIA as Dáúdpotras, 1,421 persons have returned themselves as Shékh Dáúd-potra, of whom 1,287 are in the Multán district. The tribe is practically confined to Baháwalpur and the neighbouring portions of Multán, part of which was once included in the Baháwalpur State.

Their founder Dáúd Khán is said to have been the son of one Jám Junjar of Shikárpur, and brother of Muhammad the ancestor of the Kalhora dynasty of Sindh; while another story makes him a Wattu Rájpút. Both accounts are very probably false. Cunningham relates their origin thus: "When Nádir "Sháh proceeded to establish his authority in Sindh, he found the ancestor of the family a man of reputa-"tion in his native district of Shikárpur. The Sháh made him deputy of the upper third of the province; "but, becoming suspicious of the whole clan, resolved on removing it to Ghazni. The tribe then migrated "up the Satluj and seized lands by force. They fabulously trace their origin to the Caliph Abbás; but may "be regarded as Biloches changed by long residence in Sindh. In establishing themselves on the Satluj, "they reduced the remains of the ancient Langáhs and Joyas to still further insignificance." (*History of the Sikhs*,—113, note.)

474. The Dogars (Caste No. 46).—The Dogars of the Panjáb are found in the upper valleys of the Satluj and Beás above the lower border of the Lahore district, and have also spread westwards along the

foot of the hills into Siálkot. There are also considerable colonies of them in Hissár and Karnál. They are thus described by Mr. Brandreth in his Fírozpur Report :—

"In my account of the Firozpur ilaqua I have already alluded to the Dogars, who are supposed to be converted Chauhan Raj-"puts from the neighbourhood of Dehli. They migrated first to the neighbourhood of Pák Pattan, whence they spread gradually "along the banks of the Satluj, and entered the Firozpur district about 100 years ago. The Firozpur Dogars are all descended from "a common ancestor named Bahlol, but they are called Mahu Dogars, from Mahu the grandfather of Bahlol. Bahlol had three sons, "Bambu, Langar, and Sammu. The Dogars of Firozpur and Mullanwala are the descendants of Bambu; those of Khai the descen-"dants of Langar; the descendants of Sammu live in the Kasúr territory. There are many other sub-castes of the Dogars in other "districts along the banks of the Satluj, as the Parchats, the Topuras, the Chopuras, &c. The Chopura Dogars occupy Mandot. The "Firozpur Dogars consider themselves superior in rank and descent to the other sub-castes. They are very particular to whom they give "their daughters in marriage though they take wives from all the other families. At one time infanticide is said to have prevailed "among them, but I do not think there is much trace of it at the present day.

"Sir H. Lawrence, who knew the Dogars well, writes of them that 'they are tall, handsome, and sinewy, and are re-"'markable for having, almost without exception, large aquiline noses; they are fanciful and violent, and tenacious of what they "'consider their rights, though susceptible to kindness, and not wanting in courage; they appear to have been always troublesome "'subjects, and too fond of their own free mode of life to willingly take service as soldiers.' The Jewish face which is found among "the Dogars, and in which they resemble the Afghâns, is very remarkable, and makes it probable that there is very little Chauhan "blood in their veins, notwithstanding the fondness with which they attempt to trace their connection with that ancient family of "Rajputs. Like the Gujars and Naipáls they are great thieves, and prefer pasturing cattle to cultivating. Their favourite crime is "cattle-stealing. There are, however, some respectable persons among them, especially in the Firozpur ilaqua. It is only within "the last few years that the principal Dogars have begun to wear any covering for the head; formerly the whole population, as is "the case with the poorer classes still, wore their long hair over their shoulders without any covering either of sheet or turban. "Notwithstanding the difference of physiognomy, however, the Dogars preserve evident traces of some connection with the Hindus "in most of their family customs, in which they resemble the Hindus much more than the orthodox Muhammadans."

475. Mr. Purser notes that they are divided into two tribes, one of which claim to be Chauhán and the other Punwár Rájpúts, and he notes their alleged advent from Pák Pattan, but not their previous migration from Dehli. If they ever did move from Dehli to the Montgomery district, it can hardly have been since the Ghaggar ceased to fertilize the intervening country, and the date of the migration must have been at least some centuries back; and the Dogars of Hissár came to those parts from the Panjáb, probably from the Satluj across the Sirsa district. The Dogars of Lahore and Fírozpur are essentially a riverside tribe, being found only on the river banks: they bear the very worst reputation, and appear from the passage quoted above to have retained till quite lately some at least of the habits of a wild tribe. I suspect that their origin was probably in the Satluj valley. They appear to have entered the Fírozpur district about 1760 A.D., and during the next forty years to have possessed themselves of a very considerable portion of the district, while their turbulence rendered them almost independent of the Sikh Government. In 1808 we recognised the Dogar State of Fírozpur, and took it under our protection against Ranjít Singh; but it lapsed in 1835.

The Rájpút origin of the Dogars is probably very doubtful, and is strenously denied by their Rájpút neighbours, though I believe that Dogar, or perhaps Doghar, is used in some parts of the Province to denote one of mixed blood. Another derivation of the name is *doghgar* or milkman. The Dogars seem to be originally a pastoral rather than an agricultural tribe, and still to retain a strong liking for cattle, whether their own or other people's. They are often classed with Gújars, whom they much resemble in their habits. In Lahore and Fírozpur they are notorious cattle-thieves, but further north they seem to have settled down and become peaceful husbandmen. They are not good cultivators. Their social standing seems to be about that of a low-class Rájpút; they are practically all Musalmáns. The Dogars have returned hardly any large clans; some of the largest are shown in the margin.

Dogar clans.	
Mattar	5,325
Chína	2,268
Tagra	2,232
Máhu	1,892
Chokra	1,627

476. The Ror (Caste No. 55).—The real seat of the Panjáb Rors is in the great *dhák* jungles south of Thánesar on the borders of the Karnál and Ambála districts, where they hold a *chaurási* nominally consisting of 84 villages, of which the village of Amín, where the Pándavas arranged their forces before their last fight with the Kauravas, is the *tíka* or head village. But the Rors have spread down the Western Jamna Canal into the lower parts of Karnál and into Jínd in considerable numbers. They are said also to hold 12 villages beyond the Ganges. They are fine stalwart men, of very much the same type as the Jats, whom they almost equal as husbandmen, their women also working in the fields. They are more peaceful and less grasping in their habits than the Jats, and are consequently readily admitted as tenants where the latter would be kept at arm's length.

Of their origin I can say nothing certain. They have the same story as the Aroras, of their having been Rájpúts who escaped the fury of Paras Rám by stating that their caste was *aur* or "another." The Aroras are often called Roras in the east of the Panjáb; yet I can hardly believe that the frank and stalwart Ror is of the same origin as the Arora. The Amín men say that they came from Sambhal in Murádábád; but this may only be in order to connect themselves with their neighbours the Chauhán Rájpúts, who certainly came from there. But almost all the Rors alike seem to point to Bádli in the Jhajjar *tahsil* of Rohtak as their immediate place of origin, though some of them say they came from Rájpútána. Their social status is identical with that of Jats; and they practise *karewa* or widow-marriage, though only, they say, within the caste. Their sub-divisions seem to be exceedingly numerous. A few of the largest are given in the margin. The Ambála Rors would appear to be mostly Sagwál.

Ror clans.	
Sagwál	1,848
Maipla	1,567
Khíchi	1,207
Jográn	1,193

477. The Taga (Caste No. 86).—The Tagas of the Jamna Khádir of Dehli and Karnál, the only part of the Province in which they are found, are said to be Gaur Bráhmans by origin, and to have acquired their present name because they "abandoned" (*tág dena*) priestly functions and took to agriculture. Their origin is discussed at great length in Vol. I of Elliott's *Races of the North-West Provinces*, pages 106 to 115; and they are there identified with the Takkas, a possibly Scythian race who had the snake for their totem, and whose destruction by Rája Janamajáya is supposed to be

commemorated in the tradition of that monarch's holocaust of serpents. The difficulty felt by Sir H. Elliott in accounting for their tracing their origin to Hariána, is perhaps explained by the fact that they give Safídon in Jínd on the border of Hariána, as the place where the holocaust took place; and the name of the town is not improbably connected with *sámp* or snake. The Tagas are probably the oldest inhabitants of the upper Jamna Khádir, holding villages which have been untouched by changes in the course of the stream for a far longer period than most of their neighbours. They are of superior social standing and seclude their women, but are bad cultivators, especially the Mahomedans. About three-fourths of the total number have adopted Islám and ceased to wear the sacred thread. The Hindus still wear it, but Bráhmans do not intermarry with them, and they employ Bráhmans to officiate for them in the usual manner. They are poor agriculturists. They must be carefully distinguished from the Tágus or criminal Bráhmans of the same tract discussed in section 586.

478. The Meo (Caste No. 34).—The Meos are the people who have given its name to Mewát or the hill country of Alwar, Gurgáon, and Bhartpur. They are found within the Pánjab chiefly in Gurgáon, though a considerable number have spread into the south of the Dehli district. They are all Mahomedan, though, as will be seen presently, their religion is of a very impure type. They are so excellently described by Captain Powlett in his Gazetteer of Alwar, that I cannot do better than quote the passage almost in full, adding to it Mr. Channing's remarks upon it. Captain Powlett writes as follows:—

"The Meos are numerically the first race in the State, and the agricultural portion of them is considerably more than double "any other class of cultivators except Chamars. They occupy about half the Ulwar territory, and the portion they dwell in lies to "the north and east.

"They are divided into fifty-two clans, of which the twelve largest are called 'Páls,' and the smaller 'Gots.' Many of these "are not settled in Ulwar, but would be found in Mathra, Bhartpur, and Gurgaon. Of the 448 villages belonging to the Meos, the "*Ghaseria* clan holds 112, the *Dhingal* 70, the *Landáwat* 64, the *Nai* 63, the *Singal* 54, the *Dulot* 53, and the *Pundlot* 22.

"It has already been set forth in the historical sketch that the Meos—for they no doubt are often included under the term "Mewatti—were, during the Muhammadan period of power, always notorious for their turbulence and predatory habits; however, "since their complete subjection by Bakhtáwar Singh and Banni Singh (during the first-half of this century), who broke up the "large turbulent villages into a number of small hamlets, they have become generally well behaved; but they return to their former "habits when opportunity occurs.

"In 1857 they assembled, burnt state ricks, carried off cattle, &c., but did not succeed in plundering any town or village in "Ulwar. In British territory they plundered Firozpur and other villages, and when a British force came to restore order many were "hanged.

"Though Meos claim to be of Rajput origin, there are grounds for believing that many spring from the same stock as the Mínas. "The similarity between the words Meo and Mína suggest that the former may be a contraction of the latter. Several of the res-"pective clans are identical in name (Singal, Nai, Dulot, Pundlot, Dingal, Balot); and a story told of one Daria Meo, and his lady-"love Sisbadani Míni, seems to show that they formerly intermarried. In Bulandshahr a caste called Meo Mínas is spoken of in "the Settlement Report, which would seem farther to connect the two. However, it is probable enough that apostate Rajputs and "bastard sons of Rajputs founded many of the clans, as the legends tell.

"The Meos are now all Musalmans in name; but their village deities are the same as those of Hindu zamindars. They keep "too several Hindu festivals. Thus the Holi is with Meos a season of rough play, and is considered as important a festival as the "Moharram, Id, and Shabrát; and they likewise observe the Janamashtami, Dusehra, and Diwáli. They often keep Brah-"min priests to write the *píli chitthi*, or note fixing the date of a marriage. They call themselves by Hindu names, with the "exception of 'Rám;' and 'Singh' is a frequent affix, though not so common as 'Khan.'

"On the Amáwas, or monthly conjunction of the sun and moon, Meos, in common with Hindu Ahirs, Gujars, &c., cease from "labour; and when they make a well the first proceeding is to erect a 'Chabútra' to 'Bairáji' or 'Hanúmán.' However, when "plunder was to be obtained, they have often shown little respect for Hindu shrines and temples; and when the sanctity of a threat-"ened place has been urged, the retort has been '*Tum to Deo, Ham Meo!*' You may be a Deo (God), but I am a Meo!

"As regards their own religion Meos are very ignorant. Few know the *kalima*, and fewer still the regular prayers, the seasons "of which they entirely neglect. This, however, only applies to Ulwar territory; in British, the effect of the schools is to make "them more observant of religious duties. Indeed, in Ulwar, at certain places where there are mosques, religious observances are "better maintained, and some know the *kalima*, say their prayers, and would like a school.

"Meos do not marry in their Pál or clan, but they are lax about forming connections with women of other castes, whose children "they receive into the Meo community. As already stated Brahmins take part in the formalities preceding a marriage, but the "ceremony itself is performed by the Kazi.

"As agriculturists, Meos are inferior to their Hindu neighbours. The point in which they chiefly fail is in working their wells, "for which they lack patience. Their women, whom they do not confine, will, it is said, do more fieldwork than the men; indeed "one often finds women at work in the crops when the men are lying down. Like the women of low Hindu castes they tattoo their "bodies, a practice disapproved by Musalmans in general. Meos are generally poor and live badly; they have no scruples about "getting drunk when opportunity offers. The men wear the *dhoti* and *kamri*, and not *pahjámas*. Their dress is, in fact, Hindu. "The men often wear gold ornaments, but I believe the women are seldom or never allowed to have them."

To this Mr. Channing adds:—

"My own enquiries on the subject were imperfect when they were interrupted by my transfer from Gurgaon; but they led me to "a conclusion which I find has also been adopted by Major Powlett, that the Mínas and Meos are connected, and I should be inclined "to add that both are probably representatives of the earlier non-Aryan inhabitants of the country. In Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. II, "page 76, I find it stated that Mewas o is a name given to the fastnesses in the Aravalli hills, to which Mínas, Kolis and others "make their retreat. Pál is, on the same authority, the term for a community of any of the aboriginal mountain races; its import "is a defile or valley, fitted for cultivation and defence; and Pál is the term given to the main sub-divisions of the Meos and also of "the Mínas. These latter, who in Gurgaon are known only as a body of professional criminals, were the original masters of the State of "Amber or Jaipur, the Rájpút kingdom of which was founded by Dhole Rae about A.D. 967 after subduing the Mínas. Tod also states "that in Jaipur the Mínas are still the most numerous tribe, and possess large immunities and privileges; formerly the tíka of sover-"eignty was marked by blood taken from the great toe of a Mína of Kalikho, another token, as I interpret it, of the ancient sovereignty "of the tribe. Meos are often mentioned, although not in Gurgaon, as Mína Meos: and in the older Muhammadan historians and in Tod, "I find expeditions against their country spoken of as expeditions against the Mawasat, and in later time as against the Mawas. "These facts incline me to the belief that the Meos are such of the aboriginal Mína population of the Aravalli hills as were converted to "Muhammadanism, and that their name is probably a corruption of Mewasati or the men of the mountain passes. Perhaps other "enquiries may be able to confirm or refute this theory, which I only put forward tentatively.

"Any Meo will tell glibly enough that the tribe is divided into twelve Páls and fifty-two Gots; but no two enumerations of the "Páls that I have seen correspond precisely; and the fifty-two Gots include the Páls, and are not, as would at first appear, in addi-"tion to them. The following enumeration of the Páls is perhaps correct:—

1. Balant.
2. Ratáwat.
3. Darwál.
4. Landáwat.
5. Chirklot.
6. Dimrot.
7. Dulot.
8. Nái.
9. Yunglot.
10. Dahngal.
11. Singal.
12. Kalesa or Kalsákhi.

Part IV.—Minor Land-owning and Agricultural Castes.

"Besides these there is a thirteenth Palákhra or little Pál Páhat. The Pals which are strongest in Gurgaon are the Dahngals in the "north of Núh; the Chirklots in the south-east of Núh and in the country round Punahána; the Landáwats, Dimrots, and Dulots in "the Firozpur valley, and the Darwáls in the country south of Núh. These Meo sub-tribes still possess a strong feeling of unity and "the power of corporate action."

MEO CLANS.

1. Chirklot	26,467	8. Bálot	2,849
2. Dhangal	24,075	9. Tanur or Tunwar	2,432
3. Dimrot	10,277	10. Nái	2,035
4. Gurwál	5,511	11. Badgújar	2,003
5. Landáwat	3,294	12. Golwál	2,003
6. Dulot	2,999	13. Páhut	1,639
7. Dherwál	2,944	14. Baliána	1,380

The principal Meo sub-divisions returned in Gurgáon are shown in the margin. In Ambála and perhaps elsewhere the word Meo seems commonly to be used as equivalent to Men or fisherman; and it may be that some of the Meos returned from other districts than Gurgáon and those bordering upon it, are not true Meos.

479. The Khanzadah (Caste No. 123).—The Khánzádahs are practically confined to Gurgáon so far as the Panjáb is concerned. Captain Powlett describes them thus:—

"They are the Mewáti Chiefs of the Persian historians, who were probably the representatives of the ancient Lords of Mewát. "These Mewátis are called Khánzádahs, a race which, though Musalmán like the Meos, was and is socially far superior to the Meos, "and has no love for them; but who in times past have united with them in the raids and insurrections for which Mewát was "so famous, and which made it a thorn in the side of the Dehli Emperors. In fact, the expression Mewáti usually refers to "the ruling class, while Meo designates the lower orders. The latter term is evidently not of modern origin, though it is "not, I believe, met with in history; and the former is, I think, now unusual, Khánzádah having taken its place.

"The Khánzádahs are numerically insignificant, and they cannot now be reckoned among the aristocracy. In social rank "they are far above the Meos, and though probably of more recent Hindu extraction, they are better Musalmans. They observe no "Hindu festivals, and will not acknowledge that they pay any respect to Hindu shrines. But Brahmins take part in their marriage "contracts, and they observe some Hindu marriage ceremonies. Though generally as poor and ignorant as the Meos, they "unlike the latter say their prayers, and do not let their women work in the fields.

"They are not first-rate agriculturists, the seclusion of their women giving them a disadvantage beside most other castes. "Some have emigrated and taken to trade in the Gangetic cities, but these have no connection now with the original Khánzádah "country. Those who have not abandoned the traditions of their clan are often glad of military service, and about fifty are in "British regiments. In the service of the Ulwar State there are many. There are 26 Khánzádah villages in the State, in most of "which the proprietors themselves work in the field and follow the plough.

"The term Khánzádah is probably derived from Khánazád, for it appears that Bahádur Náhar, the first of the race mentioned "in the Persian histories, associated himself with the turbulent slaves of Firoz Sháh after the death of the latter, and, being a "pervert, would contemptuously receive the name of Khánazád (slave) from his brethren. The Khánzádahs themselves indignantly "repudiate this derivation, and say the word is Khán Jádú (or Lord Jádú), and was intended to render still nobler the name of the "princely Rajpút race from which they came. Converted Jádús were called by the old Musalman historians Mewátis, a term Chand "applies to a Mewát chief of the Lunar race, of which race the Jádú Maharaja of Karauli calls himself the head."

To this Mr. Channing adds:—

"Khánzádas are a race who were formerly of much more importance thar at present; they claim to have been formerly Jádu "Rájpúts, and that their ancestors Lakhan Pál and Sumitr Pál, who dwelt at Tahangarh in Bhartpur, were converted to Islam "in the reign of Firoz Shah (A.D. 1351 to 1388), who gave Lakhan Pál the name of Náhir Khan and Sumitr Pál the name of "Bahadur Khan, and in recognition of their high descent called them Khánzádahs and made them bear rule in Mewat. At first "they are said to have lived at Sarahta near Tijára, and afterwards, according to tradition, they possessed 1,484 villages. However "this may be, there is no doubt that they were the ruling race in Mewat down to the time of Bábar; since then they have "gradually declined in importance, and now in this district own only a few villages near Núh and to the north of Firozpur. "Traces of their former importance exist at Sohna, Bundsi, and Kotila. Kotila was one of their chief fortresses; the village is "situated in a small valley, wholly surrounded by the hill, except where a small funnel-like pass gives entrance to it. In front of "this pass is the Kotila jhíl, and when this is filled with water the only road to the pass lies along a narrow strip of land "between the lake and the hill. The remains of a breastwork along the face of the hill and across the mouth of the pass still exist, "while on the hill above the village is a small ruined fort. The village now belongs to Meos. Some of the buildings bear witness "to its former greater importance. I have a suspicion that they are more intimately connected than they acknowledge with the "Meos, whom they seem to me to resemble in personal appearance. They do not ordinarily intermarry with Meos, but the Meo "inhabitants of five villages in the Firozpur tahsil profess to have been formerly Khánzádahs, and to have become Meos by "intermarriage. Their traditions also, which point to Sarahta as their ancient home, agree, I think it will be found, with those of "more than one clan of Meos. If my supposition that the Meos are converted Mínas is correct, I am inclined to suspect that the "Khánzádas are the representatives of the noble class among the aboriginal population. Tod mentions an Asil or unmixed class "among the Mínas, known as Mainas.

The Khánzádahs of Gurgaon have returned themselves as Jádúbansi in the column for clan, and they commonly say that this is their only *got*. Khánzádah, or "the son of a Khán" is precisely the Musalmán equivalent to the Hindu Rájpút or "son of a Rája;" and there can be little doubt that the Khánzádahs are to the Meos what the Rájpúts are to the Jats.

480. The Gujar (Caste No. 8).—The Gújars are the eighth largest caste in the Panjáb, only the Jats, Rájpúts, and Patháns among dominant castes, the mixed caste of Aráíns, and the Bráhmans, Chamárs, and Chúhras exceeding them in point of number. They are identified by General Cunningham with the Kushán or Yúchi or Tochari, a tribe of Eastern Tartars. About a century before Christ their Chief conquered Kábul and the Pesháwar country; while his son Híma Kadphises, so well known to the Panjáb Numismatologist, extended his sway over the whole of the Upper Panjáb and the banks of the Jamna as far down as Mathra and the Vindhyas, and his successor the no less familiar king Kanishka, the first Buddhist Indo-Scythian prince, annexed Kashmír to the kingdom of the Tochari. These Tochari or Kushàn are the Kaspeiræi of Ptolemy; and in the middle of the second century of our æra, Kaspeira, Kasyapapura, or Multán, was one of their chief cities. Probably about the beginning of the 3rd century after Christ, the attacks of the White Huns recalled the last king of the united Yúchi to the west, and he left his son in charge of an independent province whose capital was fixed at Pesháwar; and from that time the Yúchi of Kàbul are known as the Great Yúchi, and those of the Panjáb as the Kator or Little Yúchi. Before the end of the 3rd century a portion of the Gújars had begun to move southwards down the Indus, and were shortly afterwards separated from their northern brethren by another Indo-Scythian wave from the north. In the middle of the 5th century there was a Gújar kingdom in south-western Rájpútána, whence they were driven by the Balas into Gújarát of the Bombay Presidency; and about the end of the 9th century, Ala Khána the Gújar king of Jammu, ceded the present Gújar-des, corresponding very nearly

with the Gújrát district, to the king of Kashmír. The town of Gújrát is said to have been built or restored by Ali Khán Gújar in the time of Akbar. The grounds for General Cunningham's identification will be found in full detail at pages 61 to 82 of Vol. II. of the *Archæological Reports.*

The present distribution of the Gújars in India is thus described by General Cunningham :—

"At the present day the Gujars are found in great numbers in every part of the North-West of India, from the Indus to the "Ganges, and from the Hazara mountains to the Peninsula of Gujarat. They are specially numerous along the banks of the Upper "Jamna, near Jagádri and Buriya, and in the Saharanpur district, which during the last century was actually called Gujarat. To "the east they occupy the petty State of Samptar in Bandelkhand, and one of the northern districts of Gwalior, which is still called "Gujargár. They are found only in small bodies and much scattered throughout Eastern Rajputana and Gwalior; but they are "more numerous in the Western States, and specially towards Gujarat, where they form a large part of the population. The Rajas "of Rewári to the south of Dehli are Gujars. In the Southern Panjab they are thinly scattered, but their numbers increase "rapidly towards the north, where they have given their name to several important places, such as Gujranwala in the Rechna-Doab, "Gujrat in the Chaj Doab, and Gujar Khan in the Sindh Sagar Doab. They are numerous about Jahlam and Hassan Abdál, and "throughout the Hazara district; and they are also found in considerable numbers in the Dardu districts of Chilás, Kohli, and "Pálas, to the east of the Indus, and in the contiguous districts to the west of the river."

In the Panjáb they essentially belong to the lower ranges and sub-montane tracts; and though they have spread down the Jamna in considerable numbers, they are almost confined to the riverain lowlands. In the higher mountains they are almost unknown. The figures showing their distribution are given in Abstract No. 83 at page 254. Gújrát is still their stronghold, and in that district they form 13½ per cent. of the total population. There alone have they retained their dominant position. Throughout the Salt-range Tract, and probably under the eastern hills also, they are the oldest inhabitants among the tribes now settled there; but in the west the Gakkhars, Janjúas, and Patháns, and in the east the Rájpúts have always been too strong for them, and long ago deprived them of political importance. In the Pesháwar district almost any herdsman is called a Gújar, and it may be that some of those who are thus returned are not true Gújars by race[1]. But throughout the hill country of Jammu, Chibhál, and Hazára, and away in the Independent Territory lying to the north of Pesháwar as far as the Swát river, true Gújar herdsmen are found in great numbers, all possessing a common speech, which is a Hindi dialect quite distinct from the Panjábi or Pashto current in those parts. Here they are a purely pastoral and almost nomad race, taking their herds up into the higher ranges in summer and descending with them into the valleys during the cold weather; and it may be said that the Gújar is a cultivator only in the plains. Even there he is a bad cultivator, and more given to keeping cattle than to following the plough.

It is impossible without further investigation to fix the date of the Gújar colonization of the lower districts. They are almost exclusively Musalmán except in the Jamna districts and Hushyárpur, and they must therefore have entered those districts before the conversion of the great mass of the caste. The Jálandhar Gújars date their conversion from the time of Aurangzeb, a very probable date. The Fírozpur Gújars say that they came from Dáránagar in the south of India, that they moved thence to Ránia in Sirsa, and thence again to Fírozpur *via* Kasúr. The Musalmán Gújars of all the eastern half of the Province still retain more of their Hindu customs than do the majority of their converted neighbours, their women, for instance, wearing petticoats instead of drawers, and red instead of blue. It is noticeable that Gújrát is to the Gújars what Bhatner and Bhattiána are to the Bhatti, a place to which there is a traditional tendency to refer their origin.

481. The Gújar is a fine stalwart fellow, of precisely the same physical type as the Jat; and the theory of aboriginal descent which has sometimes been propounded, is to my mind conclusively negatived by his cast of countenance. He is of the same social standing as the Jat, or perhaps slightly inferior; but the two eat and drink in common without any scruple, and the proverb says: "The Jat, Gújar, "Ahír, and Gola are all four hail fellows well met." But he is far inferior in both personal character and repute to the Jat. He is lazy to a degree, and a wretched cultivator; his women, though not secluded, will not do field-work save of the lightest kind; while his fondness for cattle extends to those of other people. The difference between a Gújar and a Rájpút cattle-thief was once explained to me thus by a Jat: "The Rájpút will steal your buffalo. But he will not send his father to say he knows where it is "and will get it back for R20, and then keep the R20 and the buffalo too. The Gújar will." The Gújars have been turbulent throughout the history of the Panjáb, they were a constant thorn in the side of the Dehli Emperors, and are still ever ready to take advantage of any loosening of the bonds of discipline to attack and plunder their neighbours. Their character as expressed in the proverbial wisdom of the countryside is not a high one: "A desert is better than a Gújar: wherever you see a Gújar, hit him." Again: "The dog and the cat two, the Rángar and the Gújar two; if it were not for these four one "might sleep with one's door open:" so "The dog, the monkey, and the Gújar change their minds at "every step;" and "When all other castes are dead make friends with a Gújar." As Mr. Maconachie remarks: "Though the Gújar possesses two qualifications of a highlander, a hilly home and a constant desire "for other people's cattle, he never seems to have had the love of fighting and the character for manly "independence which distinguishes this class elsewhere. On the contrary he is generally a mean sneak-"ing cowardly fellow; and I do not know that he improves much with the march of civilization, though "of course there are exceptions; men who have given up the traditions of the tribe so far as to recog-"nize the advantage of being honest—generally."

Such is the Gújar of the Jamna districts[2]. But further west his character would seem to be higher. Major Wace describes the Gújars of Hazára as "a simple all-enduring race, thrifty and industrious, with "no ambition but to be left alone in peace with their cattle and fields;" and "many of them are fine men "in every way." Mr. Thomson says that the Gújars of Jahlam are the best farmers in the district (perhaps

[1] On the other hand, Mr. Steedman is of opinion that the figures for the Gújars of Ráwalpindi are very much under the mark, and that many of them must have been returned as Jats, Rájpúts, or perhaps even Mughals.

[2] Mr. Wilson, however, writes: "The Gújar villages in Gurgáon have on the whole stood the late bad times better than those of "almost other caste—better than the Játs, and almost as well as the Ahírs. Our Gurgáon Gújars are very little given to thieving, and "I have rather a high opinion of them."

Part IV.—Minor and Land-owning Agricultural Castes.

Abstract No. 84, *showing* Gujar tribes *for* Districts.

	Gujar Tribes.																			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
	Túnwar.	Chokhár.	Rawál.	Kalsán.	Katháná.	Kasánah.	Kálas.	Gorsí.	Chechí.	Dhedar.	Poswál.	Lawí.	Bijár.	Khaindar.	Melu.	Thakria.	Chauhán.	Monan.	Bhumla.	
Dehli	2,555	744	100	1	336	676	7	8	51	1	6	4	...	...	...	...	87	...	...	Dehli
Gurgaon	324	1	...	8	1,629	797	...	...	274	10	782	17	...	...	...	...	155	...	2,692	Gurgaon
Karnál	...	2,325	4,417	1,588	21	92	...	422	307	43	208	...	33	...	118	...	172	...	...	Karnál
Hissar	116	34	8	20	389	508	189	10	308	33	79	42	70	...	602	...	86	...	...	Hissar
Rohtak	...	19	3	1	101	128	4	41	42	2	24	1	...	...	9	...	52	...	...	Rohtak
Ambala	...	240	10	...	1,491	2,289	1,208	1,594	2,810	1,218	4,467	554	3,504	...	6	...	1,280	...	...	Ambala
Ludhiána	...	...	...	...	749	695	1,175	3,462	3,285	1,139	1,690	613	1,584	...	409	29	518	30	...	Ludhiána
Jálandhar	...	...	...	...	546	388	565	1,457	1,152	86	1,139	173	683	...	1	...	682	278	...	Jálandhar
Hushyárpur	...	...	...	...	546	2,299	1,111	3,301	3,171	...	6,910	2,825	3,230	1,172	2,357	1,200	4,530	2,585	...	Hushyárpur
Kángra	...	...	...	...	60	135	118	209	418	52	211	851	190	...	...	13	645	142	...	Kángra
Amritsar	...	...	...	...	153	134	...	180	645	...	197	...	180	...	...	...	146	69	...	Amritsar
Gurdáspur	1,140	336	...	...	2,750	1,533	...	1,772	4,010	215	1,687	30	710	...	...	860	1,151	4,749	...	Gurdáspur
Siálkot	...	3	10	...	1,020	439	...	277	692	167	541	1	176	...	...	...	517	...	...	Siálkot
Lahore	...	1	13	...	445	82	...	290	1,020	54	198	40	178	...	47	4	194	91	...	Lahore
Gujránwala	...	...	17	...	125	25	60	38	205	...	27	...	126	...	...	43	221	...	...	Gujránwala
Firozpur	...	...	...	...	1,168	312	166	870	779	338	389	114	215	...	...	...	332	170	...	Firozpur
Ráwalpindi	...	280	...	...	5,646	612	1,318	1,232	3,207	340	2,417	4	1,041	...	25	975	2,361	344	...	Ráwalpindi
Jahlam	...	20	...	...	3,684	882	1,260	309	1,621	451	1,349	36	907	...	...	758	1,287	62	35	Jahlam
Gujrát	...	269	...	...	21,449	3,048	3,560	3,312	8,092	1,921	3,491	150	3,592	...	1,389	3,524	7,985	382	2,189	Gujrát
Peshávar	...	13	3	...	...	2	13	119	167	2	31	2	230	...	...	...	...	...	...	Peshávar
Hazara	...	195	...	...	8,526	11	1,314	319	7,156	899	2,684	...	2,504	...	...	2,362	5,132	221	21	Hazara
States of East. Plains	134	167	30	...	2,782	456	652	2,036	5,258	908	1,095	416	1,664	...	382	183	981	403	328	States of East. Plains
British Territory	4,143	4,524	4,600	1,627	51,065	15,126	12,194	19,279	39,562	7,055	28,539	5,461	19,159	1,172	4,968	9,770	27,554	9,123	4,937	British Territory
Native States	134	167	67	...	3,080	1,014	1,209	2,824	6,427	1,261	1,441	1,258	2,186	...	956	183	2,238	403	370	Native States
Province	4,277	4,691	4,667	1,627	54,145	16,140	13,403	22,103	45,989	8,316	29,980	6,719	21,345	1,172	5,924	9,953	29,792	9,526	5,307	Province

Part IV.—Minor and Land-owning Agricultural Castes.

not excessive praise in a district held by Gakkhars, Awáns, and Rájpúts), though the Maliár or Aráin is a better market gardener; and that they are quiet and industrious, more likeable than (Salt-range) Jats, but with few attractive qualities. Mr. Steedman gives a similar account of the Gújars of Ráwalpindi, calling them "excellent cultivators." So the Gújars of Hushyárpur are said to be "a quiet and well-behaved set." In Jálandhar Sir Richard Temple describes them as "here as elsewhere of pastoral habits, but more "industrious and less predatory than usual;" and Mr. Barkley writes: "At present, after thirty years of "British rule, they are probably as little given to crime as any other large class in the agricultural popu-"lation. It is still generally true that they occupy themselves more with grazing than with agriculture; "but this is by no means invariably the case." But in Fírozpur again Mr. Brandreth describes them as "unwilling cultivators, and greatly addicted to thieving," and gives instances of their criminal propensities. Thus it would appear that the further the Gújar moves from his native hills, the more he deteriorates and the more unpleasant he makes himself to his neighbours. The following description of the Gújars of Kángra by Mr. Barnes is both graphic and interesting:—

"The Gujars of the hills are quite unlike the caste of the same designation in the plains. There they are known as an idle, "worthless and thieving race, rejoicing in waste, and enemies to cultivation and improvement; but above and below they are both "addicted to pastoral habits. In the hills the Gujars are exclusively a pastoral tribe,—they cultivate scarcely at all. The Gadis keep "flocks of sheep and goats, and the Gujar's wealth consists of buffaloes. These people live in the skirts of the forests, and maintain "their existence exclusively by the sale of the milk, ghee, and other produce of their herds. The men graze the cattle, and fre-"quently lie out for weeks in the woods tending their herds. The women repair to the markets every morning with baskets on their "heads, with little earthen pots filled with milk, butter-milk and ghee, each of these pots containing the proportion required for a "day's meal. During the hot weather the Gujars usually drive their herds to the upper range, where the buffaloes rejoice in the "rich grass which the rains bring forth, and at the same time attain condition from the temperate climate and the immunity from "venomous flies which torment their existence in the plains. The Gujars are a fine, manly race, with peculiar and handsome "features. They are mild and inoffensive in manner, and in these hills are not distinguished by the bad pre-eminence which attaches "to their race in the plains. They are never known to thieve. Their women are supposed to be not very scrupulous. Their "habits of frequenting public markets and carrying about their stock for sale unaccompanied by their husbands undoubtedly expose "them to great temptations; and I am afraid the imputations against their character are too well founded. They are tall well-"grown women, and may be seen every morning entering the bazaars of the hill towns, returning home about the afternoon with "their baskets emptied of their treasures. The Gujars are found all over the district. They abound particularly about Jowala Mukhi, "Tira, and Nadaun. There are some Hindu Gujars, especially towards Mandi; but they are a small sect compared to the Musalmans."

It has been suggested, and is I believe held by many, that Jats and Gújars, and perhaps Ahírs also, are all of one ethnic stock; and this because there is a close communion between them. It may be that they are the same in their far-distant origin. But I think that they must have either entered India at different times or settled in separate parts, and my reason for thinking so is precisely because they eat and smoke together. In the case of Jat and Rájpút the reason for differentiation is obvious, the latter being of higher rank than the former. But the social standing of Jats, Gújars, and Ahírs being practically identical, I do not see why they should ever have separated if they were once the same. It is however possible that the Jats were the camel graziers and perhaps husbandmen, the Gújars the cowherds of the hills, and the Ahírs the cowherds of the plains. If this be so, they afford a classification by occupation of the yeoman class, which fills up the gap between and is absolutely continuous with the similar classification of the castes above them as Bráhmans, Banyas, and Rájpúts, and of the castes below them as Tarkháns, Chamárs, and so forth. But we must know more of the early distribution of the tribes before we can have any opinion on the subject. I have noticed in the early historians a connection between the migrations and location of Gújars and Rájpúts which has struck me as being more than accidental; but the subject needs an immense deal of work upon it before it can be said to be even ready for drawing conclusions[1].

482. Gujar Tribes.—The Gújar tribes and clans appear to be very numerous, and apparently new local sub-divisions have sprung up in many places. Still the distribution of the main tribes for which I give figures on the opposite page in Abstract No. 84 is far more general than is the case with other castes of equal importance. The figures only include 47 per cent. of the Gújars of the Province; but they comprise 69 per cent. of those of Gújrát, and probably include most of the great original tribes. The Khatána and Chechi far surpass the others in number.

MINOR AGRICULTURAL AND PASTORAL TRIBES.

483. The minor agricultural and pastoral tribes.—The group of castes for which the figures are given in Abstract No. 85 on page 266 are not separated from the castes and tribes already discussed by any clearly defined line. Indeed it is quite a matter of opinion whether some of these should not have been ranked with the major and some of those with the minor tribes. But the group now to be discussed very generally hold an inferior position among the agricultural community, and seldom if ever occupy the position of the dominant tribe in any considerable tract of country. They may be divided into three classes, though here again the lines of demarcation are indistinct. The first consists of the market gardeners proper or growers of vegetables, and includes the Máli, Saini, Aráin, and Bághbán, all four of whom are probably closely connected, and some of them almost undistinguishable. The cultivation of vegetables is looked upon as degrading by the agricultural classes, why I know not, unless it be that night soil is generally used for their fertilisation; and a Rájpút would say: "What! Do you take me for an Aráin?" if anything was proposed which he considered derogatory. The second class comprises the Kanet and Ghirath, the low-class cultivators of the hills, and the Kamboh, Ahír, Mahtam, and other cultivators of inferior status. Some of these are closely allied to the vegetable-growers; others again to the Ghosi and Gaddi which constitute the third class, and are pastoral rather than agricultural. The class as a whole is to be found in largest number in the fertile districts of the eastern plains and sub-montane tract, and in the hills where the proud Rájpúts look upon labour at the plough as degrading. It is least numerous in the Deraját, where the comprehensive name of Jat embraces all cultivators of this class.

[1] Mr. Wilson notes that the Gújars and the Bargújar tribe of Rájpúts are often found together; and suggests that the latter may be to the Gújars what the Khánzádahs are to the Meos and what most Rájpúts are to the Jats.

Abstract No. 85, *showing* Minor Agricultural *and* Pastoral Tribes.

MINOR AGRICULTURAL AND PASTORAL TRIBES.

Figures.

	Máli.	Saini.	Aráin.	Bághbán.	Kanet.	Ghirath.	Reya.	Lodha.	Káchhi.	Kamboh.	Ahír.	Mahtam.	Sarrára.	Ghosi.	Gaddi.
	45	31	7	65	20	29	147	105	142	33	27	51	118	125	81
Dehli	12,714	1,672	1,585	...	...	...	1,993	3,825	1,323	46	14,544	...	...	876	267
Gurgaon	9,673	...	1	...	...	...	...	226	1	...	64,884	...	...	16	...
Karnal	10,124	21	7,118	...	...	...	...	1,659	284	9,082	1,007	...	...	490	2,729
Hissar	9,777	...	1,907	...	...	...	...	7	61	11	7,861	...	...	390	...
Rohtak	7,949	...	36	...	...	...	...	18	1	..	15,824	...	...	309	...
Sirsa	885	...	4,742	...	...	...	...	1	16	...	922	1,988	...	67	...
Ambala	...	63,054	30,881	...	2,602	296	...	1,528	55	12,988	1,561	...	...	224	901
Ludhiána	...	304	27,229	...	20	4	...	48	7	951	1	...	...	201	...
Simla	...	50	24	...	9,090	101	...	17	8	11	536	...	...	...	...
Jalandhar	11	14,324	123,323	...	60	389	...	...	42	7,120	259	3,314	...	...	...
Hushyárpur	195	43,790	38,801	...	1,639	41,793	...	...	10	466	30	230	...	...	5
Kángra	407	1,911	1,067	...	61,141	108,716	...	...	11	...	26	1	...	...	2,036
Amritsar	...	565	44,708	...	...	210	...	...	66	13,654	356	1,873	...	...	...
Gurdáspur	...	13,842	55,983	...	...	6,142	...	...	...	275	53	...	...	...	303
Sialkot	...	433	65,241	...	...	14	...	...	...	10	448	1,052	...	1	...
Lahore	122	2	94,964	...	...	20	...	152	34	17,694	1,213	9,551	...	99	...
Gujránwála	...	...	21,740	...	...	...	...	8	...	604	85	17	...	...	...
Firozpur	52	...	51,043	...	...	4	...	174	1	5,208	1,100	5,954	...	83	...
Ráwalpindi	106	7	2	41,701	1	...	...	385	...	8	941	...	...	235	...
Jahlam	...	...	15,470	11,414	...	6	...	2	...	14	195	...	...	...	...
Gujrat	...	...	20,386	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	58	2,022	...	...	...
Shahpur	...	...	8,574	...	...	...	...	...	...	128	962	...	...	...	...
Multan	49	53	23,981	20	...	4	...	378	...	687	887	4,193	...	332	...
Jhang	...	...	6,077	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	45	29	...	...	...
Montgomery	...	...	22,889	...	...	...	...	...	...	14,673	186	13,147	...	...	...
Muzaffargarh	13	...	3,991	...	...	...	..	3	...	11	73	2,943	...	5	...
Derah Ismail Khan	...	...	1,068	...	..	8	...	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Derah Ghazi Khan	22	...	59	...	...	12	...	...	1	1	6	822	...	...	...
Bannu	...	3	3,941	...	...	9	...	1	...	7	...	...	...	...	...
Peshāwar	...	...	...	21,240	...	12	...	92	5	3	436	4	...	23	...
Hazara	...	...	...	5,532	...	...	...	...	...	...	37	...	4,426	...	...
Kohát	...	...	...	1,154	...	...	...	2	1	1	62	...	...	...	1
British Territory	**52,102**	**140,031**	**676,831**	**81,063**	**74,553**	**157,740**	**1,993**	**8,537**	**1,928**	**83,656**	**114,633**	**47,140**	**4,426**	**3,351**	**6,242**
Patiála	6,052	7,854	41,500	153	14,203	328	...	27	27	23,417	31,512	...	...	181	...
Nábha	269	22	3,182	...	...	...	...	1	3	3,649	14,711	21	...	...	...
Kapurthala	1	2,061	39,095	...	33	314	...	...	9	12,937	28	2,347	...	...	...
Jínd	3,104	7	2,353	...	...	...	...	2	291	529	5,023	...	...	8	3
Farídkot	42	73	2,294	...	1	...	...	...	...	4	153	106	...	...	...
Maler Kotla	...	...	1,738	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,570	24	...	...	...	...
Kalsia	3,069	...	2,879	...	14	...	...	3	...	749	39	...	...	...	...
Total East. Plains	**13,180**	**10,017**	**93,041**	**153**	**14,251**	**642**	**...**	**42**	**330**	**45,855**	**58,946**	**2,474**	**...**	**189**	**3**
Baháwalpur	...	...	29,031	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5,766	...	...	...
Mandi	...	435	384	...	68,681	719	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...
Chamba	5	1	...	...	...	96	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11,161
Náhan	354	...	232	...	37,817	180	...	48	...	7	33	...	...	...	...
Bilāspur	...	58	29	...	20,593	116	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16
Bashahr	...	...	...	...	38,994	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...
Nálagarh	2	1,915	92	...	13,613	680	...	...	...	49	...	...	...	3	...
Suket	...	169	370	...	21,830	24	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Total Hill States	**434**	**2,584**	**1,138**	**...**	**256,971**	**1,870**	**...**	**48**	**...**	**78**	**61**	**...**	**...**	**3**	**11,177**
British Territory	52,102	140,031	676,831	81,063	74,553	157,740	1,993	8,537	1,928	83,656	114,633	47,140	4,426	3,351	6,242
Native States	13,614	12,601	123,210	153	271,222	2,512	...	90	330	45,933	59,007	8,240	...	192	11,180
Province	65,716	152,632	800,041	81,216	345,775	160,252	1,993	8,627	2,258	129,589	173,640	55,380	4,426	3,543	17,422

Proportion per 1,000 of Total Population.

	Máli.	Saini.	Aráin.	Bághbán.	Total.	Kanet.	Ghirath.	Reya.	Lodha.	Káchhi.	Kamboh.	Ahír.	Mahtam.	Sarrára.	Total.	Ghosi.	Gaddi.	Total.	Grand Total.
	45	31	7	65		20	29	147	105	142	33	27	51	118		125	81		
Dehli	20	3	2	...	25	...	...	3	6	2	...	23	...	...	34	1	...	1	60
Gurgaon	15	...	...	...	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	101	...	...	101	...	...	...	116
Karnal	16	...	11	...	27	...	...	...	3	...	15	2	...	...	20	1	4	5	52
Hissar	19	...	4	...	23	...	...	...	...	...	...	16	...	...	16	1	...	1	40
Rohtak	14	...	...	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	29	...	...	29	1	...	1	44
Sirsa	3	...	19	...	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	8	..	12	...	...	...	34
Ambala	...	59	29	...	88	3	...	...	1	...	12	1	...	...	17	...	1	1	106
Ludhiána	...	...	44	...	44	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	46
Simla	...	1	1	...	2	212	2	...	...	...	...	12	...	...	226	...	...	...	228
Jalandhar	...	18	156	...	174	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	4	...	13	...	...	...	187
Hushyárpur	...	49	43	...	92	2	46	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	49	...	2	2	143
Kángra	1	3	1	...	5	84	149	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	234	...	3	3	242
Amritsar	...	1	50	...	51	...	...	...	...	...	15	...	2	...	17	...	...	...	68
Gurdáspur	...	17	68	...	85	...	7	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	93
Sialkot	...	...	65	...	65	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	66
Lahore	...	...	103	...	103	...	...	...	...	...	19	1	10	...	30	...	...	...	133
Gujránwála	...	...	35	...	35	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	36
Firozpur	...	...	78	...	78	...	...	...	...	...	8	2	9	...	19	...	...	...	97
Ráwalpindi	...	...	...	51	51	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	52
Jahlam	...	...	35	19	54	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	54
Gujrat	...	...	30	...	30	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	3	...	...	...	33
Shahpur	...	...	20	..	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	22
Multan	...	...	43	...	43	...	...	...	1	...	1	2	8	...	12	1	...	1	56
Jhang	...	...	15	...	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	15
Montgomery	...	...	54	...	54	...	...	...	...	...	34	...	31	...	65	...	...	...	119
Muzaffargarh	...	...	12	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	9	...	...	...	21
Derah Ismail Khan	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Derah Ghazi Khan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	...	2
Bannu	...	...	12	...	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12
Peshāwar	...	...	..	36	36	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	37
Hazara	...	...	...	14	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	11	...	...	...	25
Kohát	...	...	...	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6
British Territory	**3**	**7**	**36**	**4**	**50**	**4**	**8**	**...**	**...**	**...**	**4**	**6**	**3**	**...**	**25**	**...**	**...**	**...**	**75**
Patiála	4	5	28	...	37	10	...	...	...	...	16	21	...	...	47	...	...	...	84
Nábha	1	...	12	...	13	...	...	...	...	...	14	56	...	...	70	...	...	...	83
Kapurthala	...	8	155	...	163	...	1	...	...	...	51	...	9	...	61	...	...	...	224
Jínd	12	...	9	...	21	...	...	...	...	1	2	20	...	...	23	...	...	..	44
Farídkot	...	1	23	...	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	3	...	...	...	27
Maler Kotla	...	...	24	...	24	...	...	...	...	...	64	...	...	...	64	...	...	...	88
Kalsia	45	...	43	...	88	...	...	...	...	...	11	1	...	...	12	...	...	...	100
Total East. Plains	**5**	**4**	**37**	**...**	**46**	**6**	**...**	**...**	**...**	**...**	**18**	**23**	**1**	**...**	**48**	**...**	**...**	**...**	**94**
Baháwalpur	...	...	51	...	51	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	3	...	...	...	54
Mandi	...	3	3	...	6	467	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	472	...	...	...	478
Chamba	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	96	96	97
Náhan	3	...	2	...	5	338	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	340	...	...	...	345
Bilāspur	...	1	...	...	1	238	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	239	...	...	...	240
Bashahr	...	...	...	...	...	606	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	606	...	...	...	606
Nálagarh	...	36	2	...	38	255	13	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	269	...	...	...	307
Suket	...	3	7	...	10	416	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	416	...	...	...	426
Total Hill States	**1**	**3**	**1**	**...**	**5**	**335**	**2**	**...**	**...**	**...**	**...**	**...**	**...**	**...**	**337**	**...**	**...**	**...**	**342**
British Territory	3	7	36	4	50	4	8	...	...	...	4	6	3	...	25	...	...	...	75
Native States	4	3	32	...	39	70	1	...	...	...	12	15	2	...	100	...	3	3	142
Province	3	7	36	4	50	15	7	...	...	...	6	8	2	...	38	...	1	1	89

484. The Mali and Saini (Caste Nos. 45 and 31).—The Sainis would appear to be only a sub-division of the Mális. In Bijnor they are said to be identical, and I am informed that the two intermarry in many, but not in all parts of the North-west Provinces. It is probable that the Sainis are a Máli tribe, and that some of the higher tribes of the same caste will not marry with them. The Máli is the *Málakára* or florist of the Puráns, is generally a market or nursery gardener, and is most numerous in the vicinity of towns where manure is plentiful and there is a demand for his produce. He is perhaps the most skilful and industrious cultivator we possess, and does wonders with his land, producing three or even four crops within the year from the same plot. He is found under the name of Máli only in the Jamna zone, including the eastern portions of Hissár, his place being taken by the Saini in the eastern sub-montane districts, and by the Aráin or Bághbán in the remainder of the Province. He is almost always a Hindu. Most of the few Mális shown for the western districts were returned as Maliár, the Panjábi form of Máli; and some of them as Phulára or Phulwára (but see section 485 for the inclusion of Maliár under Aráin.)

The Sainis, who as I have just explained are probably a Máli tribe, are said to claim Rájpút origin in Jálandhar; but Mr. Barkley writes of the Sainis of that district: "They consider themselves the same as "the Mális of the North-west Provinces, and to be connected with the Aráins, though the latter know "nothing of the relationship. They are not found west of the Chanáb, but are numerous in some parts "of the Ambála district." They appear from our figures to lie all along the foot of the hills between the valleys of the Jamna and Rávi, but not to have reached the Chanáb valley. Both they and the Mális are properly tribes of Hindústán rather than of the Panjáb. About 10 per cent. of the Sainis are Sikhs, and the remainder Hindus. In Ráwalpindi no fewer than 3,655 Mughals have returned their tribe or clan as Saini; but it is probable that these have no connection with the caste under discussion, as it would not appear to have penetrated so far westwards. The Sainis of Rúpar in Ambála are described as "an ill-con- "ditioned set, first-rate cultivators, but refractory and intriguing."

The Mális and Sainis, like all vegetable growers, occupy a very inferior position among the agricultural castes; but of the two the Sainis are probably the higher, as they more often own land or even whole villages, and are less generally mere market gardeners than are the Mális.

SAINI CLANS IN HUSHYARPUR.

Clan	Number	Clan	Number
Boli	3,462	Alagní	2,182
Pawán	2,980	Mangar	1,692
Gaddi	2,708	Badyál	1,142
Hamarti	2,506	Baráyat	1,120
Badwál	2,226		

The largest of the Máli sub-divisions are the Phúl with 11,646, and the Bhagarti with 15,658 persons. The Sainis do not appear to have returned any large clans except in Hushyárpur, of which district some of the largest clans are shown in the margin, and in Gurdáspur where 1,541 Saini showed their clans as Salahri. Mr. Barkley notes that some of the clans of Aráins and of Sainis in Jálandhar bear the same names, and those not always merely names of other and dominant tribes.

485. The Arain, Baghban, and Maliar (Caste Nos. 7 and 65).—The word Bághbán is the Persian equivalent of the Hindi word Máli, and means simply a gardener. But it is commonly used for the Aráin in the west of the Panjáb; and even as far east as Jálandhar there are two villages of the same name, of which the one which is held by Aráins is often distinguished by the addition of *Bághbánán* to its name. Unfortunately the Peshéwar divisional officer has included those who returned themselves as Aráin or Maliár under Bághbán, and I cannot give separate figures for them. The Bághbáns of the Ráwalpindi division are discussed below.

The Aráins, or as they are called on the Jamna Ráins, are probably a true caste in the Satluj valley and throughout the Eastern Plains. But in the western half of the Panjáb excepting on the Satluj, the word seems to be used for any market-gardener. Mr. Steedman writes: "Aráin, Ráin, Bághbán, Máli, "and Maliár are in Jhang and Ráwalpindi a very mixed body of men, the names denoting occupation "rather than caste, and are invariably held in very low repute." The Maliár of the Ráwalpindi division for the most part returned their clan as Janjúa, Qutbsháhi (Awán), Khokhar, or Bhatti, though some of them give what are apparently true Aráin clans, such as Wáhand. Table VIII A gives no Aráins or Bágbháns in the Ráwalpindi district, but the fact is that by an unfortunate error, not detected till after the tables were in print, the Maliárs of Ráwalpindi and Jahlam were entered as Maniárs under Caste No. 47. I have added them to the figures for Bághbán in the Abstract, and it follows that all the Ráwalpindi and Jahlam Bághbáns of the Abstract were returned as Maliár, and not as Bághbán. So too, the figures for Muzaffargarh and the two Derahs are very imperfect, as Abstract No. 72 on page 224 shows that some thousands of Aráins or Maliárs in those districts returned their caste as Jat. On the whole it would appear that Máli and Aráin are true castes in the eastern half of the Province, but that in the Western Panjáb, Aráin, Maliár, and Bághbán are commonly used as mere names of one and the same occupation. The detailed clan tables, when published, will throw much light upon the real affinities of these three castes.

486. The Aráins are found in great numbers throughout the northern, central, and western portions of the Eastern Plains and throughout the Ráwalpindi and Multán divisions; but west of Lahore the name must be taken to refer, except on the Satluj, to an occupation rather than a caste. Their strongholds are the Jálandhar, Amritsar, and Lahore divisions, and more especially the districts of Jálandhar and Lahore and the State of Kapúrthala, where they form respectively 17·4, 10·3, and 16·3 per cent. of the total population. They are admirable cultivators, skilful and industrious, but like all vegetable growers of low standing among the cultivating classes. Where, however, they are found in very large numbers their position is higher, as there they are general cultivators rather than market gardeners. They are almost without exception Musalmáns, and would appear to be a true Panjáb tribe, to have come from the neighbourhood of Multán, and to have some affinity with the Kamboh. Mr. Purser writes: "The Aráins "of Montgomery know nothing of their origin. They claim to be Súrajbansi Rájpúts, and to have come "up to this district from the Dehli part of the country. They are usually supposed to be Mahomedan "Kambohs, and the latter undoubtedly came from the west, so it is likely the Aráins did too. This is "rendered more probable by the fact that the Aráins of Sahéranpur are said to have come from

Part IV.—Minor Land-owning and Agricultural Castes.

"Afghánistán. They do not seem to have got much below the Lahore border. Their chief divisions are "Gahlán, Chandor, Chácha, Sindhu, and Barár." I find that the Aráins of Fírozpur and Lahore also trace their origin from Uchh or Multán, and are supposed to be akin to the Kamboh. In Sirsa the Satluj Aráins meet those of the Ghaggar. The two do not intermarry, but the Aráins of the Ghaggar valley say they were Rájpúts living on the Panjnad near Multán, but were ejected some four centuries ago by Saiyad Jalál-ul-dín of Uchh. They claim some sort of connection with Jaisalmer. Till the great famines of 1759 and 1783 A.D. they are said to have held all the lower valleys, of the Choya and Ghaggar, but after the latter date the Bhattis harassed the Sumras, the country became disturbed, and many of the Aráins emigrated across the Ganges and settled near Bareli and Rámpur. They marry only with the Ghaggar and Bareli Aráins. The Satluj Aráins in Sirsa say that they are, like the Aráins of Lahore and Montgomery, connected by origin with the Hindu Kambohs. Mr. Wilson thinks it probable that both classes are really Kambohs who have become Musalmáns, and that the Ghaggar Aráins emigrated in a body from Multán, while the others moved gradually up the Satluj into their present place. He describes the Aráins of the Ghaggar as the most advanced and civilised tribe in the Sirsa district, even surpassing the Sikh Jats from Patiála; and he considers them at least equal in social status with the Jats, over whom they themselves claim superiority. The Aráins of Fírozpur, Lúdhiána, Ambála, and Hissár also trace their origin from Uchh or its neighbourhood, though the Hissár Aráins are said to be merely Mahomedan Mális.

Of the Aráins of Jálandhar Mr. Barkley says that they are commonly believed to be descended from Kambohs, and that even those who are ashamed of so commonplace an origin are not prepared altogether to disclaim the relationship, but state that the Kambohs are the illegitimate and they the legitimate descendants of a common ancestor. He further states that they are settlers from the south, that none of their settlements are much older than 250 years, and that their original country is said to extend from Hánsi to Multán, while those of the Jálandhar Aráins whose history he has traced have come from the direction of Hissár. The Jálandhar Aráins themselves say they are descended from Rai Chajju of Ujjain who held the whole of the Sirsa district in *jágir;* while the Karnál Ráins also trace their origin from Sirsa. On the whole it would appear probable that the Aráins originally came from the lower Indus and spread up the five rivers of the Panjáb; and that at an early stage in their history a section of them moved up the Ghaggar, perhaps then a permanent river flowing into the Indus, and there gained for themselves a position of some importance. As the Ghaggar dried up and the neighbouring country became more arid, they moved on into the Jamna districts and cis-Satluj tract generally, and perhaps spread along the foot of the hills across the line of movement of their brethren who were moving up the valleys of the larger rivers. Their alleged connection with the Mális is probably based only upon common occupation; but there does seem some reason to think that they may perhaps be akin to the Kambohs, though the difference must be more than one of religion only, as many of the Kambohs are Musalmán.

Abstract No. 86 on the opposite page shows some of the largest Aráin clans. I have included under the head Aráin 987 persons who have returned themselves as Bhohar, which I am informed is an Aráin clan. Of these 850 were in Multán, 34 in Montgomery, and 103 in Muzaffargarh.

487. The Kanet (Caste No. 20).—The Kanets are the low-caste cultivating class of all the eastern Himálayas of the Panjáb and the hills at their base, as far west as Kúlu and the eastern portion of the Kángra district, throughout which tract they form a very large proportion of the total population. Beyond this tract, in Kángra proper, their place is filled by Ghiraths. The country they inhabit is held or governed by Hill Rájpúts of prehistoric ancestry, the greater part of whom are far too proud to cultivate with their own hands, and who employ the Kanets as husbandmen. The Kanets claim to be of impure Rájpút origin, but there is little doubt that they are really of aboriginal stock. At the same time it is most difficult to separate them from Ráthis (*q. v.*, page 251), and in Chamba both have been included under the latter head. The whole question of their origin is elaborately discussed by General Cunningham at pages 125 to 135 of Vol. XIV of his Archæological Reports. He identifies them with the Kunindas or Kulindas of the Sanskrit classics and of Ptolemy, and is of opinion that they belong to that great Khasa race which, before the Aryan invasion, occupied the whole Sub-Himalayan tract from the Indus to the Brahmapútra, and which, driven up into the hills by the advancing wave of immigration, now separates the Aryans of India from the Turanians of Tibet. But the Kanets are divided into two great tribes, the Khasia and the Ráo, and it is probable that the Khasias are really descended from intercourse between the Aryan immigrants and the women of the hills. The process by which the great Khas tribe of Nepal thus grew up is admirably described by Mr. Hodgson in his Essay in the Military tribes of that country, which is quoted at some length by General Cunningham, and, less fully, by me at page 236 *supra*. The distinction between Khasia and Ráo is still sufficiently well marked. A Khasia observes the period of impurity after the death of a relation prescribed for a twice-born man; the Ráo that prescribed for an outcast. The Khasia wears the *janeo* or sacred thread, while the Ráo does not. But the distinction is apparently breaking down, at least in Kúlu where the two tribes freely eat together and intermarry, though the Khasia, if asked, will deny the fact.

488. Mr. Lyall thus describes the Kanets of Kúlu:—

"The Kanets are often classed by other Hindus as on a par with the Rathis of Kangra. Just as the Rathis claim to be Rajputs "who have lost grade by taking to the plough, or the offspring of Rajputs by Sudra women, so the Kanets say that they are the chil- "dren of women of the hills by Rajputs who came up from the plains. By one story both Kanets and Dagis were originally of the "same stock. Two sons of the demi-god, Bhim Sen Pándab, had each a son by the daughter of a Kulu rakhas or demon. One of "these sons married a Bhotanti, or woman of Tibet, who fed him with yak's flesh, so he and his children by her became Dagis. The "other son was ancestor of the Kanets.

"Both of these stories perhaps point to the conclusion that the Kanets and Dagis are of mixed Mughal and Hindu race. Ge- "neral Cunningham says as much of the Kanets of Kanawar, and connects the caste name with the word Karána, which implies mixed "blood. The Kanets are divided into Kassiyas and Raos. The Raos say that the origin of this division was that a Raja of Kulu "ordered the Kanets to reform their loose practices, and conform altogether to Hinduism; those who obeyed were called Kassiyas, "and those who stuck to their old ways Raos. It is a fact that at the present day the former are more Hindu in all observances "than the latter, and the story is otherwise probable, as one can see that the foreign priests round the Rajas were always striving "to make the Kulu people more orthodox Hindus, greater respecters of Brahmins, and less devoted to the worship of their local "divinities. The Kassiyas wear the *janeo*, and pretend to some superiority, which, however, is not admitted by the Raos. They in- "termarry and eat and drink together out of the same cooking pot, but not out of the same dish or plate."

Part IV.—Minor Land-owning and Agricultural Castes.

Abstract No. 86, *showing* Arain Clans.

	ARAIN.																							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
	Multáni.	Ghalar.	Múnda.	Hánsi.	Báhmun.	Bhedu.	Goher.	Balgoria.	Galru.	Malání.	Naín.	Chandor.	Dhauge.	Bhatti.	Bhutta.	Janjua.	Dhúdhí.	Rámí.	Gahlán.	Wahand.	Qutbsháhí.	Jatálí.	Chúchar.	
Ambala	6,424	47	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	217	34	270	139	655	7	3	88	...	208	...	...	1,004	7	Ambala
Ludhiána	8	1,714	1,291	862	282	423	24	...	...	183	571	1,037	36	34	405	14	626	463	1,860	...	...	1,537	770	Ludhiána
Jalandhar	...	1,821	...	4,704	3,912	7,372	5,255	...	...	1,792	4,619	5,141	377	334	3,134	1,487	1,215	13,004	7,213	...	...	4,931	858	Jalandhar
Hushyárpur	...	...	164	1,951	120	455	91	2,809	4,485	1,116	...	973	113	150	922	12	1,054	342	3,892	...	...	1,031	636	Hushyárpur
Amritsar	150	514	41	142	123	...	...	...	...	278	1,126	5,428	...	1,282	12	26	...	3,272	504	178	8	2,884	1,429	Amritsar
Gurdáspur	10	127	...	935	34	253	360	...	...	251	895	1,167	5,784	2,295	352	31	159	1,864	3,561	...	...	3,927	757	Gurdáspur
Siálkot	36	...	...	382	1,804	155	75	...	...	23	571	1,340	359	1,988	895	801	786	...	...	329	4	2,644	7	Siálkot
Lahore	6,486	32	8	89	113	48	10	...	...	697	8,081	6,113	815	1,080	7,646	521	422	2,630	8,628	...	...	5,099	3,715	Lahore
Gujránwála	130	...	...	18	305	...	58	...	...	...	184	333	...	1,210	580	1,541	88	71	276	1,076	16	901	9	Gujránwála
Firozpur	3	49	...	500	2	37	377	...	...	1,070	4,862	3,867	947	2,262	2,580	10	247	2,704	3,856	...	335	3,243	1,985	Firozpur
Gujrát	...	33	...	...	412	...	...	...	...	...	668	...	...	495	24	989	...	...	363	814	110	1,131	...	Gujrát
Shahpur	...	...	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	162	85	350	...	...	...	352	3	292	...	Shahpur
Multan	1	...	...	60	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	258	22	830	1,711	668	78	...	...	3	12	2,053	...	Multan
Jhang	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	208	17	1,422	139	...	...	63	69	...	...	Jhang
Montgomery	...	...	...	14	...	86	...	...	...	188	7	70	520	772	4,014	185	1,585	...	3	...	...	987	10	Montgomery
Muzaffargarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,385	1,409	32	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Muzaffargarh
British Territory	13,286	4,337	1,508	9,658	7,107	8,829	6,250	2,809	4,485	5,826	21,622	26,119	9,295	15,684	24,477	8,098	6,559	24,355	30,479	2,815	557	32,153	10,233	British Territory
Native States	607	26	790	54	13	7	13	...	...	424	302	1,387	956	1,002	8,126	8	69	46	2,708	...	...	1,114	383	Native States
Province	13,893	4,363	2,298	9,712	7,120	8,836	6,263	2,809	4,485	6,250	21,924	27,506	10,251	16,686	32,603	8,106	6,628	24,401	33,187	2,815	557	33,267	10,616	Province

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He adds that they are not tall, but strong and active, and generally have handsome figures. Some are hardly darker than Spaniards in complexion, with a ruddy colour showing in their cheeks; others are as dark as the ordinary Panjábi. Of the "so called Kanets of Láhul" he writes that they "are a mixed race, but "the Mongolian element predominates over the Indian. Many of those who live in the lower valley are "no doubt descendants of Kanet settlers from Kúlu and Bangáhal; the rest are pure Tibetan, or nearly "so." In Láhul the Kanets, like all other classes of the people, will eat cows and bullocks which have died a natural death. They never wear the sacred thread. The social status of the Kanet appears to be very low. A Sunár will marry a Kanet woman, but he will not give his daughter to a Kanet, nor will he eat from the hand of a Kanet, though his wife will do so. In Láhul even a Bráhman or Thakar will take a Kanet woman as a second-class wife, and the offspring of the latter, who are known as *Garu*, will in a few generations rank as Thakar. Those of the former however can never rise to full equality with the pure Bráhman, though they are commonly known as Bráhmans. The fathers will not eat from the hands of sons begotten in this manner, but will smoke with them.

General Cunningham says that the Kanets have three principal clans, Mangal, Chauhán, and Ráo. The Chauhán will almost certainly be Khasia. With respect to the Mangal I have no information, nor do I find it in my papers, unless Pangalána be a misreading for Mangalána or Mangal. The principal Kanet divisions returned in our papers are shown in the margin. More than half the Kásib are in Bashahr. The name belongs to a Brahminical *gotra*, and is probably no tribe at all and only returned because the heading of the schedule was misunderstood. The Chauhán are principally returned from Mandi, Suket, Náhan, Keonthal, and Jubbal; the Khasia from Bashahr and Kángra; the Pangalána from Suket; and the Punwár from Náhan. General Cunningham assigns the upper valley of the Pabar to the Chauhán, the lower Pabar, the Rúpin, and the Tons valleys to the Ráo, and the tract west of the Pabar basin to the Mangal. Mr. Anderson notes that the Khasia are more common in Kúlu proper, and the Ráo in Seoráj.

KANET TRIBES.

Tribe	Number	Tribe	Number
1. Kásib	67,233	5. Pangalána	12,067
2. Chauhán	38,585	6. Thakar	7,356
3. Ráo	32,218	7. Punwár	7,129
4. Khasia	29,285	8. Lastúri	3,859

489. The Ghirath, Bahti, and Chang (Caste No. 29).—The Ghiraths fill much the same position in Kángra proper and the hills below it as do the Kanets in the part to the east. With them I have included the Báhti and the Cháng, as it appears that one and the same people are known as Ghirath in Kángra, and as Báhti in the eastern and Cháng in the western portion of the lower ranges. All three intermarry freely, and are considered by Mr. Lyall as identical. In the Amritsar division all the Ghiraths except 128 were returned as Cháng. The Jálandhar divisional office took the three names together. The Ghiraths of Kángra and Hushyárpur are thus described by Mr. Barnes:—

"My previous remarks (quoted on page 251 under the head Ráthi) will have introduced the reader to the Girths. They "form a considerable item in the population of these hills, and in actual numbers exceed any other individual caste. With the Girths "I have associated the few Jats that reside in this district, and the Changs, which is only another name for Girths, prevalent "about Haripur and Nurpur. They amount altogether to 1,11,507 souls. The Girths are sub-divided into numerous sects. There "is a common saying that there are 360 varieties of rice, and that the sub-divisions of the Girths are equally extensive, the analogy "arising from the Girths being the usual cultivators of rice. The Girths predominate in the valleys of Palum, Kangra, and Rihlo. "They are bound again in the "Hul Doon," or Haripur valley. These localities are the strongholds of the caste, although they are "scattered elsewhere in every portion of the district, and generally possess the richest lands and the most open spots in the hills. "The Girths belong to the Sudra division of Hindus, and this fact apparently accounts for the localities wherein they are found. The "open valleys, although containing the finest lands, are also the only accessible portions of the hills. The more refined castes preferred the advantages of privacy and seclusion, although accompanied by a sterner soil and diminished returns. They abandoned the "fertile valleys to less fastidious classes, whose women were not ashamed to be seen nor to work in the fields, and the men were not "degraded by being pressed as porters.

"The Girths are a most indefatigable and hard-working race. Their fertile lands yield double crops, and they are incessantly "employed during the whole year in the various processes of agriculture. In addition to the cultivation of their fields, the Girth "women carry wood, vegetables, mangoes, milk and other products to the markets for sale; many sit half the day wrangling with "customers until their store is disposed of. The men are constantly seized for begár, or forced labour, to carry travellers' loads, "or to assist in the various public buildings in course of construction. From these details it will be perceived that the Girths have "no easy time of it, and their energies and powers of endurance must be most elastic to bear up against this incessant toil.

"To look at their frames, they appear incapable of sustaining such fatigue. The men are short in stature, frequently disfigured "by goitre (which equally affects both sexes), dark and sickly in complexion, and with little or no hair on their faces. Both men "and women have coarse features, more resembling the Tartar physiognomy than any other type, and it is rare to see a handsome "face, though sometimes the younger women may be called pretty. Both sexes are extremely addicted to spirituous drinks. Although industrious cultivators, they are very litigious and quarrelsome; but their disputes seldom lead to blows; and though intemperate they are still thrifty,—a Girth seldom wastes his substance in drink. In their dealings with one another they are "honest and truthful, and altogether their character, though not so peaceable and manly as the Rathi, has many valuable and endearing traits. The Girths being Sudras do not wear the *janeo* or thread of caste. They take money for their daughters, but "seldom exchange them. The younger brother takes his brother's widow; if she leave his protection, he was entitled by the law of "the country to her restitution, and under us he should at all events receive money compensation."

The Ghiraths are said to be of Rájpút origin by mixed marriages or illegitimate intercourse, but I have no trustworthy information on the subject. They are essentially agricultural, and the proverb says:—"As "the rice bends in the ear the Ghirath lifts his head." Their social position is low. "You can no more "make a saint of a Ghirath than expect chastity of a buffalo," and they practise widow-marriage, for "You "can't make a Ghirathni a widow, any more than you can turn a hill buffalo into a barren cow."

The Ghiraths have returned few large sub-divisions. The eight largest are given in the margin. Bhárdwáj is another Brahminical *gotra*, and probably returned through misapprehension. Chhábru is found only in Hushyárpur, and Chhora and Bhattu only in Kángra. The others occur in both districts.

GHIRATH TRIBES.

Tribe	Number	Tribe	Number
1. Kandal	24,392	5. Reru	2,532
2. Bhárdwáj	8,330	6. Badiál	2,058
3. Pathári	3,091	7. Chhora	1,695
4. Chhábru	2,717	8. Battu	1,623

490. The Reya (Caste No. 147).—Having thus disposed of the two great inferior cultivating castes of the hills, I shall take the others as far as possible in order of locality from east to west. The Reyas are a small Hindu caste found only in the Dehli district. They say they were Rájpúts

but were excluded from the caste because they took to practising *karewa* or widow-marriage. They are now quite separate. They eat and smoke with Jats and agricultural castes of similar standing, but will not marry them except by *karewa*. They own nine villages in Dehli, and the names of their clans are sometimes Rájpút and sometimes not. They trace their origin from Mahrauli where the Qutb pillar stands.

491. The Lodha and Kachhi (Caste Nos. 105 and 142).—These are two well-known cultivating castes of Hindústán, and are found in the Panjáb chiefly in the Jamna districts, though a few of them have moved on westwards to the great cantonments. They are almost without exception Hindus. The Lodhas are said to be numerous in Hushangábád, and to be distinct from the Lodhi outcasts of Central India; but the Lodhas of Dehli would appear to be of very low social standing. It is said that there are two distinct castes of Lodhas, one spelled with the hard and the other with the soft *d*, and perhaps this may account for the apparent confusion. The Ambála Lodhas cultivate hemp largely, and work it up into rope. The Káchhis are said to be the market gardeners of Hindústán, and of low standing. In the Panjáb I believe they are generally engaged in the cultivation of water-nuts and similar produce; indeed in many parts they are called Singhári (from *singhára*, a water-nut) as commonly as Káchhi.

492. The Kamboh (Caste No. 33).—The Kambohs are one of the finest cultivating castes in the Panjáb. They seldom engage in market-gardening, but they are no less industrious and skilful than the Aráins. They are found in the upper Satluj valley as low down as Montgomery, throughout the northern portion of the Eastern Plains, and as low down the Jamna valley as Karnál. They are especially numerous in Kapúrthala. The Jamna Kambohs seem to have come into the valley from the west, and there has quite lately been a very large influx of Kambohs from the northern tracts of Patiála into the great *dhák* jungles between Thánesar and the river. The Satluj Kambohs of Montgomery are divided into two branches, one of which came up the river from the Multán country and the other down the valley from the neighbourhood of Kapúrthala, both movements having taken place under the Sikh rule. They claim descent from Rája Karan, and say that their ancestor fled to Kashmír. The Kambohs of Bijnor also trace their origin to the trans-Indus country, and Mr. Purser accepts this tradition as evidently true. They are said by some to be ancient inhabitants of Persia, and the Karnál Kambohs trace their origin from Garh Ghazni; but the fact that 40 per cent. of them are Hindus and 23 per cent. Sikhs is conclusive against their having had any extra-Indian origin, unless at a very remote period. I have in section 486 noted the fact that Aráins and Kambohs are commonly supposed to be closely related. Indeed in Montgomery a man appears to be called Aráin if he is Musalmán and Kamboh if Hindu. But that this is not always the case is evident from the fact of a very considerable proportion of the Kambohs of Amritsar, Lahore, Fírozpur, Patiála, Nábha, and Maler Kotla having returned themselves as Musalmáns, although Musalmán Aráins are also numerous in those tracts. In Jálandhar the village of Bhalowál is owned partly by Kambohs and partly by Aráins, both being Musalmán. It is perhaps doubtful whether the supposed relationship has any further basis than the fact that they both came from the west, and are both of much the same social standing and agricultural repute. The detailed clan tables will probably throw light on the question, though in Kapúrthala, the stronghold of the Kambohs, their clans were not recorded. It is said by some that the chief distinction is that the Kambohs take money for their daughters, while the Aráins do not But the social standing of the Kamboh is on the whole superior to that of the Aráin, and very markedly so where the latter is a vegetable-grower. The Kamboh, moreover, is not a mere agriculturist. He not unfrequently engages in trade, and even takes service in the army or in offices or even as a private servant, while his wife not unfrequently lends money even where he is a mere husbandman; and under Akbar a Kamboh General called Sháhbáz Khán commanded 5,000 men and distinguished himself greatly in Bengal. Musalmán Kambohs held Sohna in Gurgáon some centuries ago; and the tombs and mosques that they have left show that they must have enjoyed a considerable position. The military, mercantile, and clerkly Kambohs are said to be distinguished as Qalmi or "men of the pen," and not to intermarry with the agricultural section of the caste. But this is probably a mere social custom and not a caste rule. The Kambohs do not seem to bear as high a character for honesty as they do for skill. There is a Persian proverb current in the North-West Provinces: "The Afgháns, the Kambohs, and the Kashmíris; all three rogues (*badzát*)," and Mr. Benton of Karnál describes them as "notoriously deceitful and treacherous." On the other hand Sardár Gurdiál Singh states, I know not on what authority, that "during the reign of terror in India, it "was the Kambohs who were trusted by the rich bankers for carry-"ing their cash in the disguise of *faqirs*." The Kambohs are said to be exceptionally numerous in Mírat. Their location under the hills lends some slight support to their tradition of origin from Kashmír.

KAMBOH CLANS.

Clan	Number	Clan	Number
1. Thind	10,394	6. Sande	4,321
2. Jausan	6,635	7. Jammún	2,515
3. Jaura	5,420	8. Jhande	2,028
4. Dahút	4,963	9. Unmál	2,001
5. Mahrok	4,880		

The Kambohs seem to have returned very few large sub-divisions. The figures for the nine largest are given in the margin.

493. The Ahir (Caste No. 27).—The Ahírs are properly a pastoral caste, their name being derived from the Sanskrit *Abhíra*, or "milkman." But in the Panjáb they are now almost exclusively agricultural, and stand in quite the first rank as husbandmen, being as good as the Kamboh and somewhat superior to the Jat. They are of the same social standing as the Jat and Gújar, who will eat and smoke with them; but they do not seem ever to have been, at any rate within recent times, the dominant race in any considerable tract. Perhaps their nearest approach to such a position was in Rewári and the country to the west of it still locally known as Hírwáti, where they held nearly three quarters of the *parganah* in 1838. A very full description of them will be found in Elliott's *Races of the North-West Provinces*, and also in Sherring, I, 332*ff*. The west coast of India and Gújarát would appear to be their ancient homes, but they are numerous in Behar and Gorakhpur, and at one time there was an Ahír dynasty in Nepal. In the Panjáb they are chiefly found in the south of Dehli, Gurgáon, and Rohtak and the Native States bordering upon these districts, and in this limited tract they form a considerable proportion of the whole population. They are

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almost all Hindus, and are said to trace their origin from Mathra. They are industrious, patient, and orderly; and though they are ill spoken of in the proverbs of the countryside, yet that is probably only because the Jat is jealous of them as being even better cultivators than himself. Thus they say in Rohtak: "Kosli (the head village of the Ahírs) has fifty brick houses and several thousand swaggerers." So in Dehli: "Rather be kicked by a Rájpút or stumble uphill, than hope anything from a jackal, spear grass, "or an Ahír;" and again: "All castes are God's creatures, but three castes are ruthless. When they get "a chance they have no shame; the whore, the Banya, and the Ahír." But these stigmas are now-a-days at least wholly undeserved.

AHIR TRIBES.	
Jádúbans	43,961
Nandbans	24,998
Gwálbans	25,187

The Ahírs of the North-West Provinces have three great sections, the Nandbans of the central *doáb*, the Jádúbans of the upper *doáb* and the Mathra country, and the Gwálbans of the lower *doáb* at Benares. The Ahírs of the Panjáb have returned themselves as shown in the margin. Of the Gwálbans more than 16,000 are found in Patiála. Within these tribes they have numerous clans, among which the Kosali of Rohtak and Gurgáon number 7,322.

494. The Mahtam (Caste No. 51).—There has been a confusion in the figures of Table VIIIA. owing to the fact that the Mahtams are also called Bahrúpias. The Mahtams of Gújrát and Siálkot returned themselves under that name, and were included under Bahrúpia in Table VIIIA. I have restored them to their proper place in Abstract No. 85, page 266. The Mahtams, or as they are called in the Jálandhar division Mahton (nasal *n*), are found chiefly in the Satluj valley, and along the foot of the hills between Jálandhar and Gújrát. They are of exceedingly low caste, being almost outcasts; by origin they are vagrants, and in some parts they apparently retain their wandering habits, while everywhere they are still great hunters, using nooses like those of the Báwarias described in section 575. But in many districts, and especially on the middle Satluj, they have devoted themselves to husbandry and are skilful and laborious cultivators. The great majority of them are classed as Hindus, but about one-fifth are Musalmán, and as many again Sikh. But the Musalmán section, even in the Multán division, eat wild pig and retain most of their Hindu customs, and are consequently not admitted to religious equality by the other Musalmáns. They appear, however, to bury their dead. They live, in Muzaffargarh, in grass huts on the river banks, whence the saying—"Only two Mahtam huts and calls itself Khairpur." Mr. Purser thus describes the Mahtams of Montgomery:—

"They are a low Hindu caste, and are looked down on by their neighbours. Their story is that they were Rajputs, and one of "their ancestors was a kanungo. Abkar was then on the throne. Kanungos were called *mahta*, and thus they got their name. "The first mahta was dismissed, and then settled at Mahtpur in Jalandhar. His descendants emigrated and settled along the banks "of the rivers as they found quantities of *sarr* in such situations, and working in *sarr* was their chief occupation. It was not till "the Nakkai chiefs held sway that they settled down permanently in this district. They adopted the custom of marriage with "widows according to the form of *chaddar dálna*, and so became Sudras. They are also called 'Bahrupias,' which name is a cor- "ruption of '*Bho-rúp-ias*,' and means people of many modes of life, because they turned their hands to any business they could "find (yet *cf.* Select Glossary, I, 17 & 54). Cunningham (History of the Sikhs, page 17) says, 'the hardworking Hindu Mahtams are "'still moving family by family and village by village eastward away from the Ravi and Chanab.' This would seem to give the "Mahtams a western instead of eastern origin as claimed by them. They own a good many villages (19), most of which are in good "condition. Where they are not proprietors of the whole village, they reside in a separate group of huts at some distance from the "main *ábádi*. They are great hands at catching wild pigs; but it is in cutting down the jungle on inundated lands that they excel. "Though industrious they do not care much for working wells, and prefer cultivating lands flooded by the rivers. They are quar- "relsome and addicted to petty thieving. They are of medium stature and stoutly made."

495. There is a Bahrúp tribe of Banjáras or, as they are called in the Panjáb, Labánas; and the Labánas and Mahtams of the Satluj appear closely to resemble each other. Elliott's description of the Bahrúp Banjáras at page 54, Vol. I of his *Races of the North-West Provinces*, tallies curiously in some respects with that of the Bahrúpia Mahtams of Gújrát given by Captain Mackenzie at section 71 of his settlement report of that district; and on the whole it seems probable that the Mahtams are Banjáras or Labánas, in which case it is possible that the Satluj group have come up from Rájpútána, while the sub-montane group are merely a western continuation of the Banjáras of the lower hills. This is the more probable as I find that the Jálandhar Mahtams trace their origin from Jammu, conquered Ráhon from the Gújars, and were in turn deprived of it by the Ghorewáha Rájpúts probably not less than five centuries ago. At the same time I should note that the Mahton of Hushyárpur and the neighbourhood appear to hold a much higher social position than the Mahtams of the Satluj; and it may be that the two are really distinct. Sardár Gurdiál Singh indeed goes so far as to say that the Mahton of Hushyárpur are of good Rájpút blood, though they have lost caste by taking to ploughing and practising widow-marriage, and that their social standing is not much below that of Rájpúts. He thinks that the name may be derived from *Mahta*, which he says is a title of honour current among the Rájpúts of the hills; and this agrees with the Montgomery tradition quoted above. Mr. Anderson also gives the Hushyárpur Mahtons high social standing. On the other hand, Mr. Wilson says that the Labánas of Sirsa would scout the idea of connection with the Mahtams of the Satluj, whom they consider utterly inferior to themselves. The point needs to be cleared up by further enquiry, especially in the districts where the classes come into contact. Our detailed tables of clans will doubtless throw light on the question.

496. The Sarrara (Caste No. 118).—It is perhaps probable that these men are the same as those discussed under the head "Sarera" in the section on Hill Menials. But I have separated them, as their identity is not at all certain. The Sarráras which are found in Hazára belong to a race inhabiting Chibhál, or the hill country of Kashmír on the Hazára border, and according to Major Wace belong to the same ethnic group as the Dhúnd, Satti, and Kharrál of the same tract. It might perhaps have been better to take them with the Kharráls. They are chiefly found in the Abbottábád *tahsíl*, where they are purely agricultural. They are all Musalmán.

497. The Ghosi (Caste No. 125).—The Ghosi is I believe an Ahír tribe; but in the Panjáb the name is only used for Musalmáns, and is often applied to any cowherd or milkman of that religion, whether Gújar, Ahír, or of any other caste, just as Gwála is used for a Hindu cowherd. The Ghosi proper is only found in the eastern districts, though a few have strayed into the large cantonments to the west. But

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the 235 persons shown as Ghosi in the Ráwalpindi division are, according to my papers, entered as Ghasiára or "grass-cutter," while the 337 of the Multán division are shown as Her, probably for Ahír. How these came to be classed as Ghosi I cannot explain. It was not done by my orders. It is said that Hindus will buy pure milk from the Musalmán Ghosi, but will reject it if there is any suspicion of its having been watered by the latter, as they must not drink water at his hands! The Ghosis are a purely pastoral caste, at any rate in the Panjáb. They are however sometimes butchers.

498. The Gaddi (Caste No. 81).—These figures appear to include two entirely distinct classes of people. The Musalmán Gaddis of Dehli, Karnál, and Ambála are apparently a tribe found in the upper *doáb* of the Jamna and Ganges, closely resembling the Ghosi, and perhaps like them a sub-division of the Ahírs. They are called Gádi almost as often as Gaddi. They are by hereditary occupation milkmen; but in Karnál, where they are most numerous, they have settled down as cultivators and own several villages. They are poor husbandmen. And a further confusion may possibly have taken place from the fact that a descendant of a Rájpút father by a widow of another caste married by *karewa* is called Garra with the hard *r*. Indeed it is not quite impossible that here we may have the connecting link between the two classes. At any rate the word Gaddi, as used in the Panjáb proper, is applied to the inhabitants of the mountain range between Kángra and Chamba and of its continuation in the latter State. The term is commonly applied to almost any inhabitant of that region; but the true Gaddis, whom General Cunningham is inclined to identify with the ancient Gandaridæ or Gangaridæ, are apparently of Khatri origin. Mr. Barnes thus describes them :—

"The Gadis are the most remarkable race in the hills. In features, manners, dress, and dialect they differ essentially from all "the rest of the population. The Gadis reside exclusively upon the snowy range which divides Chamba from Kangra. A few of "them have wandered down into the valleys which skirt the base of this mighty chain, but the great majority live on the heights "above; they are found from an elevation of 3,500 or 4,000 feet up to 7,000 feet. Above this altitude there is little or no "cultivation, the increasing acclivity of the range opposing insurmountable obstacles. They preserve a tradition among themselves "that their ancestors originally came from the Panjab, and that during the horrors of the Mahomedan invasions the population of "the cities fled from the open country before their invaders and took refuge in these ranges, at that period almost uninhabited. The "term 'Gadi' is a generic name, and under this appellation are included Brahmins, Khatris, and a few Rajputs and Rathis. The "majority, however, are Khatris, and the sub-divisions of the caste correspond exactly with the tribes among the Khatris existing in "the plains of the Panjab at the present day. Impure castes are not styled Gadis, but are known by the names of Badi, Sipi, "Háli, &c. They are a semi-pastoral, semi-agricultural race. The greater portion of their wealth consists of flocks of sheep and "goats, which they feed half the year (the winter months) in the valleys of Kangra, and for the other half drive across the range "into the territories of Chamba. They hold lands on this side and also in Chamba, and in former days were considered subject to "both States. At present our rule has materially weakened the tenure of the Chamba Chief, and many continue all the year round "on this side of the range acknowledging no allegiance whatever to Chamba. It was a rule with these simple people, whenever "fined by the Kangra authorities, to pay a similar penalty into the Chamba treasury. I am afraid our institutions have taught "them greater independence, and the infraction of this custom is now more frequent than the observance. Many Gadis cultivate the "winter crops or wheat in Kangra, and returning with their flocks grow the summer or rain crop at "Barmor," as the province "on the other side of the snow is designated. They all wear woollen clothes, which they make up at home out of the wool from "their own flocks. The men don a remarkable high-peaked cap, with flaps to pull down over the ears in case of severe weather. "The front is usually adorned with a garland of dried flowers, or with tufts of the Impeyan pheasant, or red beads, the seeds of "parasitical plants growing in the forests. The rest of their dress is a frock, made very capacious and loose, secured round the waist "with a black woollen cord. In the body of this frock the Gadi stores the most miscellaneous articles; his own meal, tied up in an "untanned leather pouch, with two or three young lambs just born, and perhaps a present of walnuts or potatoes for his master are "the usual contents. His legs are generally bare, but occasionally he wears woollen trowsers very loose at the knee, to allow free "motion in walking, and fitting tight at the ankle, over which it lies in folds so as not to restrict the action of the limbs. The "women wear the same frock, only reaching to their ankles, secured with the same woollen cord. Their garment fits rather tighter "about the body, and is both modest and becoming. The head-dress is a "chaddur," or sheet, thrown loosely over the upper portion "of the body, and sometimes fastened in the shape of a turban, with a loose streamer behind by way of ornament. The Gadis are "a very simple and virtuous race; they are remarkable, even among the hill population, for their eminent regard for truth; crime is "almost unknown among them; their women are chaste and modest, seldom deserting their husbands. Like all the inhabitants "of mountainous regions they are frank and merry in their manners,—they constantly meet together, singing and dancing in a style "quite peculiar to themselves. They are great tipplers, and at these festive meetings the natural hilarity is considerably enhanced "by deep potations. In person they are a comely race. The women frequently are very fair and beautiful,—their features are "regular, and the expression almost always mild and engaging. The Gadis wear the thread of caste, and are much stricter in Hindu "customs and observances than most of the inhabitants of the higher ranges of the Himalaya. They are not a very widely-diffused "race. They extend over the greater part of Chamba, inhabit the skirts of the Kangra snowy range, and are found also on the "southern face of the Badrawar hills across the Ravi. Their peculiar caste, "Khatri," and their position in the ranges immediately "above Lahore favour the tradition that originally they were fugitives from the cities of the plains before the Mahomedan inroads."

They are almost all shepherds, and do not in any way resemble the Khatris of the plains. They are all Hindus, but locally distinguished from the *jándre* or cotton-clad Hindus. The Khatri and Rájpút Gaddis intermarry; and in some places the Bráhman Gaddi will marry the Khatri Gaddi. The Khatri or true Gaddis are the best of the classes, and "number among them the best shepherds, and the richest and most influential men." It is not improbable that in Chamba, their true home, the Rájpút and Bráhman Gaddis are less numerous than in Kángra. The Gaddi are a simple and rustic people. The proverb says: "The Gaddi is a good-natured fool; ask for his cap and he gives you his coat." And again: "In no-man's-land one makes friends with Gújars and Gaddis."

FOREIGN RACES.

499. Foreign Races.—I have called the groups of which the figures are given on the next page in Abstract No. 87 Foreign Races, because they bear titles properly foreign to India and for the most part lay claim to foreign origin. It will presently be seen how little real right many of them have to the names they bear. The Saiyads might have been included in this group, but they have been classed with the priestly castes. The present group is divisible into three sections, the Arab and Shekh, the Túrk and Mughal, and the Ghulám and Qizilbásh. The last two and probably many of the Arabs and Túrks are true foreigners, and have a good claim to the names they bear; but the Shekhs and Mughals are for the most part mere pretenders. What Rájpút is to the Hindu, Shekh, Saiyad, and in the west of the Panjáb Mughal, are to the Musalmán; and every convert of low caste who wishes to glorify himself assumes one

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of these titles, while tribes whose origin is lowly or has been forgotten, trace their descent from the people of the Prophet or of one of the Mahomedan conquerors of India. As Mr. Thomson puts it: "Pride of "race leads to the invention of some royal progenitor, and pride of religion is a perpetual inducement to "escape from the admission of an idolatrous ancestry."

Abstract No. 87, *showing* Foreign Races.

	Figures.						Proportion per 1,000 of Total Population.							
	140	17	126	37	130	181	14	17	126	37	130	181		
	Arab.	Shekh.	Túrk.	Mughal.	Ghulám.	Qizilbásh.	Arab.	Shekh.	Túrk.	Mughal.	Ghulám.	Qizilbásh.	Total.	
Dehli	...	50,195	5	5,806	...	...	...	78	...	9	...	...	87	Dehli
Gurgaon	...	10,157	...	1,317	...	...	...	16	...	2	...	...	18	Gurgaon
Karnál	...	13,789	...	597	...	...	...	22	...	1	...	...	23	Karnál
Hissar	...	3,983	...	492	...	...	...	8	...	1	...	...	9	Hissar
Rohtak	...	8,334	...	414	...	...	...	15	...	1	...	...	16	Rohta
Sirsa	...	2,733	...	694	...	...	...	11	...	3	...	...	14	Sirsa
Ambala	...	28,920	...	855	...	...	...	27	...	1	...	...	28	Ambala
Ludhiána	19	6,129	...	677	...	...	...	10	...	1	...	...	11	Ludhiána
Simla	...	3,676	...	160	...	...	...	86	...	4	...	...	90	Simla
Jullundur	...	9,720	...	1,662	...	...	...	12	...	2	...	...	14	Jullundur
Hoshiárpur	...	6,839	...	1,400	...	...	...	8	...	2	...	...	10	Hoshiárpur
Kángra	...	1,792	...	289	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	Kángra
Amritsar	...	8,280	...	2,546	...	...	...	9	...	3	...	...	12	Amritsar
Gurdáspur	...	10,468	157	2,450	...	...	...	13	...	3	...	...	16	Gurdáspur
Siálkot	...	11,636	2	4,537	...	...	...	12	...	4	...	...	16	Siálkot
Lahore	3	17,853	95	3,676	...	33	...	19	...	4	...	...	23	Lahore
Gujránwála	...	8,557	...	827	...	...	...	14	...	1	...	...	15	Gujránwála
Ferozepore	...	6,806	...	1,103	...	...	...	10	...	2	...	...	12	Ferozepore
Ráwalpindi	17	25,524	188	25,169	...	...	...	31	...	31	...	...	62	Ráwalpindi
Jhelum	...	8,412	...	11,222	...	...	...	14	...	19	...	...	33	Jhelum
Gujrát	...	7,906	...	5,290	...	...	...	11	...	8	...	...	19	Gujrát
Shahpur	...	7,499	...	2,335	...	...	...	18	...	6	...	...	24	Shahpur
Mooltan	475	12,649	1	4,601	99	...	1	23	...	8	...	...	32	Mooltan
Jhang	...	5,337	...	3,122	...	...	...	14	...	8	..	...	22	Jhang
Montgomery	35	4,740	1	1,620	...	...	...	11	...	4	...	...	15	Montgomery
Muzaffargarh	297	5,046	...	576	...	...	1	15	...	2	...	...	18	Muzaffargarh
D. I. Khan	23	5,713	1	676	...	10	...	13	...	2	...	...	15	D. I. Khan
D. G. Khan	32	4,680	5	495	...	...	...	13	...	1	...	...	14	D. G. Khan
Bannu	...	11,391	...	759	...	...	...	34	...	2	...	...	36	Bannu
Peshávar	1,418	9,576	83	4,538	3,347	389	2	16	...	8	5	1	32	Peshávar
Hazara	23	5,098	2,996	5,297	...	...	...	13	7	13	...	...	33	Hazara
Kohát	...	4,428	1	153	...	9	...	24	...	1	...	...	25	Kohát
British Territory	**2,342**	**327,928**	**3,535**	**95,361**	**3,446**	**441**	...	**17**	...	**5**	...		**22**	**British Territory**
Patiála	...	14,603	...	1,854	...	...	...	10	...	1	...	...	11	Patiála
Nábha	...	2,229	...	341	...	...	..	8	...	1	...	...	9	Nábha
Kapurthala	...	2,447	...	606	...	...	...	10	...	2	...	...	12	Kapurthala
Jínd	...	3,153	...	926	...	...	...	13	...	4	...	...	17	Jínd
Total East. Plains	...	26,214	...	4,517	...	...	...	10	...	2	...	...	12	Total East. Plains
Bahávalpur	...	14,248	...	2,523	...	...	..	25	...	4	...	...	29	Bahávalpur
Chamba	...	2,169	...	119	...	...	...	19	...	1	...	...	20	Chamba
Total Hill States	...	3,945	...	578	...	...	...	5	...	1	...	...	6	Total Hill States
British Territory	**2,342**	**327,928**	**3,535**	**95,361**	**3,446**	**441**	...	**17**	...	**5**	...	...	**22**	**British Territory**
Native States	...	**44,407**	...	**7,618**	...	...	...	**12**	...	**2**	...	...	**14**	**Native States**
Province	**2,342**	**372,335**	**3,535**	**102,979**	**3,446**	**441**	...	**16**	...	**5**	...	...	**21**	**Province**

500. The Arab (Caste No. 140).—Arabs are returned in the Panjáb chiefly from the Multán and Peshávar divisions. They are probably Arab merchants from Bombay, where I believe men of true Arab extraction are somewhat numerous. That they have not come direct from Arabia is shown by the language table, in which Arabic is returned as the mother-tongue of only 63 persons. More than half the Arabs in the Panjáb are to be found in Peshávar itself. This is hardly to be wondered at, for Peshávar is a city in which may be found representatives of almost every Eastern nation, and is the half-way house between India and Asia. It is possible that some of our Shekhs, whether truly or falsely so called, may have returned themselves as

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Arabs, but I do not think it likely. The true Shekhs are of course of Arab origin; but I believe that such men, when their settlement in the Panjáb is of any long standing, always call themselves Shekh or Qureshi, and not Arab.

501. The Shekh (Caste No. 17).—*Shekh* is an Arabic word meaning an elder or Chief, and probably corresponds very closely among the tribes of Arabia with *Chaudhri* among those of the Panjáb. Thus the title should properly be confined to, and is very generally assumed by tribes of true Arab descent. But it has been degraded to a much more vulgar use. If a Rájpút or Jat turn Mahomedan he retains his caste name, and is still a Rájpút or Jat; though I have known Musalmán Rájpúts who had fallen in life and taken to weaving call themselves Shekhs, though still recognized as relations by their brethren of the village whence they came. So if an outcast or man of impure calling becomes Musalmán and retains his occupation, or at least substitutes for it another only slightly less degrading, he also retains his caste name or is known by an entirely new one, such as Dínd́ar or Musalli. But the class which lie between these two extremes, and are neither so proud of their origin as to wish, nor so degraded by their occupation as to be compelled to retain their original caste name, very generally abandon that name on their conversion to Islám and adopt the title of Shekh. There is a Persian proverb: "The first year I was a weaver (Juláha); the next year a Shekh. This year if prices rise I shall be a Saiyad." Moreover many of the inferior agricultural Musalmán tribes of Indian descent have, especially in the west of the Province, set up a claim to Arab origin; and though they are still known by their tribal name, have probably or almost certainly returned themselves as Shekhs in the present Census. In these last cases they will in all probability have often shown their tribal name as the sub-division of the Shekhs to which they belong, and it is to be hoped that the detailed clan tribes will, when published, throw much light upon the true composition of our figures for Shekhs. Meanwhile only a few of the largest sub-divisions can be examined. In one respect I myself am responsible for the uncertainty of meaning which attaches to these figures. There are certain agricultural tribes whose claims to Qureshi origin appear to be valid, such as the Khagga and Háns of Montgomery; and these men I included under the head Shekh. It was most certainly a mistake to do so, and I shall give separate figures for them below. With them I shall discuss some of the larger sub-divisions of Shekhs which have been returned in our papers. In many cases the titles here given are no less misleading than the original title of Shekh. The Shekhs who have returned themselves as Jats in the Multán and Deraját division are shown in Abstract No. 72, page 224.

Shekhs do not bear the best of characters in some parts. In Rohtak they are said to "supply recruits to our armies and jails with praiseworthy indifference," and in Derah Ismáil Khán the Naumuslim Shekhs are described as "a lazy thriftless set of cultivators." The true Qureshis of the south-western districts, however, are often possessed of great influence, and hold a high character for sanctity. Such are the descendants of Bahá-ul-haqq the renowned saint of Multán, who are known as Háshmi Qureshis, and whose family is described at pages 490*ff* of Griffin's *Panjáb Chiefs*. They are chiefly found in the Multán, Jhang, and Muzaffargarh districts.

502. Tribes and castes included under Shekh—Qureshi.—The figures below show the number of people who have returned themselves as Qureshi:—

QURESHI SHEKHS

District and State.	Number.	District and State.	Number.	District and State.	Number.
Dehli	19,355	Lahore	13,330	Derah Ghazi Khán	1,730
Gurgaon	3,977	Gujránwála	2,343	Bannu	8,666
Rohtak	1,212	Firozpur	3,461	Peshávar	3,601
Sirsa	1,701	Ráwalpindi	12,420	Hazára	2,433
Ambála	16,629	Jahlam	3,634	Kohát	2,342
Ludhiána	1,076	Gujrát	4,000	Patiála	5,874
Simla	1,322	Sháhpur	4,276	Baháwalpur	3,901
Jalandhar	3,616	Multán	6,100	Other Districts and States	4,536
Hushyárpur	1,977	Jhang	3,987		161,854
Amritsar	12,309	Montgomery	2,199		
Gurdáspur	2,043	Muzaffargarh	3,265		
Siálkot	2,103	Derah Ismail Khán	2,436		

The Qureshi is the Arab tribe to which the Prophet belonged. Consequently it is the favourite tribe from which to claim descent, and it is to be feared that comparatively few of those who have returned themselves as Qureshi have any real title to the name. Among those who so style themselves many claim to belong to the Farúqis or descendants of Umar the second Caliph, or to the Sadíqis or descendants of Abul Bakar the first Caliph, both of whom were Qureshi by tribe. But the term Sadíqi is often confused with Sidqi, a title derived from the same root and meaning "the true"; but which, in the east of the Panjáb at any rate, is commonly used as an equivalent to Naumuslim to distinguish converts of Indian descent from original Mahomedan immigrants.

Naumuslim—means nothing more than a new Musalmán; and only 3,491 of our Shekhs have, by returning themselves as Shekh Naumuslim, admitted their true origin. These men are scattered in small numbers about the Province, but 1,437 of them are in Baháwalpur.

Ansari.—Ansári or "auxiliaries" was the title given to the believers of Medina who welcomed Mahomet after his flight from Mecca; and those who claim descent from these men style themselves Ansári. As many as 7,215 of our Shekhs have so returned themselves, of whom 1,501 are in Ambála, 1,539 in Multán, and the rest scattered about the Province. One large section of the Shekhs of Pánípat commonly style themselves Ansári; but they would appear to have now returned themselves as Muhájarín.

Muhajarin.—The faithful who accompanied Mahomet in his *Hajirah* or flight from Mecca were called Muhájarín or "the fugitives or emigrants," and their descendants still retain the title. In the Karnál district 8,560 persons have so returned themselves, and are doubtless the men of Pánípat just alluded to.

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503. The Hans and Khagga.—The Háns is one of the tribes which I regret having included among the Shekhs. The numbers according to our returns are given in the margin; but it is very probable that many of the Háns have returned themselves as Shekh or Qureshi and not as Háns, since they claim Qureshi origin. They say they emigrated from Arabia to Afghánistán and thence to the Panjáb, where they settted at Pakka Sidhár in the Montgomery district. In the time of Alamgír the Háns tribe, under their chief Shekh Qutb, attained independent rule over a portion of that district and retained their independence till the time of the Sikhs, when about the middle of the 18th century the streams which fertilized their country dried up and they lost their home. At present they do not own a single entire village, and have preserved none of their former influence.

The Hans.	
District.	Numbers.
Multan	622
Jhang	7
Montgomery	268
Total	897

Khaggas.—The Khaggas are another tribe which I have classed as Shekh, but had better have kept separate. The numbers returned are shown in the margin. But here again many of them have probably returned themselves as Shekhs or Qureshi. Mr. Purser thus describes them: "The Khaggas came to the Montgomery district "after the conquest of Multán by Ranjít Singh. They claim to be Qureshi, and "name as the first Khagga, Jalál-ul-dín, disciple of Muhammad Irák. Khagga is "said to mean a peculiar kind of fish; and the name was given to Jalál-ul-dín "by his spiritual teacher on the occasion of his rescuing a boat overtaken by a "storm."

The Khaggas.	
District.	Numbers.
Multan	672
Jhang	5
Montgomery	172
Muzaffargarh	54
Total	903

504. The Nekokara and Jhandir.—The Kokára or Nekokára, who are chiefly found in the Jhang district, claim to be Hashmi Qureshis, who came from Baháwalpur some 450 years ago. They hold land in Gújránwála also, but are not a very important tribe. In Gújránwála many of them are *faqírs*, and they generally bear a semi-religious character.

The Jhandir are also said to be of Qureshi origin, and though they do not openly profess to be religious directors, there is a certain odour of sanctity about the tribe. Most of them can read and write, and they are "particularly free from ill deeds of every description." They own land in the extreme south of the Jhang district. They are said to have been the standard bearers of one of the great saints, whence their name.

505. The Sarai, Miana, and others.—Sarai.—The Sarai family are the descendants of the Kalhora Kings of Sindh who have settled at Hájípur in Derah Gházi Khán. Some account of their history will be found in Mr. Fryer's report on that district, and in Mr. O'Brien's *Glossary*. They were included with Shekh in the divisional office, and I have no separate figures for them as yet. Tod makes the Sarai descendants, or perhaps only namesakes, of Sehl a Kaurava Rájpút, and in ancient times prince of Sindh and founder of Aror on the Indus. He says: "Sehl or Sehr became a titular appellation of the country, its "princes, and its inhabitants the Sehrai." (See further Sarai under Jats of the western sub-montane, section 433).

Miana.—Mián is used in the west of the Panjáb to denote any holy man, and his descendants will often style themselves Miána. Thus the head of the Sarai family just described is known as the Mián Sáhib Sarai. But in Hazára at least, and probably in other parts of the frontier, any new convert to Mahomedanism is often called a Miána, and most of them are cultivators. I have with some hesitation classed them as Shekh rather than with Ulama. There are 3,282 in the Ráwalpindi and 188 in the Deraját division.

Returned as Shekhs.	
Name of Castes.	Number returned as Shekhs.
Bodla	2,435
Dáúdpotra	1,421
Kalál	270
Awán	449
Maliár	221
Tarkhán	118
Mochi	107
Rájpút	106
29 other castes, mostly low.	685

Besides the classes discussed above, the castes shown in the margin appear from a rough examination of the Shekh sub-divisions to have returned themselves as Shekhs in the numbers shown against each. They are described in their proper places. Of the Bodlas returned as Shekhs 144 are in Hissár, 749 in Sirsa, 339 in Fírozpur, 349 in Montgomery, and 254 in Baháwalpur. Of the Dáúdpotras 1,287 are in Multán. Besides these, men returning themselves under the following names have been classed as Shekh: Shekhra, a contemptuous diminutive of Shekh; Pírzádah, or descendants of a *pír* or Musalmán spiritual guide; Shekhzádah, or son of a Shekh. There appear to have been only 383 of the first, 19 of the second, and 17 of the third. In the Lahore division the Bharáis (caste No. 48) have been most erroneously classed as Shekh, to the number of 1,444 in Lahore, 2,256 in Gújránwála, and 1,646 in Fírozpur.

506. The Turk (Caste No. 126).—I shall not attempt to touch upon the much debated question of the distinction between Túrks and Mughals. It will be sufficient to say that a Túrk in the Panjáb means, probably invariably, a Túrkomán native of Túrkistán and of Mongolian race. In the Dehli territory indeed the villagers, accustomed to describe the Mughals of the Empire as Túrks, use the word as synonymous with "official;" and I have heard my Hindu clerks of Káyath caste described as Túrks merely because they were in Government employ. On the Biloch frontier also the word Túrk is commonly used as synonymous with Mughal. The Túrks of the Panjáb are practically confined to the Hazára district, and are doubtless the representatives of the colony of Kárlagh Túrks who came into the Panjáb with Tamarlane (1399 A.D.) and possessed themselves of the Pakhli tract in the Hazára district, which apparently included the Tanáwal, Dhamtaur, and Swáti country, and was politically attached to Kashmír. These men were dispossessed of their territory by Swátis and Tanáolis from across the Indus about the beginning of the 18th century; and the Túrks now returned are doubtless their descendants. The word Túrk is a Tartar word meaning a "wanderer;" thus in poetry the Sun is called "the Túrk of China," that is of the East, or "the Túrk of the Sky." The Túrks of Gurdáspur are said to be rope-makers by occupation (see further sections 412 and 416).

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507. The Mughal (Caste No. 37).—The Mughals proper or Mongols, for the two words are only different forms of the same name, probably either entered the Panjáb with Bábar, or were attracted thither under the dynasty of his descendants. They are probably to be found in greatest number in the neighbourhood of Dehli, the capital of that dynasty; and I believe that the great majority of those who have returned themselves as Mughals in the Eastern Panjáb really belong to that race. They are also numerous in the Ráwalpindi division and on the upper frontier, along the route of the Mughal armies, and where they find a more kindred people than in the great Panjáb plains. But as will be presently explained, the number of true Mughals in these parts is certainly much smaller than would appear from our figures. The Mughals of Gújrát are described by Mr. Monckton as "an unhappy race. Puffed up with pride of birth, they accouut "themselves above all other classes except Saiyads, and even among themselves each house reckons itself "higher than its neighbour. Among the clans, though of high descent, they are now at a discount. Those "that might be admitted their equals, such as Chibs or Gakkhars, despise them; while to lower classes they "themselves will not stoop; and the consequence is that social relations are sometimes at a dead-lock." The description applies with equal truth to the Mughals of the Dehli territory. Even on the frontier the Mughals do not bear a good name. "The Mughals tyrannize over the cultivator, and the cultivator over "the earth;" and again: "Trust not the Mughal's letters. Of the Mughals, first letters, then armies."

The Mughals are distributed very widely over the Province; but are, excepting Dehli, most numerous in the western districts, and more especially in Ráwalpindi, Jahlam, and Hazára. It is certain that a very large number of these men are not Mughals at all. Some, probably a considerable number of them, belong to agricultural tribes locally known by tribal names, such as Gakkhars, Sattis, Ghebas, and the like, who have set up an almost certainly groundless claim to Mughal origin. Many of these have already been noticed. But more than this, there is a tendency, apparently confined to Dehli and the Ráwalpindi and Peshâwar divisions, for men of low caste to call themselves Mughals just as throughout the Province they call themselves Shekhs. Thus we find among the sub-divisions of those returned as Mughals, 1,512 Kahárs in Hazára, and in Ráwalpindi 3,655 Sainis and 1,263 Rawáls; while in the eight districts just specified no fewer than 2,724 other members of 41 separate castes, for the most part of low standing, have been detected among the Mughals by a rough examination of the detailed clan tables, and this is doubtless only a specimen of what has taken place on a very extensive scale. Major Wace is of opinion that recent Jat converts to Mahomedanism often take the title of Mughal. On the other hand no fewer than 2,510 persons have returned themselves as Pathán by caste and Mughal by tribe, of whom 1,169 are in the Peshâwar district, 746 in the Deraját, and 401 in Ráwalpindi and Jahlam. Further light will doubtless be thrown upon the composition of the so-called Mughals when the detailed tables are published. Of the true Mughal tribes, only the Chughatta and the Barlás seem to be numerously represented in the Panjáb, the former numbering 23,593 and the latter 12,137. Men so returned are probably true Mughals. Their numbers for the districts in which they are shown as numerous are given in the margin. Besides these 1,543 of the Ráwalpindi Mughals return themselves as Gakkhar and 3,861 as Kayáni, the latter also of which names perhaps refer to the Gakkhars, who sometimes claim to be Kayáni[1]. In 1864, Colonel Cracroft gave the number of true Mughals in the Ráwalpindi district at 2,767 souls. At last Census there were 8,205.

District.	Mughal tribes.	
	Chughatta.	Barlás.
Dehli	1,618	...
Amritsar	1,140	...
Siálkot	...	1,554
Ráwalpindi	1,613	1,661
Jahlam	2,735	2,304
Gújrát	590	3,633
Shahpur	1,143	179
Multán	3,083	34
Jhang	2,471	4
Hazára	1,014	141
Baháwalpur	1,488	...

508. The Kasars of Jahlam.—The Gakkhars, Sainis, and other castes mentioned above are described in their proper places. But the Kasars of Jahlam have apparently returned themselves in a body as Mughals, for no fewer than 8,527 of the Jahlam Mughals show Kasar as their clan. These Kasars occupy the north of the Dhani country about Bubiál and Chaupeda. They say that their old home was in Jammu, and that they joined the armies of Bábar and so obtained possession of their territory which was then almost uninhabited. Their present claim to Mughal origin is evidently suggested by their association with the Mughal power, and is apparently a new idea; for up to the time of the Census itself they seem to have enjoyed the rare distinction of being one of the few Salt-range tribes who claimed neither Rájpút, Awán, nor Mughal descent. They are described by Mr. Thomson as a passionate and revengeful race, careless of human life, but good cultivators though somewhat exacting landlords. "Envy is their "most odious quality; every family is distracted with mean jealousies which are sometimes prosecuted with "astonishing rancour, and not unseldom degenerate into criminal greed. It is fair to add that their vices "seem to be gradually losing strength. Many of the headmen are personally very engaging, good horse-"men, keen sportsmen, with frank manners and a good presence; and it is sometimes difficult to under-"stand how they should have such a mean side to their character."

509. The Ghulam (Caste No. 130).—These men are returned from the Peshâwar district to the number of 3,347 under the name of Ghulám Khánazád, and from Multán to the number of 99 under the name of Khánazád simply. The latter may be an error for Khánzádah. The Peshâwar men show their clans as Turkhel Ghulám, and Malekhel. They are said to be descendants of captives in war who were made slaves (*ghulâm*), whence their name. They are still chiefly employed in domestic service, and are generally attached to their hereditary masters, though some of them have taken to shop-keeping and other occupations.

Since writing the above, which is based upon the information of a highly educated gentleman in our

[1] I have not been able to obtain satisfactory information regarding this word. The city of Kayán was the capital of Kai Kayús, Kai Kubád, and Kai Khasru; and some say that the Gakkhars call themselves Kayáni because they claim descent from these three Kings. Others say that the Mughals proper, and especially the Chughattas and Qizilbáshes, are Kayánis; and that the Gakkhars call themselves Kanáni or Canaanites because they claim descent from Jacob and Joseph who lived in Canaan; and that it is this word which has been misread Kayáni.

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political service, himself a Native of Peshâwar, I find that Muhammad Haiyát Khán states in his *Haiyát-i-Afgháni* that the Qizilbásh of Kábul described below are collectively known as Ghulám-khánah. If so, our Ghulám Khánazáds are probably nothing more than Qizilbáshes. But the class described above does exist in Peshâwar in considerable numbers.

509a. The Qizilbash (Caste No. 181).—The Qizilbásh [1] are a tribe of Tartar horsemen from the Eastern Caucasus, who formed the backbone of the old Persian army and of the force with which Nádir Sháh invaded India. Many of the great Mughal ministers have been Qizilbásh, and notably Mír Jumlah the famous minister of Aurangzeb. They are said to take their name from a red cap of peculiar shape which they wear, which was invented by the founder of the Sophi dynasty of Persia, an intolerant Shíah, as the distinguishing mark of that sect, and which his son Sháh Tumásp compelled Humáyún to wear when a refugee at the Persian Court. There are some 1,200 families of Qizilbásh in the city of Kábul alone, where they were located by Nádir Sháh, and still form an important military colony and exercise considerable influence in local politics. They are not uncommon throughout Afghánistán. Besides the number of Qizilbásh returned as such, 66 were entered as Patháns, of whom 48 were in Derah Ismáíl Khán. See also the preceding paragraph under the head Ghulám.

[1] In the caste table the word is spelt *Kisal*, but I believe *Qizil* is correct.

PART V.—RELIGIOUS, PROFESSIONAL, MERCANTILE, AND MISCELLANEOUS CASTES.

510. General and Introductory.—The classes discussed in this part of the chapter form an exceedingly heterogeneous collection. They are in fact all those that are left after separating the landowning and agricultural castes on the one hand, and the vagrant, artisan, and menial classes on the other. They include some of the highest and some of the lowest castes in the Province, yet there is a connection between the priestly Bráhman and the semi-priestly Nái, between the merchant Khatri and the pedlar Maniár. I have divided the castes now to be considered into six groups. The first includes the priestly castes such as the Bráhman and Saiyad; the second the various ascetic, religious, and mendicant orders of *faqírs;* the third the minor professional castes such as the Nái, the Mírási, and the Bhát; the fourth the great mercantile castes such as the Khatri and Arora; the fifth the carriers and pedlars such as the Banjára and Maniár; while in the sixth are included those miscellaneous castes, such as the Kashmíri and Káyath, for whom I have been unable to find a place elsewhere. The line between the merchants and shop-keepers on the one hand and the carriers and pedlars on the other is exceedingly ill-defined, both in the figures and in the facts. The groups are too diverse in their character for any general discussion of them to be profitable; and I shall consider each under its separate heading, where also will be found the figures showing their distribution throughout the Panjáb.

PRIESTLY CLASSES.

511. Priestly castes.—The group of castes which I am about to discuss, and of which the figures are given in Abstract No. 88 on the next page, may be divided into three classes, Hindu priests, Mahomedan priests, and *faqírs*. The last I give in this abstract so as to complete the group; but they will be discussed further on, and I shall confine my remarks at present to the priestly and religious castes, as distinct from orders. The Bráhmans are of course the very type of a Hindu caste, while the Pujáris of our tables probably belong for the most part to what is now a real caste, though the word itself is merely the name for an occupation. But the Mahomedan group is not so homogeneous. The title of a Saiyad should be, but notoriously is not, confined to the descendants of a common ancestor; while the Ulama are professedly a miscellaneous collection of persons returned under entries most of which should never have appeared at all in the caste column. The Chishtis again probably include both spiritual and carnal descendants of their Chief, as is the case with so many of the religious orders next to be discussed; while the Bodlas are almost certainly a clan of Rájpúts who have acquired a character for sanctity. Theoretically, the two groups should occupy very different positions among the followers of their respective faiths. The Bráhman is a priest, and entitled as such to reverence and support by the ordinances of the Hindu religion: the Saiyad merely claims respect in virtue of his descent from the son-in-law of the Prophet, and the Mahomedan religion as such has no organised priesthood. But it has already been pointed out in the Chapter on Religion that there is really little to choose between the Hindu and the Musalmán as regards the spiritual bondage in which their superstition enfolds them; and indeed that if either has the advantage, it is the former rather than the latter. The classes included under the present group are by no means purely priestly; they are also large owners and cultivators of land. But their most distinctive characteristic is their saintly character, and I have therefore separated them from the land-owning and agricultural classes. At the same time the distinction between the Saiyad and the Qureshi Shekh as regards the spiritual reverence paid them is probably, at least in the south-western districts, exceedingly small.

512. The Brahman (Caste No. 3).—The Bráhman or Levite of the Hindu caste system is the third most numerous caste in the Panjáb, outnumbering all but Jats and Rájpúts. I shall not attempt to discuss his origin and theoretical position; much has been written and published concerning him, the first hundred pages of Sherring's first volume and the whole of the second volume of Wilson's *Indian Caste* are devoted to him alone, and Colebrooke's Essays contain much valuable information on the subject. The figures of Abstract No. 88 showing the distribution of the caste in the Panjáb are very striking. The proportion of Bráhmans to total population reaches its maximum in the hills of Kángra and Simla, the most Hindu portion of the Province, where it rises as high as from 13 to 15 per cent. Throughout the remainder of the Panjáb the proportion steadily changes with the prevailing religion. It is highest in the sub-montane and Jamna tracts where the people are essentially Hindus; it gradually decreases from east to west, being markedly smaller in the central and Sikh districts; it is still smaller in the cis-Indus Salt-range Tract; while in the Western Plains and beyond the Indus the Bráhmans may be said comparatively speaking to disappear. The Bráhmans have no territorial organisation. They accompany their clients in their migrations, settle with them in their new homes, and receive grants of land to hold or cultivate.

Part V.—Religious, Professional, Mercantile, and Miscellaneous Castes.

Abstract No. 88, *showing the* Priestly and Ascetic Classes *for* Districts and States.

	PRIESTLY CASTES. — Figures.							Proportion per 1,000 of total Population.									
	3	120	24	70	116	172		3	120		24	70	116	172			
	Bráhman.	Pujári.	Saiyad.	Ulama.	Chishti.	Bodla.	Faqir.	Bráhman.	Pújári.	Total.	Saiyad.	Ulama.	Chishti.	Bodla.	Total.	Faqir.	Grand Total.
Dehli	61,007	...	8,800	1	76	...	12,359	95	...	95	14	...	...	...	14	19	128
Gurgaon	52,642	...	3,518	416	506	...	17,263	82	...	82	5	1	1	...	7	27	116
Karnal	55,168	...	4,309	...	305	...	14,916	89	...	89	7	...	...	...	7	24	120
Hissar	31,613	...	1,706	...	8	111	7,328	63	...	63	4	...	..	...	4	15	82
Rohtak	58,211	...	889	...	2	...	11,405	105	...	105	2	...	...	...	2	21	128
Sirsa	5,559	...	634	...	...	...	2,740	22	...	22	3	...	...	...	3	11	36
Ambala	65,035	...	8,543	6	...	43	20,771	61	...	61	8	...	...	...	8	19	88
Ludhiana	25,121	...	3,655	30	...	...	19,185	41	...	41	6	...	...	...	6	31	78
Simla	2,567	227	315	...	...	...	157	60	5	65	7	...	...	...	7	4	76
Jalandhar	30,535	45	6,909	251	...	...	18,629	39	...	39	9	...	...	...	9	24	72
Hushyarpur	77,412	15	4,060	109	...	...	16,232	86	...	86	4	...	...	...	4	18	108
Kangra	109,881	836	157	6	...	...	6,329	150	1	151	...	...	...	...	...	9	160
Amritsar	34,753	203	5,003	542	3	...	20,026	39	...	39	6	1	...	...	7	22	68
Gurdaspur	47,899	...	6,077	241	309	...	11,774	58	...	58	7	...	...	...	7	14	79
Sialkot	36,100	...	12,849	1,946	...	...	12,105	36		36	13	2	...	...	15	12	63
Lahore	20,813	135	7,930	401	132	110	7,965	23	...	23	9	...	...	...	9	8	40
Gujranwala	18,080	...	6,339	4,289	8	15	5,074	29	...	29	10	7	...	...	17	8	54
Firozpur	12,079	...	3,134	38	429	520	7,366	19	...	19	5	..	1	1	7	11	37
Rawalpindi	18,523	...	20,422	26	...	...	1,861	23	...	23	25	...	...	..	25	2	50
Jahlam	10,010	...	14,663	111	21	...	1,493	17	...	17	25	...	...	...	25	3	45
Gujrat	8,668	...	16,428	1,701	135	...	1,369	13	...	13	24	3	...	...	27	2	42
Shahpur	5,462	...	8,625	754	137	...	2,303	13	...	13	20	2	...	...	22	5	40
Multan	4,183	...	8,908	2,211	451	54	3,889	8	...	8	16	4	1	...	21	7	36
Jhang	5,319	1	5,944	706	421	...	3,497	13	...	13	15	2	1	...	18	9	40
Montgomery	3,168	...	4,225	760	674	102	3,709	7	...	7	10	2	2	...	14	9	30
Muzaffargarh	1,841	...	6,928	1,268	97	...	1,932	5	...	5	20	4	...	...	24	6	35
Dera Ismail Khan	3,549	...	8,771	170	110	...	1,233	8	...	8	20	...	...	...	20	3	31
Dera Ghazi Khan	2,164	...	6,223	2,583	41	...	603	6	...	6	17	7	...	...	24	2	32
Bannu	2,027	...	11,943	181	132	...	574	6	...	6	36	1	...	...	37	2	45
Peshawar	3,746	5	4,515	2,216	1	...	525	6	...	6	8	4	..	...	12	1	19
Hazara	4,662	...	15,235	574	...	...	487	11	...	11	37	1	...	...	38	1	50
Kohat	882	...	7,776	222	...	...	126	5	..	5	43	1	...		44	1	50
British Territory	**818,814**	**1,467**	**225,446**	**21,759**	**3,998**	**955**	**235,231**	**43**	...	**43**	**12**	**1**	...	...	**13**	**12**	**68**
Patiala	94,483	...	7,870	340	532	15	35,855	64	...	64	5	...	...	...	5	24	93
Nabha	17,980	...	709	15	167	...	6,646	69	...	69	3	..	1	...	4	25	98
Kapurthala	8,059	10	2,704	115	10	...	7,058	32	...	32	11	...	...	...	11	29	72
Jind	27,253	...	354	13	...	...	5,949	110	...	110	1	...	...	...	1	24	135
Faridkot	2,078	...	93	37	8	...	1,640	21	...	21	1	...	...	...	1	17	39
Maler Kotla	2,570	...	823	...	...	...	1,734	36	...	36	12	...	...	...	12	24	72
Kalsia	3,525	...	172	...	...	...	1,547	52	..	52	3	...	...	...	3	23	78
Total East. Plains	161,419	10	13,258	520	717	15	61,202	64	...	64	5	...	...	...	5	24	93
Bahawalpur	3,677	...	9,065	1	...	...	1,953	6	...	6	16	...	...	..	16	3	25
Mandi	16,014	...	35	...		...	785	109	...	109	...	...	...	...	...	5	114
Chamba	15,450	...	52	...	...	...	676	133	.	133	...	...	...	...	...	6	139
Nahan	5,538	53	124	...	...	...	477	49	...	49	1	...	...	..	1	4	54
Bilaspur	24,462	299	...	...	...	...	564	283	3	286	...	...	..	...	...	6	292
Bashahr	4,805	212	3	...	...	...	116	75	3	78	...	...	...	...	...	2	80
Nalagarh	5,730	...	80	...	...	...	589	107	...	107	1	...	...	...	1	11	119
Suket	6,670	...	5	...	...	...	249	127	...	127	...	...	...	...	...	5	132
Total Hill States	283	2,454	333	...	...	...	3,938	131	3	134	1	...	...	...	1	5	140
British Territory	818,814	1,467	225,446	21,759	3,998	955	235,231	43	...	43	12	1	...	...	13	12	68
Native States	265,379	2,464	22,656	521	717	15	67,093	69	1	70	6	...	...	...	6	17	93
Province	1,084,193	3,931	248,102	22,280	4,715	970	302,324	48	...	48	11	1	...	...	12	13	73

The function and position of the Bráhman in his sacerdotal character have been already described in the Chapter on Religion, section 236. He concerns himself but little with the spiritual guidance of the people, but he is consulted as to omens and auspicious names, dates, and events, and he officiates at all ceremonial functions. These duties however employ, except perhaps in the west of the Province, but a small proportion of the total number; and the remainder are pure Levites, ready to be fed or receive offerings in the name of God, but their sacerdotal functions being purely passive. These men supplement

Part V.—Religious, Professional, Mercantile, and Miscellaneous Castes.

the offerings of their clients by practising agriculture very extensively; and it may be said that wherever the Bráhmans are numerous they are, excepting only the educated Pandits or Pádhas, land-owners and cultivators. They are poor husbandmen, for their pride of caste and the fact that a large part of their subsistence comes to them without the necessity of toil render them impatient of manual labour; and like the Rájpúts they look upon the actual operation of ploughing as degrading, insomuch that in the hills a Bráhman who ploughs is scarcely recognised as a brother by the higher classes of the caste. In social position the Bráhman is of course pre-eminently first in the Hindu portion of the Panjáb, though he is thought but meanly of on the frontier. Yet even where his position is most readily admitted he has failed to make himself beloved. He is grasping, quarrelsome, and overbearing, inflated with pride in his own descent and contempt for that of others, while he holds himself aloof from the clients whose pockets he preys upon, and declines to associate himself with the community upon which he lives. "A Dúm, a Bráhman, and a goat "are of no avail in time of need." Where Bráhmans hold any considerable share of a village trouble and disputes are sure to follow; and the villagers have a proverb: "As famine from the desert, so comes evil from a Bráhman." So their avarice is expressed in the saying—"The Mulla, the Bhát, the "Bráhman, and the Dúm; these four castes were not born on giving day," and their love of good living by the proverb: "Dine with a Bráhman and jog along the road with a Kirár" (the Kirárs being great talkers). On the whole the Bráhman has but little real influence over the Hindu peasant, and the reverence paid him is largely traditional or due to the conservative tendency of the women. The Bráhmans of the hills have a social and tribal organisation almost exactly corresponding with that of the hill Rájpúts. The quotations from Mr. Barnes given at pages 175 and 179 bear upon the subject. They too are divided into grades, each grade marrying from the one below and giving their daughters to the one above, while the lower classes will marry Káyath or Banya, and in Kúlu even Kanet women. The mixed class of Pahári Mahájans is described below under mercantile castes. In the hills of Hazára on the banks of the Jahlam these Mahájans, who are also called Dhakochi, seem to include the whole Bráhman caste. In the Peshâwar division 185 persons are returned as Bráhman-Mahájans, and these I have classed as Bráhmans. It is probable that some of the Pahári Mahájans also are really Bráhmans. The Hill Bráhmans universally eat meat, from which the Bráhmans of the plains, except perhaps in the extreme west, scrupulously abstain. Of the total number of Bráhmans only about 7,000 are returned as Sikh, the denial of the superiority claimed by the higher castes which distinguished the teaching of Guru Govind not being acceptable to the Bráhman. The Sikhs employ Hindu Bráhmans as their *parohits* or family priests in exactly the same way as do the Hindus and Jains. There are also 3,500 Musalmán Bráhmans, chiefly in the Dehli district. These men are known as Huseni Bráhmans, and are said to receive oblations in the name of the Hindu gods from Hindus and in the name of Alláh from Musalmáns.

513. The divisions of the Brahmans.—The Brahminical *gotras* have already been described in section 353. The Bráhman caste or class is divided into ten great sections, all based upon geographical distribution, which differs in customs and standing and do not intermarry. They again are divided into two groups each containing five sections, as follows:—

A.—The five Dravidas (south of the Vindhyas).

1. The Maháráshtra (of the Mahratta country).
2. The Tailanga or Andhra (of the Telugu country).
3. The Dravida (of the Tamil or Dravida country).
4. The Karnáta (of the Carnatic).
5. The Gurjara or Gújaráti (of Gújarát in Sindh).

B.—The five Gaurs (north of the Vindhyas).

6. The Gaur (of Gaur, probably not Bengal, *see below*).
7. The Sáraswat or Sársút (of the Panjáb, beyond the Saruswati).
8. The Kanyakubja (of Kanauj).
9. The Maithila (of the Mithila country).
10. The Utkala (of Orissa).

Of these great divisions the Panjáb Bráhmans belong for the most part to the Gaur in the Jamna and south-eastern districts and the eastern hills, and to the Sársút in the remainder of the Province. The figures are given below in Abstract No. 89, a few districts in which only small numbers are shown being omitted. It may be said that a line drawn north-east and south-west through Simla and Patiála roughly divides the Gaur from the Sársút. I append a description of some of the principal divisions of the Bráhmans to be met with in the Panjáb, and must refer the reader for fuller details to the authorities quoted in the beginning of section 512.

The Gaur Brahman.—There has been much dispute about the position of the Gaur from which this section is named. Their traditional place of origin is Hariána, and their present home is the portion of the North-West Provinces lying west of Alígarh and Mathra, and the part of the Panjab defined above; and they are separated from Bengal by other sections of the caste. General Cunningham suggests that Gaur is the old name of Gonda, while Sir George Campbell would make it another form of the word Ghaggar. The Gaur Bráhmans are far more strict in all caste observances than the Sársút Bráhmans, from whose hands they will not eat bread, and upon whom they look down.

The Sarsut Brahman is the Bráhman of the Panjáb Proper, and takes his name from the Saruswati which lies near his eastern boundary. He is said to be less grasping and quarrelsome than the Gaur, and he is certainly much less rigid in his observance of caste rules, eating and smoking with most of the stricter Hindu castes, such as Banyas, Khatris, Súds, and Káyaths. He eats flesh in the hills, and perhaps in some parts of the plains also.

The Gujarati and Dakaut Brahmans.—These men are scattered in small numbers all over the Province. The Gújaráti Bráhmans probably belong to the Gurjara section already mentioned. The Dákaut or Dakotra Bráhmans are fortune-tellers and astrologers, and came from Northern Rájpútána. They belong to the Panj Gaur group, of which they are sometimes, in Rájpútána which is their home, reckoned as a separate section. The following description is taken from my Karnál Report:—

"Offerings to Bráhmans are divided into *bár* and *graha* for the days of the week, and two *grahin* for Ráhu and Ket, the two "demons who cause eclipses by attacking the sun and moon. These two are parts of a jin (Rákshas), who, when sitting at dinner "with the gods and jins, drank of the nectar of the gods instead of the wine of the jins. The sun and moon told of him, and "Bhagwán cut him into two parts, of which Ráhu, including the stomach and therefore the nectar, is the more worthy. When "anybody wishes to offer to Bráhmans from illness or other cause, he consults a Bráhman who casts his horoscope and directs which "offering of the seven *grahas* should be made. The *grahins* are most commonly offered during an eclipse, that to Ráhu being given "at the beginning, and that to Ket at the end of the transit. The Gaur Bráhmans will not take any black offerings, such as a "buffalo or goat, iron, sesame (*til*) or *urad*, black blankets or clothes, salt, &c., nor oil, second-hand clothes, green clothes, nor "*satnája*, which is seven grains mixed with a piece of iron in them; these belonging to the *graho* whose offerings are forbidden to "them. An exception, however, is made in favour of a black cow.

Part V.—Religious, Professional, Mercantile, and Miscellaneous Castes.

Abstract No. 89, *showing* Brahman Divisions *for* Districts and States.

BRAHMAN.

	1	2	3	4	5
	Gaur.	Sársút.	Achárj.	Dákaut or Dakotra.	Gújaráti.
Dehlí	58,648	1,260	340	558	190
Gurgaon	46,287	123	285	811	95
Karnál	51,656	2,459	381	356	338
Hissar	28,119	1,077	408	426	216
Rohtak	51,955	157	317	490	493
Sirsa	2,119	1,310	232	196	11
Ambala	42,803	15,339	1,254	950	357
Ludhiána	1,951	21,114	287	219	474
Simla	655	2,015	...	...	1
Jalandhar	1,886	26,058	201	20	1
Hushyárpur	840	11,166	271	90	242
Kangra	5,177	83,012	285	39	74
Amritsar	412	32,543	22	...	144
Gurdáspur	725	19,155	1,467	7	413
Siálkot	724	32,262	672	26	...
Lahore	707	9,970	626	...	13
Gujránwála	118	16,099	469	30	51
Firozpur	1,569	8,404	175	64	8
Ráwalpindi	286	7,288	227	198	...
Jahlam	77	5,256	180	95	...
Gujrát	113	6,041	150	106	...
Shahpur	48	3,254	60	...	...
Multan	252	1,537	119	55	1
Jhang	19	3,478	78	1	...
Montgomery	163	1,396	99	28	10
Muzaffargarh	42	932	58	...	...
Derah Ismail Khan	36	1,794	63	...	...

	1	2	3	4	5
	Gaur.	Sársút.	Achárj.	Dákaut or Dakotra.	Gújaráti.
Derah Ghazi Khan	91	1,106	40	...	...
Bannu	53	1,120	56	48	...
Peshawar	168	1,446	70	...	111
Kohát	37	453	18	17	1
British Territory	297,779	318,767	8,965	4,867	3 244
Patiála	42,735	48,393	645	1,559	404
Nabha	8,104	8,471	200	249	53
Jínd	23,312	2,568	...	286	365
Farídkot	226	1,742	42	60	...
Maler Kotla	193	2,277	...	...	7
Kalsia	1,887	759	48	154	19
Total East. Plains	80,798	64,304	1,038	2,396	1,017
Baháwalpur	215	1,892	158	...	...
Mandi	1,941	13,928	9	...	...
Náhan	2,844	1,557	67	39	4
Biláspur	57	24,287	18	...	2
Bashahr	1,153	876	2	...	...
Nálagarh	108	5,113	91	...	...
Suket	1,564	4,854	...	...	...
Total Hill States	13,418	67,024	320	39	24
British Territory	297,779	318,767	8,965	4,867	3,244
Native States	94,431	133,220	1,516	2,435	1,041
Province	392,210	451,987	10,481	7,302	4,285

"The Gújaráti or Biás Bráhmans who came from Gújarát in Sindh are in some respects the highest class of all Bráhmans; they "are always fed first; and they bless a Gaur when they meet him, while they will not eat ordinary bread from his hands. They are "fed on the 12th day after death, and the Gaurs will not eat on the 13th day if this has not been done. But they take inauspicious "offerings. To them appertain especially the Ráhu offerings made at an eclipse. They will not take oil, sesame, goats, or green or "dirty clothes; but will take old clothes if washed, buffaloes, and *satnája*. They also take a special offering to Ráhu made by a sick "person, who puts gold in ghi, looks at his face in it, and gives it to a Gújaráti, or who weighs himself against *satnája* and makes "an offering of the grain. A buffalo which has been possessed by a devil to that degree that he has got on to the top of a house "(no difficult feat in a village), or a foal dropped in the month of Sáwan, or buffalo calf in Mág, are given to the Gújaráti as being "unlucky. No Gaur would take them. At every harvest the Gújaráti takes a small allowance (*seori*) of grain from the thrashing "floor, just as does the Gaur.

"The Dákauts came from Agroha in the Dakhan. Rája Jasrat, father of Rámchandar, had excited the anger of Saturday by "worshipping all the other *graha* but him. Saturday accordingly rained fire on Jasrat's city of Ajudhia. Jasrat wished to pro-"pitiate him, but the Bráhmans feared to take the offering for dread of the consequences; so Jasrat made from the dirt of his body "one Daka Rishi who took the offerings, and was the ancestor of Dákauts by a Súdra woman. The other Bráhmans, however, "disowned him; so Jasrat consoled him by promising that all Bráhmans should in future consult his children. The promise has "been fulfilled. The Dákauts are pre-eminent as astrologers and soothsayers, and are consulted by every class on all subjects but "the dates of weddings and the names of children, on which the Gaurs advise. They are the scape-goats of the Hindu religion; "and their fate is to receive all the unlucky offerings which no other Bráhman will take, such as black things and dirty clothes. "Especially they take the offerings of Wednesday, Saturday, and Ket. They are so unlucky that no Bráhman will accept their "offerings; and if they wish to make them they have to give them to their own sister's sons. No Hindu of any caste will eat any "sort of food at their hands, and at weddings they sit with the lower castes; though of course they only eat food cooked by a "Bráhman. In old days they possessed the power of prophecy up to 10-30 A.M.; but this has now failed them. They and the "Gújarátis are always at enmity, because, as they take many of the same offerings, their interests clash."

The Pushkarna Brahmans take their name from the sacred lake of Pushkar or Pokhar near Ajmer. One section of them is said to have been originally Beldárs or Ods who were raised to Brahminical rank as a reward for excavating the tank. They still worship the pickaxe. They are the hereditary Bráhmans of the Rájpútána Bhátias, and are more strict in caste matters than the Sársút. They are found in some numbers in the western districts of the Panjáb.

The Mahabrahman or Acharj.—This is the Bráhman who performs the funeral ceremonies. After the cremation he is seated on the dead man's bedstead and the sons lift him up, bedstead and all, and make obeisance to him. He then receives the bedstead and all the wearing apparel of the dead man. He rides on a donkey, and is considered so impure that in many villages he is not allowed to come inside the gate.

The Muhial, Moyal or Mial Brahmans.—This is a sub-section of the Sársút section, who are said to be so named from the seven *Múhíns* or clans of which they consist. They are almost confined to the sub-montane Salt-range Tract. They say that certain of their ancestors rose to high position under the Mughals, since when they have abandoned all performance of priestly functions or claim to a sacerdotal character, and cultivate land, but especially take service in the army or as clerks. They object to be called Bráhmans, as the enlistment of Bráhmans is said to be forbidden in our army. This is their own account; but in Hazára proper the Muhiáls perform priestly functions and receive alms and oblations just like other Bráhmans. Another story derives their name from a place called Mava, 'now deserted.'

Dharukra Brahmans are Gaur Bráhmans of the Dehli Territory who have taken to widow-marriage, and with whom other Bráhmans will not intermarry. They are much the same as the Dasa or Doghla Bráhmans."

Chamarwa and Gurra Brahmans.—These are the Bráhmans who minister to the Chamárs, Aheris, and other outcasts. They are

Part V.—Religious, Professional, Mercantile, and Miscellaneous Castes.

not recognized as Bráhmans by the other classes; and though they wear the sacred thread it is perhaps possible that their claims to Bráhman origin is unfounded. Yet on the whole it seems most probable that they are true Bráhmans by descent, but have fallen from their high position. They are often called Chamarwa Sádhs.

514. The Pujaris and Bhojkis (Caste No. 120).—Pujári means really nothing but an officiating priest at a temple or shrine, and in the majority of cases would be a Bráhman or *faqír*. But the Pujári of the shrines in the Kángra and Simla hills have grown into a distinct caste, composed originally, it is said, of a mixed collection of Náis, Bráhmans, Rájpúts, and Jogis, who all intermarried. Those of the great shrines, such as Jawálamukhi and Báwan, are called Bhojkis; and I have included under the head Pujári 1,274 persons returned as Bhojkis, of whom the distribution is shown in the margin. They are all priests of Devi, and their name is said to be a corruption of Pújki. The Bhojkis are said by Mr. Barnes to be "not Bráhmans, though they are the hereditary priests of "these celebrated temples. They all wear the sacred thread; they intermarry "among themselves alone, eat flesh, drink wine, and are a debauched and pro-"fligate set; the men are constantly in the Courts involved in litigation, and the "women are notorious for their loose morality." Colonel Jenkins of Kángra writes of them as follows:—

Bhojkis.	
Jalandhar	45
Hushyarpur	15
Kangra	729
Amritsar	203
Lahore	135
Jhang	1
Kapurthala	10
Bilaspur	136
	1,274

"The Bhojkis are perhaps a unique feature of this district. They are attached to the great temples at Kángra and Jawálamukhi "and are supported by the income. They claim to be Sársút Brahmins; but if so, have certainly sunk in the social scale, as no ordi-"nary Bráhmins would eat "kachi rasoi" with them. They appear to occupy much the same position as the Ganga Putras of Benares, "and the probability is that they are mere "Jogis" who have obtained a reflected sanctity from the goddesses whose service they "have entered. The word is evidently connected with the Sanskrit root "bhoj" to feed, and is taken from the nature of their duties. "They intermarry among themselves and with a class of Jogis called "Bodha Pandits." They are very quarrelsome, litigious, and "profligate, and may be well characterized by the famous epithet ορθροφοιτοσυκοφαντοδικοταλαιπωρος, which, if I remember right, "was translated 'Early rising, base informing, sad litigious, plaguy fellows.'"

Of the 3,931 Pujáris and Bhojkis shown in Table VIII A, 394 Pujáris are Mahomedan. These are almost certainly Bukháris or people, or perhaps Saiyads, of Bukhára, the words Pujári and Bukhári being identical if written without dots. They are found only in Jálandhar, Lahore, and Amritsar, the three great commercial towns.

515. The Saiyads (Caste No. 24).—The true Saiyads are the descendants of Ali the son-in-law of Mahomet, and I believe that the word properly includes only those descended from him by Fátima, Mahomet's daughter. But there are Ulavi Saiyads who are said to be descended through other wives. Our tables show 248,102 Saiyads in the Panjáb, but it is impossible to say how many of these are of true Saiyad stock. Certainly an immense number of those returned as such have no real claim to the title. The saying is "Last "year I was a Juláha; this year I am a Shekh; next year if prices rise I shall be a Saiyad;" and if "generation" be substituted for "year," the process is sufficiently common. The Saiyads are found scattered throughout the Province. In the eastern half of the Panjáb they form a comparatively small element in the population, except in Dehli itself. These men for the most part came in with the Mahomedan conquerors or under their dynasties, and were granted lands or revenue which their descendants still hold and enjoy. The Bára Saidát of the Jamna-Ganges *doáb*, with whom many of these Eastern Saiyads are connected, enjoyed considerable political importance during the latter days of the Mughal empire. But directly the meridian of Lahore is passed the Saiyads form a markedly larger portion of the population, being largest of all on the Pathán frontier and in the Salt-range Tract, and only slightly smaller on the lower Indus. Many of the Pathán tribes, such as the Bangash of Kohát and the Mishwáni, claim Saiyad origin, and it may be that some of these have returned themselves as Saiyads instead of as Patháns. The Apostles who completed the conversion of the Patháns to Islám were called Saiyads if they came from the west and Shekhs if from the east, and it is probably to the descendants of the former, and to false claims to Saiyad origin set up most commonly in a wholly Musalmán tract, that the large number of Saiyads in the north-west of the Panjáb is due. At the same time the Biloches, who were originally Shíahs and were called "the friends of Ali," reverence and respect Saiyads far more than do those bigoted Sunnis the Patháns; and I am surprised to find Saiyads more numerous among the latter than among the former. The Saiyads of Kágán who came into Hazára with Saiyad Jalál Bába hold the whole of the Kágán valley, and the Saiyads of the Multán district occupy a prominent position, and will be found described at length in Mr. Roe's Settlement Report. The abject state of bondage in which the Saiyads and other holy men hold the frontier races has been described in the Chapter on Religion, section 277. The Saiyad is, no less than the Bráhman, a land-owner and cultivator on a large scale. Indeed, while the Brahman is by birth a priest, or at the least a Levite, the Saiyad as such is neither; though he makes use of his supposed saintliness, at any rate in the west of the Panjáb, to compel offerings to which the ordinances of his religion give him no sort of claim. The Saiyad of Karnál is thus described in my Settlement Report. "The Saiyad is emphatically the worst "cultivator I know. Lazy, thriftless, and intensely ignorant and conceited, he will not dig till driven to it "by the fear of starvation, and thinks that his holy descent should save his brow from the need of sweating. "At the best he has no cattle, he has no capital, and he grinds down his tenants to the utmost. At the worst "he is equally poor, dirty, and holy. He is the worst revenue-payer in the district; for to him a lighter "assessment only means greater sloth." Mr. Thorburn thus describes the Saiyads of Bannu:—

"As a rule the Saiyads are land-owners not tenants, and bad, lazy, land-owners they make too. In learning, general intelligence, "and even in speech and appearance, they are hardly distinguishable from the Patháns or Jats amongst whom they live. Here and "there certainly honourable exceptions are to be found. The way the lands now held by them were originally acquired was in most "cases by gift. Though many of them still exercise considerable influence, their hold as a class on the people at large is much "weaker than it was thirty years ago. The struggle for existence caused by the increase of population since annexation has knocked "much of the awful reverence the Pathán zamíndár used to feel towards holy men in general out of him. He now views most "matters from rather a hard worldly than a superstitious standpoint. Many a family or community would now cancel the ancestral "deed of gift under which some Saiyad's brood enjoys a fat inheritance. But for the criminal consequences which would ensue "from turning them out neck and crop, the spiritual consequences would be risked willingly enough."

In Afghánistán the Saiyads have much of the commerce in their hands, as their holy character allows them to pass unharmed where other Patháns would infallibly be murdered. Even the Biloches do not love

the Saiyad: they say, "May God not give kingship to Saiyads and Mullas." The Saiyads as a rule follow the Mahomedan law of inheritance, and do not give their daughters to other than Saiyads. But in the villages of the east many of them have adopted the tribal customs of their neighbours, while in the west the Hindu prejudice against widow-marriage has in many cases extended to them.

516. Divisions of the Saiyads.—The Panjáb Saiyads are primarily divided into Hasani descended from Hasan and Husaini descended from Husain the sons of Ali, Hasan-Husaini the descendants of Abdul Qádir Gilání who sprang from an intermarriage between the two branches, Ulavi descended from Ali by other wives than Fátima, and Zaidi who are descended from Zaid Shahíd a grandson of Husain. But they also have a second set of divisions named after the places whence their ancestors came. Thus the descendants of Abdul Qádir are often known as Gilání: so the Gardezi or Bághdádi Saiyads are an important branch of the Husainis, and once owned a large portion of the Sarai Sidhu *tahsíl* of Multán, while the Zaidis are said to be a branch of the Gardezis. The Bukhári Saiyads seem to be of the Husaini section. The numbers returned are given in the margin. The Saiyads of the Western Plains are chiefly Bukhári and Husaini; the Gilání Saiyads are found chiefly in the centre of the Panjáb and the Salt-range and western sub-montane, the Shirázi in Jahlam and Sháhpur, the Jáfiri in Gújrát, the Husaini in Jahlam, the Bákhari in Ráwalpindi, and the Mashaidi in the Salt-range Tract.

Saiyad sections.			
1. Hasani	11,746	6. Bákhari	13,324
2. Husaini	86,831	7. Mashaidi	24,271
3. Zaidi	4,089	8. Gilání	18,967
4. Jáfiri	6,386	9. Shirázi	7,933
5. Bukhári	96,378	10. Gardezi	1,902

517. The Ulama (Caste No. 70).—This is a perfectly miscellaneous assortment of people, many of whom cannot claim to have any priestly character. Any divine learned in the faith of Islám claims the title of Álim, the plural of which is Ulama or "the learned men." But on the frontier any person who can read and write and possesses sufficient religious knowledge to enable him to conduct the devotions in a mosque claims the title. Besides the people who have returned themselves as Ulama, I have included under this heading a large number of persons who have denoted their caste by some word which expresses nothing more than a certain degree of religious knowledge or standing among the Mahomedans. The terms so included and the numbers returned under each are shown in the margin. The meaning of Ulama has just been described. Those who returned themselves as such are almost wholly in the Lahore and Ráwalpindi divisions, and 4,129 are in Gurdáspur and 1,701 in Gujrát. Mujáwir is the hereditary guardian of a shrine. Of those returned as such 2,479 are in Derah Gházi, and are very possibly the attendants of the celebrated shrine of Sakhi Sarwar at Nigáha. Qázi is the Mahomedan law-doctor who gives opinions on all religious and legal questions. But the descendants of a famous Qázi often retain the title, and there are several well-known Qázi families. Of our Qázis 1,725 are in Siálkot, 542 in Amritsar, and 241 in Gurdáspur. In Derah Gházi the Qázis are said all to be Awáns, and to call themselves Ulama. The Mulla or Maulvi is a doctor of divinity who teaches the precepts of the faith. Mulwána or Mulána appear to be merely other forms of Mulla; all these people are returned from the Deraját, Peshâwar, and Multán divisions. Makhdúm means the head of a shrine, generally a descendant of the saint who presides over the management; and the title used to be almost confined to the heads of the more celebrated shrines; but it is now used by those of smaller shrines also, and by any who claim descent from any saint. Makhdúmána is another form of the same word, or perhaps rather denotes the descendants of a Makhdúm. In the Deraját Mián means any saint or holy man or teacher, but is now often used by the descendants of such persons. Miána has been discussed under Shekh. Mullázádah is of course nothing more than the descendant of a Mulla. Under this head of Ulama should probably be included the Ahkúndzádah and Akhúnd Khel. Akhúnd is a title given to any spiritual chief of renown, and the descendants of these men are known by the above names. Indeed Major Wace says that among the Hazára Patháns any one who has studied the religious books is called Akhúndzádah or Mulla indifferently. Under the head Patháns 3,665 men have shown their tribe as Akhúnd Khel; 2,128 in Peshâwar, 946 in Hazára, 354 in Ráwalpindi, and 166 in Bannu. But Mr. Beckett points out that many of these are men who cannot show any claim to the title. "They are mostly Gújars and Awáns, but are slow to admit this, and very often pretend that they are "Saiyads. They should not be classed as Mullas or priests, as they perform no priestly functions. They "cultivate land or graze cattle like any other Patháns, but cling to the title, as it carries with it a certain "amount of consideration." I suspect there are very many of those classed in our tables as Ulama who have no better claim to the title. The popular opinion of the Ulama is expressed in the proverbs quoted at pages 143-4 in the Chapter on Religion.

Ulama.			
Ulama	7,396	Mulána	1,053
Mujáwir	3,480	Makhdúmána	301
Qázi	2,623	Mián	714
Mulla	2,479	Mullázádah	158
Mulla-Mulwána	2,879	Others	197

518. The Chishti (Caste No. 116).—This heading includes two different classes of people. The Chishti or Chishtia is an order of Mahomedan *faqirs* founded by Banda Nawáz who is buried at Kalbargah. They are much given to singing, and are generally Shíahs. The Indian Chishtis are also said to be followers of Khwájah Múín-ul-dín of Chisht, who died in 471 Hij and was perhaps the same man as or a disciple of Banda Nawáz. At any rate there are members of the Chishtia order in the Panjáb, and these are Chishtia *faqirs* by reason of their belonging to that order. But the celebrated Bába Faríd of Pák Pattan was a Chishtia *faqír*; and the descendants of his relations andchildren, whether carnal or spiritual, have developed into a caste which is found in the lower Satluj and chiefly in the Montgomery district, though they would appear to be found in other parts of the Panjáb also, and which in many respects much resembles the Bodlas next to be described. Of the Chishtis of our table the whole 887 of the Dehli division and 140 of those of the Lahore division returned themselves as Chishtia *faqirs*, and are probably mere members of the order. The other figures I cannot separate. Mr. Purser says that the ancestors of the Montgomery Chishtis are supposed to have come from Kábul to Lahore 600 years ago, and then moved to Montgomery where Bába Faríd settled at Pák Pattan. Like the Bodlas they were till lately wholly nomad, and like them they claim Qureshi origin; and it is not impossible that some of them have returned themselves as Shekh. They take Rájpút girls to wife. There is a saying—"You can tell a Chishti by his squint-eye;" but what the origin of it may be I know not.

519. The Bodla (Caste No. 172).—The Bodlas are a small section of the Wattu Rájpúts of the

lower and middle Satluj, who have for some generations enjoyed a character for peculiar sanctity, and who now claim Qureshi origin from Abu Bakr Sadíq; and 2,435 of them have entered themselves as Qureshi and not as Bodla, and are included under the head Shekh. Of these 144 are in Hissár, 749 in Sirsa, 339 in Fírozpur, 349 in Montgomery, and 234 in Baháwalpur. They still marry Wattu girls, though they give their daughters only to Bodlas. They were till lately a wholly pastoral tribe, and still hold a *jágír*, the proceeds of which they now supplement by cultivation. They came up from Multán through Baháwalpur to Montgomery, where they are described by Mr. Purser as "lazy, silly, and conceited." From Montgomery they spread into Sirsa, where they occupied the Bahak *parganah* which they still hold. They are credited with the power of curing disease by exorcism, and especially snake-bite and hydrophobia; they are recognised saints, and can curse with great efficacy. They have no relations with the other Qureshis of the neighbourhood, and their Wattu origin is undoubted.

ASCETIC AND MENDICANT ORDERS.

520. The ascetic and mendicant orders.—I now turn to the consideration of that section of the community which is commonly included under the generic term of Faqír. I must first point out that our figures, though representing with fair accuracy the total numbers of this class, are wholly imperfect so far as the details are concerned. The divisional offices included the various orders under the general term, but that was easily remedied. I have had them picked out again, and have given the numbers to be added on this account to the figures of Table VIIIA in each case in the following paragraphs. But the real reason of the failure of our figures to show details is, that the great mass of these *faqírs* entered the name of their order not under "tribe" but under "sect;" and as we were forbidden to tabulate any sects except Shíah, Sunni, Wahhábi, and Farázi, the details were not worked out at all. If I had known how largely this had been the case, I should not have tabulated separately even the few orders that are shown in Table VIII A, as the figures are utterly misleading; and for this reason I do not give details of Faqírs in my Abstract on page 280.

The figures for Faqírs comprehend at least three if not four very different classes of people. First come the religious orders pure and simple. Many of these are of the highest respectability; the members are generally collected in monasteries or shrines where they live quiet peaceful lives, keeping open house to travellers, training their neophytes, and exercising a wholesome influence upon the people of the neighbourhood. Such are many at least of the Bairágis and Gosáins. Some of the orders do not keep up regular monasteries, but travel about begging and visiting their disciples; though even here they generally have permanent head-quarters in some village, or at some shrine or temple where one of their order officiates. So too the monasterial orders travel about among their disciples and collect the offerings upon which they partly subsist. There is an immense number of these men whose influence is almost wholly for good. Some few of the orders are professedly celibate, though even among them the rule is seldom strictly observed; but most of the Hindu orders are divided into the Sanyogi and Viyogi sections of which the lattter only takes vows of celibacy, while among the Musalmán orders celibacy is seldom even professed. Such however as live in monasteries are generally if not always celibate. The professed ascetics are called Sádhs if Hindu and Pírs if Musalmán. The Hindus at any rate have their neophytes who are undergoing probation before admission into the order, and these men are called *Chela*. But besides these both Hindu and Musalmán ascetics have their disciples, known respectively as *Sewak* and *Muríd*, and these latter belong to the order as much as do their spiritual guides; that is to say a Káyath clerk may be a Bairági or a Pathán soldier a Chishti, if they have committed their spiritual direction respectively to a Bairági and Chishti *guru* and *pír*. Now it is not probable that such men have returned the name of the order as their caste, though this may occasionally have happened; and it is certain that none of them have returned themselves as Faqír. Thus so far the orders are made up of men who have voluntarily entered them, renouncing caste and worldly pursuits. But these men marry and have *bindi* or carnal children; while their *nádi* or spiritual children, the *chelas* just mentioned, may after admission to the order return to their homes. And it often happens that the descendants whether carnal or spiritual of a Bairági, for instance, will grow into a separate caste known by the name of Bairági, but having no connection whatever save by origin with the order of that name. Such men would return their caste as Bairági, and will have been included under Faqír. How far this custom is general I cannot say; but we have just discussed one instance of it in the case of the Chishti of Montgomery, and I know of villages held by Bairágis under precisely similar circumstances in Karnál.

I have said that many of the members of these orders are pious, respectable men whose influence is wholly for good. But this is far from being the case with all the orders. Many of them are notoriously profligate debauchers, who wander about the country seducing women, extorting alms by the threat of curses, and relying on their saintly character for protection. Still even these men are members of an order which they have deliberately entered, and have some right to the title which they bear. *But a very large portion* of the class who are included under the name Faqír are ignorant men of low caste, without any acquaintance with even the general outlines of the religion they profess, still less with the special tenets of any particular sect, who borrow the garb of the regular orders and wander about the country living on the alms of the credulous, often hardly knowing the names of the orders to which the external signs they wear would show them to belong. Such men are mere beggars, not ascetics; and though their numbers are unfortunately large, we have no means of separating them. Besides the occupations described above, the Faqír class generally have in their hands the custody of petty shrines, the menial service of village temples and mosques, the guardianship of cemeteries, and similar semi-religious offices. For these services they often receive small grants of land from the village, by cultivating which they supplement the alms and offerings they receive.

The subject of the religious orders of the Hindus is one of the greatest complexity; the cross divisions

Part V.—Religious, Professional, Mercantile, and Miscellaneous Castes.

between and the different meanings of such words as Jogi, Sanyási, and Sádh are endless; and no one who was not deeply versed in the sectarian system of Hinduism could hope to deal with the subject fully. I shall therefore not attempt to do more than jot down a few rough notes on some of the most important orders. The student will find a mass of information on the subject in Wilson's *Sects of the Hindus;* while Trumpp in his introduction to his *Adi Granth*, and Cunningham in an Appendix to his *History of the Sikhs* give many particulars about the Sikh sects and orders.

521. The Hindu orders of ascetics.—The Bairagi (Caste No. 53).—Bairági, or as it is more correctly spelled Vairági, signifies any one devoid of passion. But the word is usually applied in the Panjáb to a regular order of Vaishnava devotees, said to have been founded by Sri Anand, the 12th disciple of Rámanand. They are divided into several sections, among which may be mentioned the Rámanandi who worship Rám Chandra, the Rádhabalabhi who especially affect the worship of Rádha the wife of Krishna, the Nímanandi whose chief object of reverence is Sálig Rám, and the Rámanúji who adore Mahádeo; though these last two would appear to be Saiva rather than Vaishnava. They are for the most part collected in monasteries and are an exceedingly respectable class of *faqirs*, but many of the wandering mendicants also call themselves Bairágis. Their distinctive mark is a string of brown crinkled beads. They are most numerous in the Jamna districts, though to the figures of Table VIII A must be added 2,238 males and 1,621 females who returned themselves as *faqirs*, and who are to be found in almost equal numbers in the Amritsar, Lahore, and Fírozpur districts. The Bairágis of the monasteries are often but not always celibate. But there are in Karnál, and perhaps in other parts of the Province, villages held by descendants of both the children and the disciples of the Bairági monks, who have dropped their original castes and are now known as Bairágis, though they have no longer any connection with the order.

The Sanyasi (Caste No. 95).—The word Sanyási really means nothing more than the ascetic stage through which every Bráhman should properly pass. But as commonly used it corresponds among the followers of Siva with Bairági among the followers of Vishnu, and is as indefinite in its meaning. It is indeed specially applied to the Tridandi Rámanújas, a Vaishnava sect; but it is also used to include all Saiva classes of ascetics except perhaps the Jogi. In the Panjáb the word is commonly used to denote the followers of Shankar Achárj, and would include the Gosáins. The Sanyásis are said to be ordinarily buried in a sitting posture, and not burnt. To the figures of Table VIII A must be added 1,824 males and 727 females, about half of whom are in the Amritsar and another quarter in the Lahore division. The Sanyásis, so far as our figures go, seem specially to affect the districts of the eastern sub-montane.

The Gosain (Caste No. 102).—The Gosáin is a Saiva order corresponding in many ways with the Bairágis among Vaishnavas. Like them the Gosáins are often collected in monasteries, while many of them officiate as priests in the temple of Siva. They are also like the Bairágis, one of the most respectable of the Hindu orders. They are very commonly but not at all necessarily celibate. To the figures of the table must be added 1,368 males and 594 females, almost all in the Hissár district. The Gosáin appears to be almost confined to the South-eastern districts.

The Sadh (Caste No. 155).—Sádh is properly nothing more than the Hindu equivalent of the Musalmán word *Pír;* or rather Sádh applies only to a Hindu devotee, while *Pír* includes any Mahomedan holy man. But the word is especially applied to a set of Hindu Unitarians who are chiefly found in the Upper Ganges-Jamna *doáb*, from Farrúkhábád upwards. The sect was founded by one Bírbhán some 200 years ago. The Sádhs do not smoke, and affect great personal cleanliness, and their religious ceremonies consist in eating together. It is a sect rather than an order, and the Jats of a large village in Karnál are Sádhs by sect, though Jats by caste. (*See* Wilson's *Hindu Sects*, pages 227*ff*.) To the figures of the tables must be added 100 men and 13 women, mostly in the Hissár district. Our figures show Sádhs chiefly for the Dehli district and Rohtak, which would appear to connect them with the Sádh sect; yet the paucity of females show that the figures refer to a religious order. The priests of the menial classes are often called Sádh, as the Chamarwa Sádhs of the Chamárs, or the Charandási Sádhs and the Kabírbansi Sádhs of the Juláhas.

The Jogi.—The Jogi will presently be discussed under the head of *Minor Professional Castes*. It will there be explained that the word originally means nothing more than one who has by the practice of mental abstraction acquired the power of clairvoyance and similar faculties. But besides the low-class Jogi Ráwal there described, there are two sets of exceedingly respectable Jogi Faqírs, the Kanphatta who pierce their ears and the Augar who do not. The former are priests of Siva and are generally to be found in Shiválas. The latter too are Saiva, but are more secular. The Kanphatta is also called Darshana. The figures for Jogi given in Table VIII A include 3,658 males and 1,750 females of the Kanphatta, and 1,720 males and 1273 females of the Augar clan, but these figures are of course exceedingly incomplete. The Jogis bury their dead in a sitting posture.

The Aghori or Aghorpanthi—is an order which has happily almost died out. My figures show 316 only; but I have been told by an intelligent native that he can remember that in his youth they were common objects, wandering about the streets stark naked leading a jackal by a string, smeared with blood and human ordure, and carrying the same substances in a skull with which to bespatter him who refused them alms. Not two years ago one of these wretches was caught at Rohtak in the act of devouring the body of a newly buried child which he had dug out[1].

522. The Sikh orders of ascetics.—The Suthra Shahi (Caste No. 163).—This order was founded by a Bráhman called Súcha under the auspices of Guru Har Rai[2]. They are now numerous and widely distributed, though our figures, to which must be added 112 males and 15 females, show only a small number scattered through the Sikh tract. They are notorious for gambling, thieving, drunkenness, and debauchery, and lead a vagabond life, begging and singing songs, of a mystic nature. They wear ropes of black wool on the head and neck, and beat two small black sticks together as they beg. Although a Sikh order, they are all entered as Hindus, use the Hindu *tilak* or sectarian mark, and follow the Hindu rites throughout. They were founded before the time of Guru Govind, which probably accounts for their calling themselves Hindus. They generally add Sháh to their names. Trumpp says of them "there is no order or regular discipline among them, and profligates and vagabonds join them. They are a public nuisance and disavowed by the Sikhs."

The Udasi (Caste No. 84).—The Udási or Nánakputra were founded by Sri Chand, the eldest son of Bába Nának, and excommunicated by the second Guru, Amr Dás. They again, being founded before the time of Guru Govind, have for the most part returned themselves as Hindus. To the figures of Table VIII A must be added 7,127 males and 1,944 females. They are almost confined to the Sikh tract. They are for the most part celibate, and the naked section or Udási Nanga are always so. They practise Hindu rites, wear the *tilak* or sect-mark, and reject the Granth of Guru Govind but revere the Adi Granth of Bába Nának. They are hardly recognised as Sikhs. They are said to bear a high character, and are sometimes collected in monasteries, though not usually so. Many live at home, engage in worldly pursuits, and differ little from their neighbours. So at least says Trumpp.

The Nirmala (Caste No. 152).—The Nirmalas or 'without stain' were originally strict Sikhs and followers of Guru Govind. They wore white clothes, lived chiefly at the centres of Síkhism, and had considerable influence in the Sikh councils. But they have of late years relapsed into Hinduism, and have taken to wearing red clothes and *practising Hindu rites, and they are now hardly* true Sikhs. The greater part of them, however, have returned themselves as Sikhs. They live almost entirely in monasteries and are almost always celibate. They do not beg, but live on the offerings of the faithful. They have a high reputation for morality, and used to be much respected at Amritsar, where there is a considerable Nirmala community, for purity of morals, though it is said that they are now degenerating. They are governed by a Council known as the Akhára which makes periodical visitations of the Nirmala Societies throughout the Panjáb, and is controlled by a head abbot or *Mahant*. To the figures of the table must be added 1,587 males and 500 females, of whom 500 are in Amritsar and 300 in Jálandhar. They are confined to the Sikh tract. It is said that the Nirmalas and the Udásis are not unfrequently confused.

The Akali or Nihang.—These famous soldier-fanatics, who were the Gházis of the Sikhs, are represented in my tables by a total of 547 which is of course absurd. They were *nihang* or 'reckless' soldiers of the *akál* or 'Immortal;' and Phúla Singh Akáli was Ranjít Singh's great leader. The order was founded by Guru Govind in person, and it was they who withstood the attempted

[1] *Query*. What is the derivation of ogre?

[2] Wilson says they look up to Teg Bahádur, the father of Guru Govind, as their founder; but Trumpp who is quoted in the text is more probably right.

Part V.—Religious, Professional, Mercantile, and Miscellaneous Castes.

innovations of Banda. They wear blue chequered clothes, bangles of steel on the wrist, and quoits of steel on their conical blue turbans, together with miniature daggers, knives, and an iron chain. Their head-quarters used to be at Amritsar, where they assumed the direction of religious ceremonies and the duty of convoking the council of the Khálsa. They were dreaded even by the Sikh Chiefs for their fanaticism and turbulence, and often levied offerings by force. They were warrior-priests, and political rather than religious, and the order is now fast dwindling away. Their present head-quarters are said to be at Anandpur in Hushyárpur. They still pride themselves upon the purity with which they preserve the original ordinances of their religion, rejecting all Hindu rites even in their marriage ceremonies. They still bear in their memories the ancient glory of the Sikhs, and an Akáli who wishes to imply that he is alone will say that he is 'with 1,25,000 Khálsa.'

The Diwana Sadh or "mad saints" wear uncut hair, a necklace of shells, and a very large feather in their turbans. They are chiefly recruited from low castes, and are for the most part married. In their habits they resemble Sikhs, but they revere the Adi Granth only. My figures show 495 males and 346 females, most of whom are in the Kángra district.

523. The Musalman order of ascetics—The Bharai (Caste No. 48).—The Bharáis, or Pirháis or Piráhis as they are often called, are the priests of Sakhi Sarwar Sultán, and have been already alluded to in section 221 in the chapter on Religion. The Bharáis of the Lahore division were included under Shekh in the divisional office; they number 1,444 in Lahore, 2,256 in Gújránwála, and 1,646 in Firozpur. The Bharáis are almost confined to the central and sub-montane districts and states, where the Sultáni belief is most prevalent. There are however a few in the districts of the Western Plains. They go about beating a drum and begging in the name of Sakhi Sarwar, and conduct parties of pilgrims to the shrine at Nigáha. They also receive the offerings of the local shrines. They circumcise boys in the western districts, and often act as Mírásis with whom they are sometimes confused. Indeed on the lower Indus they supersede the Nái as circumcisors, and are said to take their name from the fact that the Prophet gave his coat (*pairáhan*) to one of their ancestors as a reward for circumcising a convert after a barber had refused to do so! The real origin of the name is probably to be found in the fact that the pilgrims to Nigáha call each other *Pir bhra* or "Saint-brothers."

The Madari (Caste No. 63).—The Madáris are followers of Zindah Sháh Madár, the celebrated saint of Makanpur in Oudh. His name was Bázi-ul-dín Sháh, and he was a converted Jew who was born at Aleppo in A.D. 1050, and is said to have died at Makanpur at the mature age of 383 years after expelling a demon called Makan Deo from the place. He is supposed by some to be still alive (whence his name), Mahomet having given him the power of living without breath. His devotees are said never to be scorched by fire, and to be secure against venomous snakes and scorpions, the bites of which they have power to cure. Women who enter his shrine are said to be seized by violent pain as though they were being burnt alive. To the figures of Table VIII A. must be added 20,968 males and 17,476 females, of whom some 5,700 are in Ambála, 5,400 in Lúdhiána, 6,600 in Jálandhar, 2,000 in Hushyárpur, 3,200 in Amritsar, 2,300 in Siálkot, and 1,500 in Firozpur. Thus they are very generally distributed throughout the eastern half of the Panjáb. In the four western divisions they seem to be almost unknown. They wear their hair matted and tied in a knot, and belong to the *be shara* section of Mahomedan orders, who regard no religion, creed, or rules of life, though they call themselves Musalmán.

The Malang are said to be a branch of the Madári. My tables show only 851 males and 659 females under that head, mostly in Patiála, Maler Kotla, Jálandhar, and Firozpur.

The Benawa (Caste No. 111).—The Benawa *faqirs* are the followers of Khwájah Hasán Básri; but who he is I cannot say unless he be the same as Hasan Básri of Básra near Bághdád, the founder of the Sarwardia order. To the figures of the table must be added 2,483 males and 2,153 females. The Benawa are almost entirely confined to the Jamna districts and Rohtak.

The Darvesh (Caste No. 136).—Darvesh is simply another word for *faqír*, and means one who begs from door to door (*dar* "door"). But the Darvesh of our tables, to the figures of which 84 males and 106 females, chiefly from Siálkot, must be added, are a peculiar class found only in Batála and Patháṅkot and in Amritsar and Kapúrthala. There seems to be a colony of these men who are distinguished by the title of Darvesh. They cultivate a little land, play musical instruments, beg, make ropes, go to a house where there has been a death and chaunt the praises of the deceased, hang about mosques, and so forth. They are hardly ascetics, yet the small number of women seem to show that they have not yet formed into a separate caste, and are still recruited from outside.

The Jalali (Caste No. 143).—The Jaláli order was founded by Saiyad Jalál-ul-dín of Bukhára, though the Panjáb Jalális are sometimes said to be followers of Sher Sháh Saiyad Jalál of Uchh, himself a Jaláli *faqír*. To the figures of the table must be added 2,322 males and 1,928 females, mostly from the Jálandhar, Amritsar, and Lahore divisions. Candidates for admission to the order shave completely, burn their clothes, and are branded on the right shoulder. The Jalális are common in Central Asia.

The Husaini (Caste No. 160).—The Husainis are confined to Gurgáon, and present the peculiarity of having more females than males among their numbers. I have no information regarding them. They may perhaps be Husaini Saiyads.

The Qadiri (Caste No. 175).—The Qádiri are the followers of the celebrated Saiyad Abdul Qádir Pír Dastagír, whose shrine is at Bághdád; most of the Sunni divines of the North-West Frontier are Qádiri, and the Akhúnd of Swát belongs to the order. To the numbers shown in Table VIII A must be added 2,710 males and 2,181 females, for the most part in the Ambála Amritsar, and Lahore divisions. They sit for hours repeating the following declaration: "Thou art the guide, thou art the truth, there is none but thee!"

The Naqshbandia are followers of Khwájah Pír Muhammad Naqshband. My figures only show 287 males and 219 females, chiefly in the Amritsar Division. They worship by sitting perfectly silent and motionless, with bowed head and eyes fixed on the ground.

The Sarwardia.—(*See above under "Benawa"*).—"They are the followers of Hasan Básri of Básra near Bághdád. They worship seated, chaunting at short intervals and in measured tones the word *Alláhu*, which is articulated with a suppressed breath and as if ejaculated by a powerful effort. The devotee often faints with the exertion.

The Chishti.—(*See section* 518 *above*)—Besides those classed under Chishti, my figures give 2,329 males and 2,014 females, almost all in the eastern half of the Province. The Chishti *faqirs* are the followers of Banda Nawáz whose shrine is at Kalbargah. They worship by leaping up and gesticulating, and repeating '*Alláh Yá-allá-hú*,' till they work themselves into a frenzy and at last sink down exhausted.

MINOR PROFESSIONAL CASTES.

524. The minor professional castes.—I have felt great doubt as to how I should class and where I should place the castes which I have included in this group, and the distribution of which is shown in Abstract No. 90 on the next page. Many of them are in some measure allied to the priestly classes, they have functions to perform in connection with weddings and similar ceremonies, they receive customary fees for the performance of those functions, and they are invested with a sort of *quasi*-sacred character. On the other hand, they have many points in common with the menials; their social status is very low, and many of them are retained by the villagers on the same footing as the ordinary village servants, their rights and duties being regulated by custom. The castes of the group may be divided into three classes, the Nái, Bhát, and Mírási who are real village servants though of a very special character; the Jogis and Ráwals who are for the most part astrologers and semi-religious; and the Bahrúpias and Bhands who are actors and story-tellers, and purely professional.

Part V.—Religious, Professional, Mercantile, and Miscellaneous Castes.

Abstract No. 90, *showing the* Minor Professional Castes.

	MINOR PROFESSIONS.																	
	Figures.							Proportion per 1,000 of total Population.										
	21	62	25	40	80	128	141	21	62	25		40	80		128	141		
	Nái.	Bhát.	Mirási.	Jogi.	Ráwal.	Bahrúpia.	Bhánd.	Nái.	Bhát.	Mirási.	Total.	Jogi.	Ráwal.	Total.	Bahrúpia.	Bhánd.	Total.	Grand Total.
Dehli	11,080	1,019	1,756	5,006	2	1	46	17	2	3	22	8	...	8	...	...	...	30
Gurgaon	12,342	832	3,499	4,009	...	2	71	19	1	5	25	6	...	6	...	...	...	31
Karnál	10,307	1,399	2,974	9,267	5	32	9	17	2	5	24	15	...	15	...	...	...	39
Hissar	8,688	785	3,659	1,919	31	3	...	17	1	7	25	4	...	4	...	...	...	29
Rohtak	10,618	337	2,780	3,765	5	12	27	19	1	5	25	7	...	7	...	...	...	32
Sirsa	4,150	447	3,015	388	...	...	9	16	2	12	30	2	...	2	...	...	...	32
Ambála	14,932	1,273	4,695	11,897	22	...	273	14	1	4	19	11	...	11	...	...	...	30
Lúdhiána	11,065	109	5,489	1,022	18	...	...	18	...	9	27	2	...	2	...	...	...	29
Jálandhar	12,301	193	7,170	517	2,842	...	...	16	...	9	25	1	4	5	...	...	...	30
Hushyárpur	12,148	1,355	4,955	313	2,781	167	...	13	2	5	20	...	3	3	...	...	...	23
Kángra	7,838	322	1,927	5,043	764	1	...	11	...	3	14	7	1	8	...	...	...	22
Amritsar	14,694	339	11,046	1,727	2,325	...	...	17	...	12	29	2	3	5	...	...	...	34
Gurdáspur	14,413	912	7,273	2,216	3,337	58	...	18	2	9	29	3	4	7	...	...	...	36
Siálkot	20,569	1,646	12,921	3,282	1,244	...	...	20	2	13	35	3	1	4	...	...	...	39
Lahore	13,840	381	11,747	343	1,508	...	109	15	...	13	28	...	2	2	...	...	...	30
Gujránwála	14,474	135	12,224	205	2,048	...	120	23	...	20	43	...	3	3	...	...	...	46
Firozpur	9,794	240	7,434	175	168	...	59	15	...	11	26	...	...	...	...	..	...	26
Ráwalpindi	11,996	582	6,205	2,081	...	...	2	15	1	8	24	3	...	3	...	..	...	27
Jahlam	10,569	220	7,643	1,290	...	19	54	18	...	13	31	2	...	2	...	...	...	33
Gújrát	13,553	276	7,885	1,033	1	...	2	20	...	11	31	1	...	1	...	...	...	32
Shahpur	7,541	70	8,344	428	...	22	31	18	..	20	38	1	...	1	...	...	...	39
Multán	6,035	336	7,510	691	...	...	506	11	1	14	26	1	...	1	...	1	1	28
Jhang	6,307	110	7,741	573	...	...	106	16	...	20	36	1	...	1	...	...	...	37
Montgomery	6,477	147	9,695	513	...	...	118	15	...	23	38	1	...	1	...	...	...	39
Muzaffargarh	4,064	123	3,634	450	...	...	5	12	...	11	23	1	...	1	...	...	...	24
Dera Ismail Khán	2,687	103	2,700	50	...	...	...	6	...	6	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	12
Dera Ghazi Khán	407	239	1,007	129	...	4	...	1	1	3	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	5
Bannu	3,596	85	3,818	63	...	...	67	11	...	12	23	...	...	...	...	...	...	23
Peshawar	5,648	106	3,866	55	78	...	6	10	...	7	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	17
Hazara	4,218	28	1,856	77	60	...	...	10	...	5	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	15
Kohát	2,202	4	1,185	15	23	...	...	12	...	9	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	21
British Territory	**288,738**	**14,171**	**177,707**	**58,715**	**17,266**	**321**	**1,620**	**15**	**1**	**9**	**25**	**3**	**1**	**4**	...	...	...	**29**
Patiála	25,021	918	10,131	6,992	27	38	430	17	1	7	25	5	...	5	...	...	...	30
Nábha	5,277	160	2,169	767	...	3	...	20	1	8	29	3	...	3	...	...	...	32
Kapurthala	4,340	4	2,539	79	530	24	...	17	...	10	27	...	2	2	...	...	...	29
Jínd	4,911	421	1,955	1,823	...	...	13	20	2	8	30	7	...	7	...	...	...	37
Farídkot	1,568	19	1,147	11	7	...	...	16	...	12	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	28
Maler Kotla	1,414	4	666	126	...	...	...	20	...	10	30	2	...	2	...	...	...	32
Total Eastern Plains.	44,594	1,878	19,264	11,077	564	65	461	18	1	8	27	4	...	4	...	...	...	31
Baháwalpur	6,437	655	7,429	96	...	...	...	11	1	13	25	...	...	...	...	...	...	25
Mandi	299	200	16	477	...	...	2	2	1	...	3	3	...	3	..	...	...	6
Chamba	325	132	113	1,412	15	...	...	3	1	1	5	12	...	12	...	...	...	17
Náhan	199	12,745	62	230	...	...	100	2	114	1	117	2	...	2	...	1	1	120
Total Hill States	2,354	13,318	541	2,845	23	...	194	3	17	...	20	4	15	19	...	...	...	39
British Territory	**288,738**	**14,171**	**177,707**	**58,715**	**17,266**	**321**	**1,620**	**15**	**1**	**9**	**25**	**3**	**1**	**4**	...	...	...	**29**
Native States	**53,385**	**15,851**	**27,234**	**14,018**	**587**	**65**	**655**	**14**	**4**	**7**	**25**	**4**	...	**4**	...	...	...	**29**
Province	**342,123**	**30,022**	**204,941**	**72,733**	**17,853**	**386**	**2,275**	**15**	**1**	**9**	**25**	**3**	**1**	**4**	...	...	...	**29**

525. The Nai (Caste No. 21).—The Nái is the barber of the country, and when a Musalmán, and in the cities, is often called Hajjám. In respect of his being a barber he is a true village menial, and he shaves and shampooes the villagers, prepares tobacco for the village rest-house, and attends upon the village guests. But he is much more than a barber. He is the hereditary bearer of formal messages from one village to another, such as news of auspicious events, formal congratulations, letters fixing the dates of weddings, and the like. News of a death is never carried by him, however, but always by a Chúhra. He forms moreover, in company with a Bráhman, the embassy sent to conclude a betrothal, and he is generally the agency through which the preliminaries of match-making are conducted. At wedding ceremonies too he plays an important part, next indeed to that of the Brahmán himself, and on all these occasions receives suitable gratuities. He is also the leech of the country, the Jarráh or surgeon is usually a Nái by caste, and circumcision is commonly performed by a Nái. Notwithstanding all this he is one of the impure castes, standing much on the same level as the washerman, far above the Chamár,

Part V.—Religious, Professional, Mercantile, and Miscellaneous Castes.

and somewhat below the Lohár, for his occupation as a barber proper is considered degrading. At the same time every Nái is not prepared to handle everybody's poll. The outcast tribes have their own Náis, for a Nái who had shaved a Chúhra would not be permitted to touch a Jat. I believe that all our own barbers are Musalmáns because a Hindu Nái who shaved a Christian would be considered as polluted. The Náis are popularly known as a class of great astuteness, and the proverb says: "The jackal "is the sharpest among beasts, the crow among birds, and the Nái among men." The Náis are very uniformly distributed over the Province, being least common in the Deraját, where however some of them appear to have returned themselves as Jats (see Abstract No. 72, page 224). They are apparently Hindu among Hindus and Musalmán among Musalmáns, and in a less degree Sikh among Sikhs. On the whole about 55 per cent. are Musalmáns, 6 per cent. Sikhs, and the remainder Hindus. A Sikh barber would appear a contradiction in terms; but besides the functions enumerated above, he shampooes, cuts the nails, and cleans the ears of his patients. He appears to be known as Jájak in the west of the Province, and as Kangera or "comb-man" in the Hills. In Gurgáon Musalmán barbers are sometimes called Ustán, as well as by the more common term Hajjám.

The Nái tribes and clans are very numerous. I show a few of the largest in the margin. The first two are most numerous in the Dehli and Hissár divisions, the next two in the central districts, and the last two in the west of the Province. The Musalmán Náis of Karnál are said to be divided into two sections, the Turkia who came in with the Mahomedan conquerors and the Gagrel or converts from Hinduism, so called because their women wear or once wore the Hindu petticoat or *gágra*.

DIVISIONS OF NAIS.

1. Gola	10,981	4. Bahgu	2,555
2. Bhanbheru	14,816	5. Bhatti	16,221
3. Basi	1,605	6. Khokhar	12,026

526. The Bhat (Caste No. 62).—The Bhát or Bhat as he is often called in the Panjáb is, like the Mírási, a bard and genealogist, or as some people call him panegyrist. But he is a bard of a very superior sort, and far removed above the level of the Mírási. He is *par excellence* the genealogist of the Rájpúts and Bráhmans, though he performs the same office for some Jat tribes; he is himself of admitted Bráhman origin; and he is found in largest numbers in the eastern and sub-montane districts where Hindu Rájpúts form the largest proportion of the population. The Hill State of Náhan indeed returns Bháts as forming 11·4 per cent. of its total population, but this seems hardly possible, though the entry in the original tables is clear enough.

I have included under the head of Bhát the following entries—Cháran, 13 in the Hissár division; Mádho, 217 in the Ambála division; Jága, 13 in the Jálandhar division; Rai, 202 in the Ráwalpindi, Multán, and Pesháwar divisions. Rai is a mere honorific title for a Bhát. The other three entries are names of great Bhát tribes; and it appears that while the Jága or Bhát proper is the genealogist and historian, the Cháran and Birm Bháts are bards and heralds and compose verses in honour of the ancestors of great men—so at least say Sherring and Elliott, both of whom give a good deal of information concerning the caste. The Jága or Bhát genealogist, to which class the great mass of our Bháts belong, is a hereditary servant, each local clan having its own Bhát who pays them periodical visits, writes up its genealogies to date, and receives his fees. At great weddings he attends and recites the history and praises of ancestors, and the genealogy of the bridegroom. But as he often lives too far off to be summoned to ordinary weddings, a Mírási or Dúm is often retained in addition, who takes the place of the Bhát on such occasions. The status of the Bhát is high; and in Rájpútána they are said to possess great influence. The Bhát is almost always Hindu, even where his clients have become Mahomedans. A few are Sikhs, and still fewer Musalmáns; and it is doubtful whether these last are not really Mírásis. There are said to be Musalmán Bháts in Siálkot who have migrated from the Jhang uplands and are much addicted to thieving; but I much doubt whether they belong to the Bhát caste. I have said that the Bháts are of undoubted Bráhman origin, and this is true of the Jága and Cháran, who are ordinarily called Bháts. Whether it is true of the Mádho Bháts also I am not so certain. The Mádhos would appear to be named after Mádho, the founder of the Mádhavi sect of minstrel mendicants; and the Bhátra, who however claims Bráhman origin, is called Mádho in Ráwalpindi. Besides the 217 persons mentioned above who returned their caste as Mádho, a very considerable number of those who have given their caste as Bháts show Mádho as their tribe.

527. The Dum and Mirasi (Caste No. 25).—Under this head have been included both Dúm and Mírási, the former being the Hindu and Indian and the latter the Musalmán and Arabic name, and the whole class being commonly called Dúm-Mírási by the people. In fact no one of my divisional offices separated the two entries, and the two words are used throughout the Province as absolutely synonymous. The Dúms, however, must be carefully distinguished from the Dom or Domra, the executioner and corpse-burner of Hindústán, and the type of all uncleanliness to a Hindu; as also from the Dúm of the Hill States, whom I have classed as *Dúmna* and not as Mírási, as I understand that the word Dúm is there applied to workers in bamboo. The class is distributed throughout the Province, but is most numerous in the Amritsar, Lahore, Ráwalpindi, and Multán divisions, and in Baháwalpur and the other States which march with them. On the lower Indus many of them would seem to have returned themselves as Jats—see Abstract No. 72, page 224. The word Mírási is derived from the Arabic *mirás* or inheritance; and the Mírási is to the inferior agricultural cases and the outcast tribes what the Bhát is to the Rájpúts. Even Jats employ Mírásis, though the hereditary genealogist of many of the Ját tribes is the Sánsi; and, as just stated, Rájpúts often employ Mírásis in addition to Bháts. But the Mírási is more than a genealogist; he is also a musician and minstrel; and most of the men who play the musical instruments of the Panjáb are either Mírásis, Jogis, or *faqírs*. "The Dúm does not make a good servant, nor a fiddle-bow a good weapon."

The social position of the Mírási, as of all the minstrel castes, is exceedingly low, but he attends at weddings and on similar occasions to recite genealogies. Moreover there are grades even among Mírásis. The outcast tribes have their Mírásis who, though they do not eat with their clients and merely render them professional service, are considered impure by the Mírásis of the higher castes. The Mírási is generally a hereditary servant like the Bhát; and is notorious for his exactions, which he makes under the threat

of lampooning the ancestors of him from whom he demands fees. "These four were not born on "giving day; the Mulla, the Bhát, the Bráhman, and the Dúm." The Mírási is almost always a Musalmán. The few Hindus returned from the hilly and sub-montane districts are very possibly Dúmnas returned as Dúms. I have included under the head of Mírási the following schedule entries: Dhádhi, 37 in Ambála, 478 in Multán, and 77 in the Derajáț; Khariála, 371, and Sarnai, 3 in Jálándhar; Rabábi, 109 in Lahore. Besides these numbers, the above terms, as well as Naqárchi, have all been included with Mírási in the offices of one or more divisions. The last three are simply words meaning players upon the flageolet, the flute, and the kettle-drum. The Dhádhi appears only to sing and not to play any instrument, and in the Derajáț at least is said not to intermarry with the Dúm, so probably he should not have been included. The Khariála is said to be a sort of Mírási, but I have no further information concerning him. The two largest tribes returned for Mírásis seem to be the Chúnhar with 13,493, and the Kalet with 4,897 persons. The detailed tables of clans will, when published, give complete information on the subject.

528. The Jogi, Rawal, and Nath (Caste Nos. 40 and 80).—The figures under the head Jogi include two very distinct classes of persons. First are the Jogis proper, a regular religious order of Hindus, which includes both the Augar Jogis and the Kanphatta Jogi ascetics, who are followers of Gorakhnàth and priests and worshippers of Siva. These men are fully as respectable as the Bairágis, Gosáins, and other religious orders. So far as the sub-divisional tables help us, the present figures include 9,143 of this class of whom 5,769 are males, but the real number is probably greater. They are all Hindus. They have been discussed in the earlier portion of this section, at page 286. The second class is that miscellaneous assortment of low-caste *faqírs* and fortune-tellers, both Hindu and Musalmán but chiefly Musalmán, who are commonly known as Jogis. The word Jogi or Yogi means a student of the Joga school of philosophy, which teaches how, by suppression of the breath, mental abstraction, and the like, to obtain supernatural powers of divination, second sight, and so forth[1]; and the result is that every rascally beggar who pretends to be able to tell fortunes, or to practise astrological and necromantic arts in however small a degree, buys himself a drum and calls himself and is called by others a Jogi. These men include all the Musalmáns, and probably a part of the Hindus of the eastern districts who have been returned as Jogis. They are a thoroughly vagabond set, and wander about the country beating a drum and begging, practising surgery and physic in a small way, writing charms, telling fortunes, and practising exorcism and divination; or, settling in the villages, eke out their earnings from these occupations by the offerings made at the local shrines of the malevolent godlings or of the Saiyads and other Musalmán saints (see sections 216 and 226); for the Jogi is so impure that he will eat the offerings made at any shrine. These people, or at least the Musalmán section of them, are called in the centre of the Panjáb Ráwals, or sometimes Jogi-Ráwals, from the Arabic *Rammál* a diviner, which again is derived from *ramal* "sand" with which the Arab magicians divine; and the two sets of figures must be taken together, always remembering that those for Jogis include respectable Jogis, while those for Ráwals, who are all Musalmáns, do not. The Jogi-Ráwals of Káthiawár are said to be exorcisers of evil spirits, and to worship a deity called Koriál. In Siálkot the Jogis pretend to avert storms from the ripening crops by plunging a drawn sword into the field or a knife into a mound, sacrificing goats, and accepting suitable offerings. Mr. Benton writes:—"The Jogi is a favourite character in Hindústáni "fiction. He there appears as a jolly playful character of a simple disposition, who enjoys the fullest "liberty and conducts himself in the most eccentric fashion under the cloak of religion without being "called in question."

The Ráwals of the Panjáb are notorious cheats. One of their favourite devices is to personate a long lost relative. In the Province itself they seldom venture upon open crime; but they travel about the Central Provinces and the Deccan and even visit Bombay and Calcutta, and there pilfer and rob. They are often absent for long periods on these expeditions; and meanwhile the Banyás of their villages support their families on credit, to be repaid with interest on the return of the father. Some interesting information regarding them will be found in Selected Papers, No. XVIII of 1869 of the Panjáb Police Department. The town of Ráwalpindi is named after the Ráwals; but the Ráwals of the district appear to have returned themselves either as Jogis or more probably as Mughals, as 1,263 of the Mughals of Ráwalpindi give Ráwal as their clan. There they are said, in addition to their usual pursuits, to recite at the Muharram stories of the doings of Mahomet, accounts of his miracles, and hymns in his praise.

The Náths of the higher hills, where the worship of Siva is prevalent, correspond very closely with the Jogis of the plains, though they make little pretence to an ascetic character and live chiefly by growing vegetables; but they also perform certain semi-sacerdotal functions, taking the place of the Achárj of the plains in the funeral ceremonies of the Kanets, and receiving like him the clothes of the deceased. They also consecrate new houses, and purify them when they have been defiled. They now form a true caste, and are not recruited from without. One or more in almost every Náth household has his ears pierced in honour of Siva, and is called a Kanphatta Náth. They occupy much the same social position as the Jogi-Ráwal of the plains. They are understood to have returned themselves as Jogis and to be included in the figures now under discussion.

RAWALS CLASSED AS JOGIS.

Jálandhar	2,842	Siálkot	1,244
Hushyárpur	2,781	Lahore	1,508
Kángra	764	Gujranwala	2,048
Amritsar	2,325	Kapurthala	530
Gurdáspur	3,337	Other places	474
			17,853

Of the figures given in Table VIII A, all the Hindus are men returned as Jogis. Of the Musalmáns the numbers shown in the margin were returned as Ráwals, the remainder being Jogis.

529. The Bahrupia (Caste No. 128).—The Bahrúpia is in its origin a purely occupational term; it is derived from the Sanskrit *bahu* "many" and *rúpa* "form," and denotes an actor, a mimic, or one who assumes many forms or characters. One of their favourite devices is to ask for money, and when it is refused, to ask that it may be given on condition of the Bahrúpia succeeding in deceiving the person who refuses it. Some days later the Bahrúpia will again visit the house in the disguise of a pedlar, a milkman, or

[1] See Wilson's *Sects of the Hindus*, pages 130*ff* for a very interesting account of both classes of Jogis, and for references to further authorities.

what not, sell his goods without being detected, throw off his disguise, and claim the stipulated reward. They may be drawn from any caste, and in Rohtak there are Chúhra Bahrúpias. But in some districts a family or colony of Bahrúpias has obtained land and settled down on it, and so become a caste as much as any other. Thus there is a Bahrúpia family in Pánípat who hold a village revenue-free, though these men have apparently returned themselves as Shekhs. It is probable that the figures do not include all who follow the profession of acting in the Panjáb, many of them having returned their true caste and not their occupation. On the other hand, it is certain that the returns for Bahrúpias in Siálkot and Gújrát do not refer at all to what I here call Bahrúpias, but are Mahtams, who are commonly known as Bahrúpias in those districts—see section 494 on Mahtams. The exclusion of these figures reduces the total number of Bahrúpias in the Province to 386, and I have altered the figures of Abstract No. 90 accordingly. The Bahrúpias of Gurdáspur are said to work in cane and bamboo.

530. The Bhand (Caste No. 141).—The Bhánd or Naqqál is the story-teller, joker, and buffoon, and is often also called Básha. The name comes from the Hindi *bhánda* "buffooning." He is separate from and of a lower professional status than the Bahrúpia. Both are commonly kept by Rájas and other wealthy men like the jester of the early English noble, but both also wander about the country and perform to street audiences. The Bhánd is not a true caste any more than the Bahrúpia, and I understand that they are often Mírásis by caste and probably have in many cases so returned themselves. Elliott seems to imply that Bahrúpia is a caste and Bhánd an occupation; but the former statement is certainly not true in the Panjáb. The entries under this head include both Básha and Naqqál.

MERCANTILE AND SHOP-KEEPING CASTES.

531. Merchants and Shop-keepers.—The group of mercantile castes for which the figures will be found in Abstract No. 91 on the next page practically hold the whole commerce of the Panjáb in their hands. They do not engage in the carrying trade, nor do they traffic in cattle; being for the most part Hindus they will not sell liquor or meat; and being of fair social standing they do not sell vegetables; but with these exceptions almost the whole of the mercantile and commercial transactions of the Province, excepting as a general rule petty hawking and pedling, are conducted by one or other of the castes which I have included in this abstract. They may be divided into five groups, the first consisting of Banyas, Dhúnsars, Bohras, and Pahári Mahájans; the second of Súds and Bhábras; the third of Khatris, Khakhas, and Bhátias; the fourth of Aroras; and the fifth of Khojahs and Paráchas.

The territorial distribution of these groups is very well marked. The first or Banya group is almost confined to the eastern and south-eastern divisions of Dehli, Hissár, and Ambála, and to the central Native States, though a few of them have spread along the north of the Eastern Plains and into the Hill States. West of Lahore they are practically unknown. The second or Súd and Bhábra group is found only in the districts that lie under the hills on the northern border of the Province from Ambála to Ráwalpindi. The third or Khatri group constitutes a large proportion of the mercantile classes of all the centre and, excluding the frontier, of the north-west of the Province, being most numerous in the Jálandhar, Amritsar, Lahore, and Ráwalpindi divisions. The fourth or Arora group have the Multán and Deraját divisions and Baháwalpur almost to themselves, extending also into Peshávar and Kohát, and crossing the Satluj in Sirsa to meet the Banya group of the east. Finally, the fifth or Mahomedan group is confined to the central and western districts and the Salt-range Tract.

On the whole this class constitutes 7 per cent. of the population of the Province. But in the districts of the Multán and Deraját divisions and in Baháwalpur the proportion rises to from 11 to 17 per cent. This however is due, not to the fact that a larger proportion of the population of these parts is engaged in commerce, but to the peculiar versatility of the Arora of the south-western Panjáb, who is a trader first indeed, but after that anything and everything. Throughout the Eastern Plains the proportion is very uniform, naturally rising highest in the districts which include large cities. Throughout the hills and submontane districts the proportion is singularly low, for these tracts include none of the commercial centres of the Panjáb, and the needs of the people are simple and easily supplied. In the central districts and the Salt-range Tract the proportion is large, probably because the Khatris like the Aroras by no means confine themselves to commerce as an occupation.

532. The Banya (Caste No. 14).—The word Banya is derived from the Sanskrit *bánijya* or trade; and the Banya, as the name implies, lives solely for and by commerce. He holds a considerable area of land in the east of the Province; but it is very rarely indeed that he follows any other than mercantile pursuits. The commercial enterprise and intelligence of the class is great, and the dealings of some of the great Banya houses of Dehli, Bíkáner, and Márwár are of the most extensive nature. But the Banya of the village, who represents the great mass of the caste, is a poor creature, notwithstanding the title of Mahájan or "great folk," which is confined by usage to the caste to which he belongs. He spends his life in his shop, and the results are apparent in his inferior physique and utter want of manliness. He is looked down upon by the peasantry as a cowardly money grubber; but at the same time his social standing is from one point of view curiously higher than theirs, for he is, what they are not, a strict Hindu, he is generally admitted to be of pure Vaisya descent, he wears the *janeo* or sacred thread, his periods of purification are longer than theirs, he does not practise widow-marriage, and he will not eat or drink at their hands; and religious ceremonial and the degrees of caste proper are so interwoven with the social fabric that the resulting position of the Banya in the grades of rustic society is of a curiously mixed nature. The Banya is hardly used by the proverbial wisdom of the countryside: "He who has a Banya for a friend is not in want of an enemy;" and, "First beat a Banya, then a thief." And indeed the Banya has too strong a hold over the husbandman for there to be much love lost between them. Yet the money-lenders of the villages at least have been branded with a far worse name than they deserve. They perform functions of the most cardinal importance in the village œconomy, and it is surprising how much reasonableness and honesty there is in their dealings with the people so long as they can keep their business transactions out of a court of justice.

Part V.—Religious, Professional, Mercantile, and Miscellaneous Castes.

Abstract No. 91, *showing the* Mercantile *and* Shop-keeping Castes.

MERCANTILE.—FIGURES.

	14 Banya.	173 Dhúnsar.	124 Bohra.	112 Mahájan Pahári.	75 Súd.	88 Bhábra.	16 Khatri.	179 Khakha.	69 Bhátia.	10 Arora.	44 Khojah.	104 Parácha.
Dehli	42,414	57	245	...	...	414	4,657	...	...	210	6	...
Gurgaon	36,801	484	75	...	...	...	179	...	...	...	3	...
Karnál	40,599	4	240	...	4	5	1,170	...	...	8	...	...
Hissar	43,309	...	...	...	...	...	187	...	...	1,358	91	...
Rohtak	41,470	23	...	...	...	...	62	...	...	17	5	...
Sirsa	10,496	...	...	...	1	...	295	...	...	5,554	149	...
Ambala	40,069	10	...	...	1,637	675	8,154	...	...	102	190	...
Ludhiána	8,722	...	...	...	2,075	1,325	15,944	...	...	354	...	...
Simla	1,042	...	...	...	401	47	331	...	...	29	...	...
Jalandhar	3,126	6	...	837	1,756	687	22,868	...	...	762	1,068	...
Hushyárpur	1,591	2	...	76	1,602	1,119	19,780	...	...	316	922	...
Kángra	89	3	50	4,120	5,775	133	7,760	...	...	110	67	...
Amritsar	2,686	...	...	...	1,084	1,309	31,411	...	780	20,613	6,934	...
Gurdáspur	14,804	7	...	...	118	134	15,778	...	6	1,216	2,312	...
Siálkot	10,795	...	...	...	1	1,773	18,440	...	5,784	15,793	5,550	...
Lahore	2,093	1	...	...	479	949	32,970	...	296	33,136	12,313	177
Gujránwála	160	11	...	...	5	577	21,301	...	748	30,079	3,458	...
Firozpur	11,451	77	...	...	617	721	9,174	...	23	13,306	2,486	...
Rawalpindi	2,597	9	...	...	40	1,015	41,135	49	213	12,181	1,220	1,944
Jahlam	219	...	...	...	...	...	35,941	1	1,100	12,345	2,672	318
Gujrát	288	...	...	...	16	12	17,794	...	5,318	23,964	2,215	1
Shahpur	9	...	...	...	3	...	15,015	...	734	35,017	1,551	424
Multan	562	3	...	...	...	248	9,798	...	1,995	76,842	5,640	7
Jhang	20	12	...	...	...	...	15,196	...	451	45,041	3,352	2
Montgomery	122	1	...	...	...	6	4,492	...	1	51,260	4,440	...
Muzaffargarh	24	...	...	...	...	3	1,608	...	202	33,827	714	...
Derah Ismail Khan	37	...	...	...	...	4	3,077	...	1,478	44,146	904	...
Derah Ghazi Khan	98	1	...	...	...	38	2,863	...	266	37,041	204	...
Bannu	116	...	...	...	...	62	1,746	...	2,034	24,286	996	...
Pesháwar	389	...	...	...	55	3	9,578	1	241	13,333	1,780	2,903
Hazára	475	...	...	...	...	...	10,267	603	52	2,455	9	1,569
Kohát	121	...	...	...	...	41	1,383	...	67	5,233	40	878
British Territory	**316,823**	**711**	**610**	**5,033**	**15,669**	**11,300**	**380,399**	**654**	**21,790**	**539,957**	**61,297**	**8,223**
Patiál	75,238	138	1	...	2,743	1,329	17,693	...	7	1,692	285	221
Nábha	13,693	40	...	...	177	225	3,998	...	...	176	3	..
Kapurthala	481	6	...	...	708	...	5,613	...	...	799	820	215
Jínd	16,801	17	...	...	2	31	235	...	...	35	2	...
Farídkot	1,604	...	...	..	7	345	1,162	...	...	2,163	40	2
Maler Kotla	3,245	...	...	...	132	124	638	...	...	99	296	...
Kalsia	3,274	...	...	...	36	5	501	...	...	12	...	...
Total East. Plains	**118,554**	**219**	**1**	**...**	**3,805**	**2,059**	**29,883**	**...**	**7**	**4,976**	**1,446**	**438**
Baháwalpur	486	...	...	...	...	368	1,069	...	1,068	56,483	3,138	...
Mandi	4	...	926	...	41	...	2,960	...	...	...	...	...
Chamba	498	...	...	...	2	...	1,378	...	...	10	...	...
Náhan	1,335	...	3	...	98	2	231	...	...	1	...	...
Bilaspur	3	...	333	...	11	...	1,487	...	...	10	...	...
Bashahr	33	...	129	...	3	...	45	...	...	...	...	...
Nálagarh	32	...	171	...	11	325	570	...	...	...	1	...
Suket	14	...	618	...	3	...	466	...	...	...	...	...
Total Hill States	**2,081**	**...**	**3,054**	**...**	**421**	**327**	**7,788**	**...**	**6**	**24**	**1**	**...**
British Territory	316,823	711	610	5,033	15,669	11,300	380,399	654	21,790	539,957	61,297	8,223
Native States	121,121	219	3,055	...	4,226	2,754	38,740	...	1,081	61,483	4,585	438
Province	437,944	930	3,665	5,033	19,895	14,054	419,139	654	22,871	601,440	65,882	8,661

MERCANTILE.—PROPORTION PER 1,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.

	14 Banya.	173 Dhúnsar.	124 Bohra.	112 Mahájan Pahári.	Total.	75 Súd.	88 Bhábra.	Total.	16 Khatri.	179 Khakha.	69 Bhátia.	Total.	10 Arora.	44 Khojah.	104 Parácha.	Total.	Grand Total.
Dehli	66	...	...	...	66	...	1	1	7	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	74
Gurgaon	57	1	...	...	58	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	58
Karnál	65	...	...	...	65	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	67
Hissar	86	...	...	...	86	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	89
Rohtak	75	...	...	...	75	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	75
Sirsa	41	...	...	...	41	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	22	1	...	1	65
Ambala	38	...	...	...	38	2	1	3	8	...	...	8	1	...	...	...	50
Ludhiána	14	...	...	...	14	3	2	5	26	...	...	26	1	...	...	...	46
Simla	24	...	...	...	24	9	1	10	8	...	...	8	1	...	...	...	43
Jalandhar	4	...	...	1	5	2	1	3	29	...	...	29	1	1	...	1	39
Hushyárpur	2	...	...	...	2	2	1	3	22	...	...	22	...	1	...	1	28
Kángra	...	...	...	6	6	8	...	8	11	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	25
Amritsar	3	...	...	...	3	1	2	3	35	...	1	36	23	8	...	8	73
Gurdáspur	18	...	...	...	18	...	...	...	19	...	...	19	1	3	...	3	41
Siálkot	11	...	...	...	11	...	2	2	18	...	6	24	16	5	...	5	58
Lahore	2	...	...	...	2	1	1	2	36	...	...	36	36	13	...	13	89
Gujránwála	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	35	...	1	36	49	6	...	6	92
Firozpur	18	...	...	...	18	1	1	2	14	...	...	14	20	4	...	4	58
Rawalpindi	3	...	...	...	3	...	1	1	50	...	...	50	15	1	2	3	72
Jahlam	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	61	...	2	63	21	5	1	6	90
Gujrát	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	26	...	8	34	35	3	...	3	72
Shahpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	36	...	2	38	83	4	1	5	126
Multan	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	18	...	4	22	139	10	...	10	172
Jhang	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	38	...	3	41	114	9	...	9	164
Montgomery	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	...	...	11	120	10	...	10	141
Muzaffargarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	1	6	100	2	...	2	108
Derah Ismail Khan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	3	10	100	2	...	2	112
Derah Ghazi Khan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	1	9	102	1	...	1	112
Bannu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	6	11	73	3	...	3	87
Pesháwar	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	5	...	...	5	22	3	5	8	36
Hazára	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	25	1	...	26	6	...	4	4	37
Kohát	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	8	...	...	8	29	...	5	5	43
British Territory	**17**	**...**	**...**	**...**	**17**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**20**	**...**	**1**	**21**	**29**	**3**	**...**	**3**	**72**
Patiál	51	...	...	...	51	2	1	3	12	...	...	12	1	...	...	...	67
Nábha	52	...	...	...	52	1	1	2	15	...	...	15	1	...	...	...	70
Kapurthala	2	...	...	...	2	3	...	3	22	...	...	22	3	3	1	4	34
Jínd	67	...	...	...	67	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	68
Farídkot	17	...	...	...	17	...	4	4	12	...	...	12	22	...	...	...	55
Maler Kotla	46	...	...	...	46	2	2	4	9	...	...	9	1	4	...	4	64
Kalsia	49	...	...	...	49	1	...	1	7	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	57
Total East. Plains	**47**	**...**	**...**	**...**	**47**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**12**	**...**	**...**	**12**	**2**	**1**	**...**	**1**	**65**
Baháwalpur	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	1	2	...	2	4	98	5	...	5	109
Mandi	...	...	6	...	6	...	...	...	20	...	...	20	...	...	...	...	26
Chamba	4	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	12	...	...	12	...	...	...	...	16
Náhan	12	...	...	...	12	1	...	1	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	15
Bilaspur	...	...	4	...	4	...	...	...	17	...	...	17	...	...	...	...	21
Bashahr	1	...	2	...	3	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	4
Nálagarh	1	...	3	...	4	...	6	6	11	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	21
Suket	...	...	12	...	12	...	...	...	9	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	21
Total Hill States	**3**	**...**	**4**	**...**	**7**	**1**	**...**	**1**	**10**	**...**	**...**	**10**	**...**	**...**	**...**	**...**	**18**
British Territory	17	...	...	...	17	1	1	2	20	...	1	21	29	3	...	3	72
Native States	31	...	1	...	32	1	1	2	10	...	...	10	16	1	...	1	61
Province	19	...	...	...	19	1	1	2	18	...	1	19	26	3	...	3	69

Part V.—Religious, Professional, Mercantile, and Miscellaneous Castes.

The Banya class forms the main commercial element of the population of Northern and North-Western India up to the meridian of Lahore, and of Rájpútána. Indeed the origin and stronghold of at any rate those sections of the caste which are most numerously represented in the Panjáb is North-Western Rájpútána, and it is curious that while spreading so far to the east of Bíkáner, they should have obtained so little hold to the west of that country. In the Panjáb they are practically found in any great numbers only in the Dehli and Hissár divisions, Ambála, and in the Central States of the Eastern Plains, and Fírozpur; though curiously enough there appears to be a considerable colony of them in Gurdáspur and Siálkot. But the word Banya is generically used for "shop-keeper" all over the Panjáb, not excepting even the frontier where Kirár is the more usual term; and it is just possible that in some cases other mercantile castes have been included in the figures. This however cannot have happened to any considerable extent, or the figures for the sub-divisions of each caste would at once show what had happened. Of the Banyas of the Panjáb about 92 per cent. are Hindus. Only 0·84 per cent. are Sikhs, most of whom are to be found in Patiála, Nábha, and Ráwalpindi. The Jains constitute 7 per cent. of the whole, and are confined to the Dehli division, Hissár, and Rohtak, or the tract bordering upon Rájpútána, the great stronghold of Western Jainism. It is curious that the proportion of Jain Banyas should not be larger in Sirsa. Only some 500 souls are returned as Musalmáns, and these may perhaps be Banyas by occupation rather than by caste.

It is sometimes said that Banya is no true caste at all, but merely an occupational term equivalent to "shop-keeper," and that the great divisions of the Banyas, the Aggarwáls, Oswáls, and the like, really occupy the position of castes; and this is in a sense true. The great sections do not intermarry, and very possibly represent stocks of different origin; and if caste is used in the same sense as tribe, these sections are doubtless separate castes. But if the word is used in its purely Brahminical sense, I do not think the Aggarwál and Oswál Banyas are separate castes any more than are the Gaur and Sársút Bráhmans. The two cases seem to me analogous. In all the non-agricultural castes who are found distributed widely among the population, anything corresponding with compact tribal divisions, such as we find among Rájpúts, Patháns, or Jats, is impossible. They do not move into and occupy a large tract of country; they rather spread from centres of origin, diffusing themselves among and accompanying the agricultural tribes in their movements. But the great divisions of the Banya caste occupy identical social and religious positions, and recognise each other, whether rightly or wrongly, as of common origin distinct from that of the Khatris and other castes whose avocations are the same as their own; and, save in the sense in which such caste names as Chamár and Chúhra are only occupational terms, I think that the term Banya must be taken to describe a true caste of supposed common blood, and not a collection of tribes of distinct descent united only by identity of occupation (see further section 351 *supra*).

533. The divisions of the Banya Caste.—The divisions of the Banya caste with which we are concerned in the Panjáb are shown in the margin. The **Aggarwals** or north-eastern division of Banyas include the immense majority of the caste in every district throughout the Province. They have, according to Sherring, a tradition of a far distant origin on the banks of the Godavery. But the place to which all Aggarwáls refer the origin of the section, and from which they take their name, is Agroha in the Hissár district, once the capital of a Vaisya Rája of the name of Agar Sen, and whence they are said to have spread over Hindústán after the taking of that place by Shaháb-ul-dín Ghori in 1195; and Elliott points out that the fact that throughout the North-Western Provinces the Aggarwál Banyas are supposed to be specially bound to make offerings to Gúga Pír, the great saint from the neighbourhood of Agroha, bears testimony to the truth of the tradition. The eighteen sons of Agar Sen are said to have married the eighteen snake-daughters of Rája Básak, and Gúga Pír is the greatest of the snake-gods. The Aggarwáls are often Jain, especially in Dehli and among the more wealthy classes of the cities; and when Jains, are generally of the Digambara sect (see section 259 Chapter IV). But the great mass of them are Hindus, and almost invariably of the Vaishnava sect.

BANYA SECTIONS.	
Aggarwál	364,355
Oswál	3,863
Mahesri	5,755
Sarália	11,899
Dasa	2,473
TOTAL	388,345
Others and unspecified	49,599
TOTAL	437,944

The **Oswals** or south-western section of the caste trace their origin from Osia or Osnagar, a town in Márwár. Their distribution in the Panjáb is shown in the margin; their real home is in Gújarát and South-Western Rájpútána, where they are exceedingly numerous. They are very generally Jains, and when Jains, almost always of the Swetámbara sect.

OSWAL.			
Dehli	467	Sirsa	1,378
Gurgaon	51	Patiala	262
Karnal	1,088	Other places	70
Hissar	527		
Rohtak	20	TOTAL	3,863

The third or north-western section is **Mahesri** who are most numerous in Bíkáner. Mr. Wilson says that those of Sirsa claim Rájpút origin, and still have sub-divisions bearing Rájpút names. They say that their ancestor was turned into stone for an outrage upon a *faqír*, but was restored to life by Mahesh or Mahádeo; hence their name. Their distribution in the Panjáb is shown in the margin. They are for the most part Vaishnava Hindus, though occasionally Jains. Their relations with the Aggarwáls are much closer than are those of the Oswáls.

MAHESRI.			
Dehli	525	Firozpur	145
Gurgaon	490	Multán	177
Hissar	530	Other places	198
Rohtak	285		
Sirsa	920	TOTAL	5,755
Amritsar	2,485		

The **Saralia Banyas** are returned in the localities shown in the margin. They are a branch of the Aggarwáls, but owing to some dispute left Agroha and settled in Sarála, a town not far from Agroha, from which they take their name. They are as strict as other Aggarwáls, and not in any way *dasa* or impure. They do not intermarry with other Aggarwáls. I have been able to discover nothing regarding their origin or the distinction between them and the other sections of the caste.

SARALIA.	
Ambala	9,841
Simla	28
Patiala	971
Kalsia	868
Hill States	191
TOTAL	11,899

The **Dasa Banyas** are not properly a distinct section of the caste. The word means 'hybrid,' and is used for members of other castes who have departed from the custom of the caste, or whose descent is not pure. The Dasa Banyas are said to be descendants of an illegitimate son of an Aggarwál. To the figures given for them above should be added 1,664 in Ambála who have returned themselves as Gáta, which is a synonym for Dasa.

Little appears to be known of the minor sub-divisions. It is to be hoped that the detailed tables of sub-divisions of castes now in course of preparation from the papers of the Panjáb Census will tell us something about them. The three great sections, Aggarwál, Oswál, and Mahesri, are said not to intermarry. The Banyas possess the Brahminical *gotras*, but it appears that they also have other sub-divisions of the main sections of the caste.

534. The Dhunsar (Caste No. 173).—The head-quarters of the Dhúnsar are at Rewári in Gurgáon. The total number in the Panjáb is under 1,000, and all but three are Hindus. They take their name from Dhosi, a flat-topped hill near Nárnaul, where their ancestor Chimand performed his devotions. They

are of Brahminical origin, as is admitted by the Bráhmans themselves, and it is possible that some of them may have recorded themselves as Bráhmans in the schedules. Indeed, I find 1,608 Dhúsar Bráhmans returned, of whom 1,560 are in Gurdáspur; but whether these are the same men as the Dhúnsars of Rewári I cannot say. The detailed tables when ready will clear up this point. In any case, they are no longer Bráhmans, any more than are the agricultural Tagas; and like the latter they employ Bráhmans to minister to them. They are almost exclusively clerks or merchants, though, like the Khatris, some of them have risen to eminence in the army and the Court. The great Hemu, the leader of the Indian army at the second battle of Pánípat, was a Dhúnsar of Rewári. Sherring states that the Dhúnsars have a tradition of origin in the neighbourhood of Benares before migrating to Dehli, that they excel as minstrels, and are exceedingly strict Hindus of the Vaishnava sect. They seem to be numerous in the North-West Provinces.

535. The Bohra (Caste No. 124).—The figures under the heading of Bohra include two very distinct classes of men. Of the 3,665 Bohras shown in our tables, 560 are found in the Dehli division, and 3,105 in the Hill States of Kángra. The first are Bráhman money-lenders from Márwár, who have of late years begun to settle in the districts on the Jamna, and have already acquired a most unenviable notoriety for unscrupulous rapacity. There is a rustic proverb: "A Bohra's 'good morning!' is like a message from the angel of "death;" and another: "A Jat to guard crops, a Bráhman as a money-lender, and a Banya as a ruler:—"God's curse be on you!"

In the hills any money-lender or shop-keeper is apparently called a Bohra (from the same root as *beohár* or "trade,"[1]) and the word is used in the same general sense in the south of Rájpútána and in Bombay, taking the place of the "Banya" of Hindústán, though in Gújarát it is specially applied to a class of Shíah traders who were converted to Islám some 600 years ago. In the Panjáb all the Bohras are Hindus. It will be noticed that in those Hill States in which Bohras are numerous, Banyas are hardly represented in the returns, and *vice versâ*; and there can be little doubt that both the Banyas and the Bohras shown for the Hill States are the same as the Pahári Mahájans next to be discussed. The Hill Bohras are said to be exceedingly strict Hindus, and to be admitted to intermarriage with the lower classes of Rájpúts, such as Ráthis and Ráwats. In Gurdáspur I am told that there is a small class of traders called Bohras who claim Jat origin, and who are notorious for making money by marrying their daughters, securing the dower, and then running away with both, to begin again *da capo*.

536. The Pahari Mahajans (Caste No. 112).—As I have just remarked, the Banyas and Bohras returned for the Hill States should probably be included with these people. They appear to be a mixed caste sprung from the intermarriage of immigrants from the plains belonging to the Banya and Káyath castes, and are generally either traders or clerks. But the term is in the hills really occupational rather than the name of any caste; and it appears that a Bráhman shop-keeper would be called a Mahájan, while a Mahájan clerk would be called a Káyath. Thus Mr. Barnes says that "the Káyath of the hills, unlike "his namesake of the plains, belongs to the Vaisya or commercial class and wears the *janeo* or sacred thread," and Major Wace writes of Hazára: "The Hill Bráhmans or Mahájans keep shops, cultivate, or take service, "as well as act as priests." The true Banya of Hindústán, who is found in the hills only as a foreigner, will not intermarry with these Pahári Mahájans.

537. The Sud (Caste No. 75)[2].—The Súds are almost entirely confined to the lower hills, and the districts that lie immediately under them as far west as Amritsar. Their head-quarters are at Lúdhiána and the neighbouring town of Máchhíwára, and they are, I believe, unknown outside the Panjáb. They are almost wholly mercantile in their pursuits though occasionally taking service as clerks, and occupy a social position markedly inferior to that of either the Banya or the Khatri. They wear a *janeo* or sacred thread made of three instead of six strands, and many of them practise widow-marriage. With the exception of a few who are Sikhs they are almost all Hindu, but are, in comparison with the other mercantile castes, very lax in the observance of their religion. They indulge freely in meat and wine, and in habits, customs, and social position resemble very closely the Káyaths. The tribe is apparently an ancient one, but I can obtain no definite information as to its origin. Various fanciful derivations of the tribal name are current, for the most part of an opprobrious nature. I attempted to make inquiries from some leading Súds; but the result was the assembling of a Pancháyat, the ransacking of the Sanskrit classics for proof of their Kshatriya origin, and a heated discussion in the journal of the Anjúman.

They are divided into two main sections, the Uchándia or Súd of the hills and the Newandia or Súd of the plains. I find however that some of the Súds of Hushyárpur trace their origin from Sarhind. They also distinguish the Súds who do not practise widow-marriage from those who do, calling the former *khara*, and the latter and their offspring *gola, doghla* (hybrid) or *chichán*. These two sections, of which the latter corresponds exactly with the *Dasa* and *Gáta* Banyas already described, do not intermarry. The Súds forbid marriage in all four *gots*, and here again show how much less their tribal customs have been affected by their religion than have those of the Banyas and Khatris. They are of good physique, and are an intelligent and enterprising caste with great power of combination and self-restraint; and they have lately made what appears to be a really successful effort to reduce their marriage expenses by general agreement. The extensive sugar trade of Lúdhiána, and generally the agricultural money-lending of the richest part of that district, are almost entirely in their hands. They are proverbially acute and prosperous men of business, and there is a saying: "If a Súd is across the river, leave your bundle on this side." The husbandman of the villages is a mere child in their hands.

538. The Bhabra (Caste No. 88).—The Bhábras appear to be a purely Panjáb caste, and have their head-quarters in the towns of Hushyárpur and Siálkot. They occupy very much the same territorial position as do the Súds, except that they do not penetrate so far into the hills, and extend as far west as Ráwalpindi instead of stopping short at Amritsar. Indeed there seems to be some doubt whether the

[1] Mr. Beames gives *Wohora* as the true form of the word.
[2] I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Gordon Walker, Settlement Officer of Lúdhiána, for much of the information recorded below.

word Bhábra is not as much a religious as a caste term, and whether it signifies anything more than a Súd, or perhaps a Banya also, of the Jain religion. No Súds have returned themselves as Jains; and though some 11 per cent. of the Bhábras have returned themselves as Hindus, yet, as already explained in Part IV of the Chapter on Religion, they belong almost exclusively to the Swetámbara or more lax sect of the Jains, and consider themselves Hindus first and Jains afterwards. A precisely similar difficulty with regard to the significance of the term Oswál is discussed in section 259. As a fact I believe that *all* Bhábras are Jains. Some of them are said to be Oswáls; but whether this means that they are Oswál Banyas by caste or Swetámbara Jains by religion I cannot say. They are all traders. Further information regarding this caste is greatly needed. I have only come across two facts which seem to throw light on their origin. The Bhábras of Hushyárpur make annual pilgrimages to a village called Fattahpur in the hills, some 20 miles from Hushyárpur, where there are remains of a very ancient and extensive town, and there worship at an ancestral shrine. The Bhábras of Jálandhar attribute their name to their refusal to wear the *janco* or sacred thread at the solicitation of one Bír Swámi, who thereupon said that their faith (*bhá*) was great. This would separate them from the Banyas. On the other hand many of the Gurdáspur Bhábras are said to be Oswál and Kandelwál Banyas; and Mr. Wilson says that in Sirsa the Sikh immigrants from Patiála call the Oswál Banyas Bhábra. The Bhábras have a curious rule against one man marrying two wives under any circumstances whatever.

539. The Khatri (Caste No. 16).—The Khatri occupies a very different position among the people of the Panjáb from that of the castes which we have just discussed. Superior to them in physique, in manliness, and in energy, he is not, like them, a mere shop-keeper. He claims, indeed, to be a direct representative of the Kshatriya of Manu, but the validity of the claim is as doubtful as are most other matters connected with the fourfold caste system. The following extract from Sir George Campbell's *Ethnology of India* describes the position of the Khatri so admirably that I shall not venture to spoil it by condensation. The Aroras whom he classes with the Khatris I shall describe presently:—

"Trade is their main occupation; but in fact they have broader and more distinguishing features. Besides monopolising the "trade of the Panjab and the greater part of Afghanistan, and doing a good deal beyond those limits, they are in the Panjab the "chief civil administrators, and have almost all literate work in their hands. So far as the Sikhs have a priesthood, they are, more-"over, the priests or gurus of the Sikhs. Both Nanak and Govind were, and the Sodis and Bedis of the present day are, Khatris. "Thus then they are in fact in the Panjáb, so far as a more energetic race will permit them, all that Mahratta Brahmins are in the "Mahratta country, besides engrossing the trade which the Mahratta Brahmins have not. They are not usually military in their "character, but are quite capable of using the sword when necessary. Diwan Sáwan Mal, Governor of Multan, and his notorious suc-"cessor Múlraj, and very many of Ranjit Singh's chief functionaries, were Khatris. Even under Mahomedan rulers in the west, they "have risen to high administrative posts. There is a record of a Khatri Dewan of Badakshan or Kunduz; and, I believe, of a "Khatri Governor of Peshawar under the Afghans. The Emperor Akbar's famous minister, Todur Mal, was a Khatri; and a relative "of that man of undoubted energy, the great Commissariat Contractor of Agra, Joti Parshad, lately informed me that he also is a "Khatri. Altogether there can be no doubt that these Khatris are one of the most acute, energetic, and remarkable races in India, "though in fact, except locally in the Panjáb, they are not much known to Europeans. The Khatris are staunch Hindus; and it is "somewhat singular that, while giving a religion and priests to the Sikhs, they themselves are comparatively seldom Sikhs. The "Khatris are a very fine, fair, handsome race. And, as may be gathered from what I have already said, they are very generally "educated.

"There is a large subordinate class of Khatris, somewhat lower, but of equal mercantile energy, called Rors, or Roras. The "proper Khatris of higher grade will often deny all connexion with them, or at least only admit that they have some sort of "bastard kindred with Khatris; but I think there can be no doubt that they are ethnologically the same, and they are certainly "mixed up with Khatris in their avocations. I shall treat the whole kindred as generically Khatris.

"Speaking of the Khatris then thus broadly, they have, as I have said, the whole trade of the Panjab and of most of "Afghanistan. No village can get on without the Khatri who keeps the accounts, does the banking business, and buys and sells "the grain. They seem, too, to get on with the people better than most traders and usurers of this kind. In Afghanistan, among a "rough and alien people, the Khatris are as a rule confined to the position of humble dealers, shop-keepers, and money-lenders; but "in that capacity the Pathans seem to look at them as a kind of valuable animal; and a Pathan will steal another man's Khatri, "not only for the sake of ransom, as is frequently done on the Peshawar and Hazara frontier, but also as he might steal a milch-"cow, or as Jews might, I dare say, be carried off in the middle ages with a view to render them profitable.

"I do not know the exact limits of Khatri occupation to the west, but certainly in all Eastern Afghanistan they seem to be just "as much a part of the established community as they are in the Panjáb. They find their way far into Central Asia, but the "further they get the more depressed and humiliating is their position. In Turkistan, Vambery speaks of them with great "contempt, as yellow-faced Hindus of a cowardly and sneaking character. Under Turcoman rule they could hardly be otherwise. "They are the only Hindus known in Central Asia. In the Panjáb they are so numerous that they cannot all be rich and mercan-"tile; and many of them hold land, cultivate, take service, and follow various avocations.

"The Khatris are altogether excluded from Brahmin Kashmir. In the hills however the "Kakkas," on the east bank of the "Jahlam, are said to have been originally Khatris (they are a curiously handsome race), and in the interior of the Kangra hills there "is an interesting race of fine patriarchal-looking shepherds called Gaddis, most of whom are Khatris. Khatri traders are numerous "in Dehli; are found in Agra, Lucknow, and Patna; and are well known in the Bara Bazaar of Calcutta, though there they are "principally connected with Panjab firms.

"The Khatris do not seem, as a rule, to reach the western coast: in the Bombay market I cannot find that they have any "considerable place. In Sindh, however, I find in Captain Burton's book an account of a race of pretended Kshatriyas who are really "Banias of the Nanak-Shahi (Sikh) faith, and who trade, and have a large share of public offices. These are evidently Khatris. "Ludhiana is a large and thriving town of mercantile Khatris, with a numerous colony of Kashmiri shawl-weavers."

Within the Panjáb the distribution of the Khatri element is very well marked. It hardly appears east of Lúdhiána, the eastern boundary of the Sikh religion, nor does it penetrate into the eastern hills. It is strongest in the central districts where Sikhism is most prevalent, and in the Ráwalpindi division and Hazára, and occupies an important position in the western Hill States. Although the Khatris are said to trace their origin to Multán, they are far less prominent in the southern districts of the Western Plains, and least of all on the actual frontier; but this would be explained if the Aroras be considered a branch of the Khatris.

As Sir George Campbell remarked, it is curious that, intimately connected as the Khatris always have been and still are with the Sikh religion, only 9 per cent. of them should belong to it. Nor do I understand why the proportion of Sikhs should double and treble in the Jahlam and Ráwalpindi districts. Some 2,600 are Musalmán, chiefly in Multán and Jhang where they are commonly known as Khojahs; and these men are said to belong chiefly to the Kapúr section. The rest are Hindus.

540. The divisions of the Khatri Caste.—The question of the sub-divisions of the Khatris is exceedingly complicated. Within

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recent times there has sprung up a system of social graduation in accordance with which certain Khatri tribes refuse to intermarry with any save a certain specified number of their fellow tribes, and the distinctions thus created have been formulated in a set of names such as *Dháighar*, "he who only marries into two and a half houses;" *Chárzáti*, "he who marries into four tribes, *Chhezáti*,—' he who marries into six tribes;" and so on. This purely artificial and social classification has obscured the original tribal divisions of the caste; for Khatris of the same tribe may be in one part of the Province Chárzátis, and in another Bárazátis and so forth. It has also terribly confused the entries in the schedules, assisted by an unfortunate mistake in the sample schedules issued with the instructions to enumerators, in which, owing to my own ignorance of the matter, one of the *panchâyati* or artificial divisions was shown as a tribe. The distribution of the main sections is shown in Abstract No. 92 below. It will be noticed that they include more than three-quarters of the total Khatris of the Province, but that the percentage unclassified is very large in some districts. In others again the number classified is larger than the total Khatri population. This is due to the same figures being in some cases repeated twice over. Thus in Gújránwála 963 Khatris have returned themselves as Kapúr Chárzáti, and so appear under both heads; and so in other cases also.

Abstract No. 92, *showing the* Divisions of the Khatris.

	Khatris.														
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
	Bunjáhi.	Sarín.	Báhri.	Khokhrán.	Dháighar.	Chárzáti.	Panjzáti.	Chhezáti.	Sodhi.	Bedi.	Kapúr.	Khanne.	Marhotra.	Seth.	
Ambála	5,604	1,046	355	...	...	81	...	...	...	103	91	97	1	40	Ambála
Lúdhiána	10,103	1,825	766	45	139	503	74	...	124	48	370	223	134	60	Lúdhiána
Jalandhar	720	3,127	1,732	...	...	776	301	...	2,624	1,978	329	3	1,323	...	Jalandhar
Hushyárpur	5,645	6,665	564	5	18	58	...	5	8	186	198	160	26	...	Hushyárpur
Kangra	482	1,059	1,232	...	50	595	...	...	2	5	623	48	...	6	Kangra
Amritsar	12,097	10,516	106	...	140	3,859	...	...	114	328	1,615	1,725	1,171	247	Amritsar
Gurdaspur	583	503	...	240	...	...	...	...	117	1,392	411	401	100	42	Gurdaspur
Sialkot	7,880	3,038	4,137	4,307	...	36	3	...	203	562	299	72	255	...	Sialkot
Lahore	9,126	1,271	3,928	321	449	2,038	134	47	396	294	2,897	2,547	3,466	474	Lahore
Gujranwala	11,179	226	4,413	1,872	135	1,962	5	...	29	652	1,154	296	1,010	81	Gujranwala
Firozpur	3,779	419	474	...	16	48	236	...	186	34	131	122	135	18	Firozpur
Rawalpindi	10,195	15	3,868	7,596	70	10	56	...	77	126	1,429	497	790	3	Rawalpindi
Jahlam	13,362	182	3,596	16,578	606	430	...	141	89	166	776	348	814	...	Jahlam
Gujrat	5,222	2,742	1,668	4,189	...	1,174	...	...	35	122	782	269	475	...	Gujrat
Shahpur	6,009	3	444	2,810	506	1,268	20	12	9	18	903	458	1,726	...	Shahpur
Multan	476	5	320	1	44	163	34	25	2	...	936	929	1,465	4	Multan
Jhang	6,634	6	1,594	16	250	2,322	740	...	1	2	1,182	469	1,614	21	Jhang
Peshawar	2,778	174	1,217	...	312	1,083	...	...	20	317	743	62	603	...	Peshawar
Hazara	3,271	16	179	2,627	...	...	...	...	...	138	391	39	254	...	Hazara
British Territory	1,16,985	32,893	33,053	41,080	2,950	16,926	1,609	230	4,082	6,671	15,951	9,121	16,030	1,193	**British Territory**
Native States	10,405	3,935	698	...	55	357	4	...	402	133	1,542	895	1,667	239	**Native States**
Province	127,390	36,828	33,751	41,080	3,005	17,283	1,613	230	4,484	6,804	17,493	10,016	17,697	1,432	**Province**

The headings of the Abstract include three different kinds of divisions, first the four real tribal sections, then the four most important of the artificial divisions alluded to above, and finally six of the most important clans. The origin of the division into the four sections called Bunjáhi, Sarín, Báhri, and Khokhrán, is said to be that Ala-ul-dín Khilji attempted to impose widow-marriage upon the Khatris. The Western Khatris resolved to resist the innovation, and sent a depution of 52 (*báwan*) of their members to represent their case at court; but the Eastern Khatris were afraid to sign the memorial. They were therefore called followers of *Shara Ayin* or the Mahomedan customs—hence Sarín—while the memorialists were called *Báwanjai* from the number of the deputation or of the clans respectively represented by the members of the deputation; hence Bunjáhi. The Khokhrán section is said to consist of the descendants of certain Khatris who joined the Khokhars in rebellion, and with whom the other Khatri families were afraid to intermarry; and the Báhri section, of the lineage of Mahr Chand, Khan Chand, and Kapúr Chand, three Khatris who went to Dehli in attendance upon one of Akbar's Rájpút wives, and who, thus separated from the rest of the caste, married only within each other's families. But these are fables, for the same division into Báhri and Bunjáhi appears among the Bráhmans of the Western Plains. The number of clans is enormous. The most important in point of social rank are the Marhotra or Mahra, the Khanna, the Kapúr, and the Seth, the first three of which are said to be called after the names of the three men just mentioned, while Seth is a term now used for any rich banker. These four clans belong to the Báhri section of the caste, and constitute the Dhaighar and Chárzáti divisions which stand highest of all in the social scale. The origin of the term Dhaighar lies in the fact that the families of that division exclude, not only the father's clan, but also such families of the mother's clan as are closely connected with her; and thus reduce the clans available for intermarriage to two and a half. I should say that each division will take wives from the one below it, though it will not give its daughters to it in marriage. The Bedi and Sodhi clans belong to the Bunjáhi tribe, and owe most of their influence and importance to the fact that Bába Nának belonged to the former and Guru Rám Dás and Guru Hargovind to the latter. They are commonly said to be the descendants of these men, but this appears to be a mistake, the two clans dating from long before Bába Nának. The Sodhis played an important part during the Sikh rule. They claim descent from Sodhi Rai, son of Kál Rai King of Lahore, and the Bedis from Kálpat Rai, brother of Kál Rai and King of Kasúr, who being deprived of his kingdom by his nephew, studied the Vedas at Benares and was known as Vedi. The modern head-quarters of the Bedis is at

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Dera Nának in Gurdáspur where Bába Nának settled and died, and of the Sodhis at Anandpur in Hushyárpur, which is also the great centre of the Nihang devotees.

541. The Khakha (Caste No. 179).—Khakha is said to be a not uncommon epithet to apply to any petty Khatri trader. But the people to whom our figures refer are now sufficiently distinct, though their Khatri origin is, I believe, undoubted. They are in fact converted Khatris, and are found in greatest numbers in the Kashmír hills lying along the left bank of the Jahlam; whence a few have made their way into Hazára and Ráwalpindi. Sir George Campbell calls them "a curiously handsome people."

542. The Bhatia (Caste No. 69).—The Bhátias are a class of Rájpúts, originally coming from Bhatner, Jaisalmer, and the Rájpútána desert, who have taken to commercial pursuits. The name would seem to show that they were Bhátis (called Bhatti in the Panjáb); but be that as it may, their Rájpút origin appears to be unquestioned. They are numerous in Sindh and Gújarát where they appear to form the leading mercantile element, and to hold the place which the Aroras occupy higher up the Indus. They have spread into the Panjáb along the lower valleys of the Indus and Satluj, and up the whole length of the Chanáb as high as its debouchure into the plains, being indeed most numerous in Síálkot and Gújrát. In this Province however they occupy an inferior position, both in a social and in a mercantile sense. They stand distinctly below the Khatri and perhaps below the Arora, and are for the most part engaged in petty shop-keeping, though the Bhátias of Derah Ismáil Khán are described as belonging to a "widely spread and enterprising mercantile community." They are often supposed to be Khatris, and in Jahlam they are said to follow the Khatri divisions of Báhri, Bunjáhi, Dhaighar, Chárzáti, &c. They are very strict Hindus; far more so than the other trading classes of the Western Panjáb; and eschew meat and liquor. They do not practise widow-marriage.

543. The Arora (Caste No. 10).—The Arora, or Rora as he is often called, is the trader *par excellence* of the Jatki-speaking or south-western portion of the Panjáb, that is to say of the lower valleys of our five rivers; while higher up their courses he shares that position with the Khatri. East of the upper Satluj he is only found in the immediate neighbourhood of the river. More than half the Aroras of the Panjáb dwell in the Multán and Deraját divisions. Like the Khatri, and unlike the Banya, he is no mere trader; but his social position is far inferior to theirs, partly no doubt because he is looked down upon simply as being a Hindu in the portions of the Province which are his special habitat. He is commonly known as a Kirár, a word almost synonymous with coward, and even more contemptuous than is the name Banya in the east of the Province. The word Kirár, indeed, appears to be applied to all the western or Panjábi traders, as distinct from the Banyas of Hindústán, and is so used even in the Kángra Hills. But the Arora is the person to whom the term is most commonly applied, and Khatris repudiate the name altogether as derogatory. The Arora is active and enterprising, industrious and thrifty. "When an Arora girds up "his loins, he makes it only two miles (from Jhang) to Lahore." He will turn his hand to any work, he makes a most admirable cultivator, and a large proportion of the Aroras of the lower Chanáb are purely agricultural in their avocations. He is found throughout Afghánistán and even Túrkistán, and is the Hindu trader of those countries; while in the Western Panjáb he will sew clothes, weave matting and baskets, make vessels of brass and copper, and do goldsmith's work. But he is a terrible coward, and is so branded in the proverbs of the countryside: "The thieves were four and we eighty-four; the thieves came on and we ran away. Damn the thieves! Well done us!" And again: "To meet a Ráthí armed with a "hoe makes a company of nine Kirárs feel alone." Yet the peasant has a wholesome dread of the Kirár when in his proper place. "Vex not the Jat in his jungle, or the Kirár at his shop, or the boatman at his ferry; for if you do they will break your head." Again: "Trust not a crow, a dog, or a Kirár, even "when asleep." So again: "You can't make a friend of a Kirár any more than a *Satti* of a prostitute." The Arora is of inferior physique, and his character is thus summed up by Mr. Thorburn: "A cowardly, secre-"tive, acquisitive race, very necessary and useful it may be in their places, but possessed of few manly "qualities, and both despised and envied by the great Musalmán tribes of Bannu." A few of the Aroras are returned as Musalmán, some 7 per cent. as Sikh, and the rest as Hindu. But many of the so-called Hindus, especially on the lower Chanáb and Satluj, are really Munna (shaven) Sikhs, or followers of Bába Nának, while the Hindu Aroras of the Indus worship the river. Further details will be found in sections 240 and 264 of Chapter IV on the Religions of the people.

544. Origin and divisions of the Aroras.—The Aroras claim to be of Khatri origin, and it will presently be seen that they follow some of the Khatri sub-divisions[1]. The Khatris however reject the claim. Sir George Campbell (see section 539) is of opinion that the two belong to the same ethnic stock. They say that they became outcasts from the Kshatriya stock during the persecution of that people by Paras Rám, to avoid which they denied their caste and described it as *Aur* or another, hence their name. Some of them fled northwards and some southwards, and hence the names of the two great sections of the caste, Uttarádhi and Dakhana. But it has been suggested with greater probability that, as the Multán and Lahore Khatris are Khatris of Multán and Lahore, so the Aroras are Khatris of Aror the ancient capital of Sindh, now represented by the modern Rori. The number of clans is enormous, and many of them are found in both sections. The Uttarádhi and Dakhana do not intermarry, the section being endogamous and the clan, as usual, exogamous. All Aroras are said to be of the Kásib *gotra*. The women of the northern or Uttarádhi section wear red ivory bracelets, and the section is divided into two sub-sections called Báhri and Bunjáhi (see Khatri divisions, section 540). The women of the southern or Dakhana section wear white ivory bracelets, and the section is divided into two sub-sections, the Dahra and the Dakhanadháin; but the Dahra sub-section is so important that it is often counted as a third section, and the term Dakhana applied to the Dakhanadháins alone. So it is said that in some places the Dahra women alone wear white, and the Dakhana women spotted bracelets of both colours. The Báhri and the Dakhanadháin claim social superiority, and will take wives from, but not give daughters to, the other sub-section of their respective sections. The figures are given in Abstract No. 93 on the next page. It will be noticed that the Dakhanas are far strongest in the southern and south-western districts.

[1] The detailed figures, when published, will show how far the identity of divisions extends.

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Abstract No. 93, *showing the* Divisions *of the* Aroras.

	Aroras.		
	1	2	3
	Uttarádhi.	Dakhana.	Dahra.
Sirsa	1,522	3,875	120
Amritsar	5,716	142	8
Sialkot	7,604	...	5,787
Lahore	12,141	4,422	4,982
Gujránwála	21,872	5	6,753
Firozpur	5,079	3,432	46
Rawalpindi	2,966	72	4,886
Jahlam	5,335	15	5,608
Gújrát	9,593	63	11,771
Shahpur	20,193	5,348	9,482
Multán	8,793	34,388	6,455
Jhang	18,004	2,185	23,541
Montgomery	3,108	13,101	16,283
Muzaffargarh	999	20,166	2,241
D. I. Khán	10,434	3,165	3
D. G. Khán	10,611	22,587	1,016
Bannu	11,275	10,580	57
Pesháwar	4,152	33	2,818
Hazára	1,787	12	297
Kohat	3,763	212	27
Baháwalpur	4,397	44,975	6,702
British Territory	**166,036**	**123,940**	**102,241**
Native States	**6,397**	**45,507**	**6,707**
Province	**172,433**	**169,447**	**108,948**

545. The Khojah and Paracha (Caste Nos. 44 and 104).—The word Khojah is really nothing more than our old friend the Khwájah of the *Arabian Nights*, and means simply a man of wealth and respectability. In the Panjáb it is used in three different senses: for a eunuch, for a scavenger converted to Islám, and for a Mahomedan trader[1]. It is in the last sense that it is used in our tables. There does not appear to be any true *caste* of Khojahs, any Hindu trader converted to Mahomedanism being known by that name. Thus the Khojahs of Sháhpur are almost entirely Khatris, and a Khatri now becoming a Musalmán in that district would be called a Khojah. The Khojahs of Jhang, on the other hand, are said to be converted Aroras; while some at least of the Lahore Khojahs claim Bhátia origin, and one section of the Ambála Khojahs are Káyaths. Now the Paráchas also are Mahomedan traders; and there is at least a very definite section of them with head-quarters at Mukhad on the Indus in Ráwalpindi who are a true caste, being converted Khatris, and marrying only among themselves. But unfortunately the word Parácha is also used in the central districts for any petty Mahomedan trader. The fact seems to be that in the Ráwalpindi and Pesháwar divisions, where Parachas are a recognised and wealthy caste, Khojah is used for miscellaneous Mahomedan traders, chiefly hawkers and pedlars, or at least petty traders; while in the eastern districts and in the Derajat, where Khojahs are commercially important, Parácha is used for the Mahomedan pedlar. Thus in our tables the divisional offices have in many cases included Parácha under Khojah and Khojah under Parácha, and the figures cannot safely be taken separately.

These Mahomedan traders, whether called Khojah or Parácha, are found all along the northern portion of the Province under the hills from Amritsar to Pesháwar, and have spread southwards into the central and eastern districts of the Western Plains, but have not entered the Deraját or Muzaffargarh in any numbers; though to the figures of Abstract No. 91 must be added those of Abstract No. 72 (page 224) for these last districts. Their eastern boundary is the Satluj valley, their western the Jahlam-Chanáb, and they are found throughout the whole of the Salt-range Tract. Probably it is hardly correct to say of them that they have "spread" or "entered;" for they apparently include many distinct classes who will have sprung from different centres of conversion. They appear to be most numerous in Lahore. A very interesting account of a recent development of trade by the Khojahs of Gújrát and Siálkot is given in Panjáb Government Home Proceedings No. 10 of March 1879. It appears that these men buy cotton piece-goods in Dehli and hawk them about the villages of their own districts, selling on credit till harvest time, and the business has now assumed very large proportions. The Khojahs of the Jhang district are thus described by Mr. Monckton: "They do not cultivate with their own hands, but own a great many wells and carry "on trade to a considerable extent. They are supposed to have been converted from Hinduism. They "do not practise cattle-stealing, but are a litigious race, and addicted to fraud and forgery in the prose- "cution of their claims."

The Parachas of the Salt-range Tract require a word of separate notice. Their head-quarters are at Mukhad in Pindi, and there are also large colonies at Attak and Pesháwar, whence they carry on an extensive trade with the cities of Central Asia, chiefly in cloth, silk, indigo, and tea. They say that their place of origin is the village of Dangot in the Bannu district, and that they moved to Mukhad in Sháhjahán's time; but another account is that they were Khatris of Lahore, deported by Zamán Sháh. They have seven clans and give their daughters only to Parachas, though they will occasionally take wives of foreign origin. They still retain the Hindu title of Rája. They will not marry with Khojahs and have dropped the Hindu ceremonial at their weddings, which they say the Khojahs of those parts still retain. They account for their name by deriving it from *párcha* "cloth," one of the principal staples of their trade. Some of the Parachas of Ambála seem to have returned themselves as Parácha Khel, and to have been not unnaturally classed as Patháns by the tabulators. I cannot give separate figures for these.

[1] The Khojahs of Bombay are well known for their wealth and commercial enterprise.

Part V.—Religious, Professional, Mercantile, and Miscellaneous Castes.

CARRIER AND PEDLAR CASTES.

546. Carriers, Cattle-merchants, Pedlars, &c.—I have said that the commerce of the Panjáb was in the hands of the group just discussed, with the exception of the trade in meat, liquor, and vegetables, the traffic in cattle, the carrying trade, and petty pedling and hawking. The sellers of meat and liquor will be discussed under the head of miscellaneous artisans; and the group which I am now about to describe consists of the traders in cattle, the carriers, and the pedlars and hucksters of the Province. I have divided it into three sections, though I shall presently show that the first two overlap considerably, and that the third is incomplete. The first section includes the Banjáras, the Labánas, the Rahbáris, and the Untwáls; and these castes include most of the professional carriers and cattle-dealers, and some of the pedlars of the Panjáb. The second class consists of the Maniárs, the Bhátras, and the Kangars, and includes the rest of the pedlars of the Province save only such as belong to the Khojah and Parácha castes just discussed. The third class includes the Kunjras and the Tambolis, both Greengrocers.

But it must be understood that, though there are no castes in the Panjáb besides those above mentioned whose hereditary occupation it is to trade in cattle and carry merchandise, yet an immense deal of traffic in cattle goes on quietly among the villagers without the intervention of any outsider; while in the early months of the hot weather, when the spring harvest has been cut, and before the early rains of autumn have softened the ground sufficiently for ploughing to be possible, the plough oxen of the unirrigated Eastern Plains find employment in carrying the produce of their villages to the line of rail or to the great city marts, and in bringing back salt and other products not indigenous to the tract.

547. The Banjara (Caste No. 94).—This and the following or Labána caste are generally said to be identical, being called Banjára in the eastern districts and Labána in the whole of the Panjáb proper. But Banjára, derived from *banij* "a trader" or perhaps from *banji* "a pedlar's pack," is used in the west of the Panjáb as a generic term for "pedlar," and I have therefore kept the figures distinct. Indeed it is to be feared that in that part of the Province many persons have been shown as Banjára in consequence of their occupation only.

The Banjáras of the eastern districts are a well-marked class, of whom a long and very complete description will be found in Elliott's *Races of the N. W. P.*, Vol. I, pages 52-56. They are the great travelling traders and carriers of Central India, the Deccan and Rájpútána; and under the Afghán and Mughal Empires were the commissariat of the imperial forces. There is a simile applied to a dying person; "The Banjára goes into the jungle with his stick in his hand. He is ready for the journey, and there is nobody with him." From Sir H. Elliott's description they seem to be a very composite class, including sections of various origin. But the original Banjára caste is said to have its habitat in the sub-montane tract from Gorakhpur to Hardwár The Banjáras of the North-West Provinces come annually into the Jamna districts and Eastern States in the cold weather with letters of credit on the local merchants, and buy up large numbers of cattle which they take back again for sale as the summer approaches; and it is principally these men and the Banjára carriers from Rájpútána to whom our figures for Hindu Banjáras refer. The Musalmán Banjáras are probably almost all pedlars. The headmen of the Banjára parties are called *Náik* (Sanskrit Náyaka "chief") and Banjáras in general are not uncommonly known by this name. The Railway is fast destroying the carrying trade of these people except in the mountain tracts. The word Banjára is apparently sometimes used for an oculist, so at least Mr. Baden-Powell states. (See further under Mahtam, section 495 *supra*.)

548. The Labana (Caste No. 52).—These men are generally associated with the caste just discussed. With the exception of Muzaffargarh and Bahâwalpur, which will be discussed presently, they are almost wholly confined to the hill and sub-montane districts. They are the carriers and hawkers of the hills, and are merely the Panjábi representatives of that class of Banjáras already alluded to who inhabit the sub-montane tracts east of the Ganges. The Labánas of Gújrát are thus described by Captain Mackenzie :—

"The Labanas are also a peculiar people. Their status amongst Sikhs is much the same as that of the Mahtams. They correspond to the Banjaras of Hindustan, carrying on an extensive trade by means of large herds of laden bullocks. Latterly they have taken to agriculture, but as an additional means of livelihood, not as a substitute for trade. As a section of the community they deserve every consideration and encouragement. They are generally fine substantially built people. They also possess much spirit. In anarchical times when the freaks or feuds of petty Governors would drive the Jats or Gujars to seek a temporary abiding place away from their ancestral village, the Labanas would stand their ground, and perhaps improve the opportunity by extending their grasp over the best lands in the village, in which their shorter-sighted and less provident lords of the Manor had, in some former period, permitted them to take up their abode for purposes of commerce. Several cases of this nature came to light during settlement, and in most of them the strength and spirit of progress were as apparent in the Labanas as were the opposite qualities conspicuous in their Gujar opponents. Their principal village is Tanda (which means a large caravan of laden bullocks) and is an instance of what I have above alluded to. Allowed to reside by the Gujar proprietors of Mota, they got possession of the soil, built a kasba, and in every point of importance swamped the original proprietors. They have been recognized as proprietors, but feudatory to their former landlords the Gujars of Mota, paying to them annually in recognition thereof, a sum equal to one-tenth of the Government demand."

There is a curious colony of Labánas on the lower Indus who are said to have settled there under the Sikh rule, and who are almost all Munna Sikhs or followers of Bába Nának, though many of them are returned in the Baháwalpur tables as Hindus. These men have almost entirely given up traffic and trade, and settled on the banks of the river where they lead a sort of semi savage life, hunting and making ropes and grass mats for sale. They hardly cultivate at all. Their numbers are much under-stated in Abstract No. 94, as Abstract No. 72 (page 224) shows that 4,317 of the Baháwalpur Labánas were returned as Jats. The Labánas of Jhang are said to have come from Jaipur and Jodhpur, and to be the same as the Mahtams of Montgomery. On the whole the Labánas appear to be by origin closely allied with, if not actually belonging to, the vagrant and probably aboriginal tribes whom we shall discuss in the next part of this chapter; and it may be that at least some sections of the Labánas are of the same stock as they. (See further under Mahtam, section 495 *supra*.) About 30 per cent. of the Labánas are returned as Sikhs and almost all the rest as Hindus, there being only some 1,500 Musalmáns among them. Little is known of the sub-divisions of the caste. The largest seems to be the Ajráwat with 4,400 souls, chiefly in Gújrát and Lahore; the Dátla with 4,173 souls, chiefly in Lahore; the Maliána with 2,537 and the Bhagiána with 2,015 persons, both in the Amritsar and Lahore divisions; and the Gáhri with 1,925 persons along the whole foot of the hills. But the greater part of the caste have returned no large divisions.

Part V.—Religious, Professional, Mercantile, and Miscellaneous Castes.

Abstract No. 94, *showing* Castes of Carriers, Pedlars, &c.

	CARRIERS AND HAWKERS.																					
	FIGURES.									PROPORTION PER 1,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.												
	94	52	122	144	47	174	180	114	165	94	52	122	144		47	174	180		114	165		
	Banjára.	Labána.	Bahbári.	Untwál.	Maniár.	Bhátra.	Kangar.	Kunjra.	Tamboli.	Banjára.	Labána.	Bahbári.	Untwál.	TOTAL.	Maniár.	Bhátra.	Kangar.	TOTAL.	Kunjra.	Tamboli.	TOTAL.	GRAND TOTAL.
Dehli	1,854	44	308	7	742	...	...	459	120	3	..	...	...	3	1	...	...	1	1	...	1	5
Gurgaon	763	...	46	...	1,102	...	10	1,150	49	1	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	2	2	...	2	5
Karnál	617	5	1,125	...	789	...	...	426	13	1	...	2	...	3	1	..	...	1	1	...	1	5
Hissar	272	54	643	...	1,231	...	...	501	...	...	...	1	...	1	2	...	...	2	1	...	1	4
Rohtak	102	...	509	...	957	...	...	557	...	...	...	1	...	1	2	...	...	2	1	...	1	4
Sirsa	...	9	51	...	235	...	...	39	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
Ambála	1,909	1,310	96	...	797	40	...	283	136	2	1	...	...	3	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	4
Lúdhiána	942	923	45	...	94	146	...	82	14	2	1	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
Jálandhar	...	1,204	...	29	2	...	...	94	26	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Hushyárpur	2	3,736	...	...	178	...	...	52	..	...	4	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Kángra	1	2,198	...	...	75	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	3
Amritsar	67	566	...	...	...	...	284	...	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Gurdáspur	..	5,492	...	...	...	...	77	...	..	...	7	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	..	..	7
Siálkot	267	6,584	...	...	...	...	278	...	17	...	7	...	...	7	...	..	...	...	...	...	..	7
Lahore	162	10,116	...	...	1	95	...	11	36	...	11	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11
Gujránwála	74	356	...	...	...	59	...	58	2	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...
Firozpur	11	138	...	...	6	...	...	191	29	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	..	...	...	..	...
Ráwalpindi	69	191	...	...	...	29	...	1	505	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	1	1	1
Jahlam	...	74	...	...	...	45	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	..	...	...	...
Gújrát	30	5,203	...	...	...	...	...	47	...	...	8	...	...	8	...	...	..	...	...	...	..	8
Multán	457	307	...	794	...	...	..	1	51	1	1	...	1	3	...	...	...	..	..	...	...	3
Montgomery	385	80	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	1
Muzaffargarh	33	2,315	...	45	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	7	.	...	...	...	...	..	..	7
Derah Ismail Khán	...	541	...	54	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Derah Ghazi Khán	2	82	...	176	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...
Bannu	...	62	...	125	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pesháwar	158	64	...	354	...	...	...	16	32	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Hazara	...	446	...	19	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Kohát	...	158	...	425	...	...	...	...	6	...	1	...	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
British Territory	8,216	42,495	2,825	2,038	6,209	421	649	4,019	1,114	...	2	..	...	2	...	..	...	...	...	..	...	
Patiála	1,104	1,156	485	18	821	287	4	656	7	1	1	...	...	2	1	...	...	1	...	..	...	3
Nábha	15	...	230	...	190	4	...	46	...	...	...	1	...	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	2
Kapurthala	..	1,766	...	44	...	6	...	8	5	...	7	...	...	7	...	...		...	...	..	...	7
Jínd	80	...	335	...	244	...	...	166	5	...	...	1	...	1	1	..	...	1	1	...	1	3
Total Eastern Plains.	2,040	2,922	1,056	62	1,350	369	4	981	17	1	1	...	...	2	1	..	...	1	..	...	...	3
Baháwalpur	...	1,730	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mandi	...	634	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	4	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	4
Náhan	955	11	...	...	...	...	...	1	13	9	...	...	...	9	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	9
Biláspur	4	304	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	..	...	4	...	...	...		...	...	..	4
Nálagarh	...	303	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	6
Total Hill States	961	1,342	...	...	15	129	...	1	15	1	2	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	3
British Territory	8,216	42,495	2,825	2,038	6,209	421	649	4,019	1,114	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Native States	3,001	5,994	1,056	62	1,365	498	4	982	32	1	2	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	3
Province	11,217	48,489	3,881	2,100	7,574	919	653	5,001	1,146	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2

Part V.—Religious, Professional, Mercantile, and Miscellaneous Castes.

549. The Rahbari (Caste No. 122).—This is a camel-breeding caste found only in the eastern and south-eastern districts of the Panjáb and in the adjoining Native States. In the extensive jungles of these tracts they pasture large herds of camels, while they also carry merchandise from place to place for hire. Their proper home appears to be Bíkáner and the Rájpútána desert.

550. Untwal (Caste No. 144).—This is a purely occupational term and means nothing more than a camel-man. Under this head have been included Shutarbán and Sárbán, both words having the same meaning. But Malik has been classed as Biloch, as the title is chiefly confined to the Biloch camelman. Indeed many of the persons returned as Biloches in the Central Panjáb would probably have been more properly described as Untwál, since the term Biloch throughout the central districts is used of any Musalmán camelman. It will be noticed that the Untwáls are returned only from those parts of the Province where the real meaning of Biloch is properly understood. In those parts they are said to be all Jats; but Jat means very little, or rather almost anything, on the Indus.

551. The Maniar (Caste No. 47).—Here again we meet with an occupational term, and with resulting confusion in the figures. The Maniár of the eastern districts is a man who works in glass and sells glass bangles, generally hawking them about the villages. But throughout the rest of the Panjáb Maniár is any pedlar, *maniári bechhna* being the common term for the occupation of carrying petty hardware about for sale. Thus we have Khojah, Parácha, Banjára, and Maniár, all used in different parts and some of them in the same part of the Province for a pedlar; and the result is that the figures have probably been mixed up. The extraordinary number of Maniárs returned for the Jahlam and Ráwalpindi districts in Table VIII A is due to an unfortunate error, not detected till after the table was printed, by which Maliár was read Maniár. These people are really vegetable growers, and have been classed in their proper place in the Abstracts of this chapter.

552. The Bhatra (Caste No. 174).—The Bhátra is also a pedlar; but he belongs to a true caste. He claims Bráhman origin, and his claim would appear to be good, for he wears the sacred thread, applies the *tilak* or forehead mark, and receives offerings at eclipses in that capacity. He is probably a low class of Gújaráti or Dákaut Bráhman, and like them practises as an astrologer in a small way. The Bhátras of Gújrát are said to trace their origin to the south beyond Multán. The Bhátras hawk small hardware for sale, tell fortunes, and play on the native guitar, but do not beg for alms. It is their function to pierce the noses and ears of children to receive rings. Mr. Baden-Powell describes the instruments used at page 268 of his *Panjáb Manufactures.* The Ramaiya of the east of the Panjáb appears to correspond exactly with the Bhátra and to be the same person under a different name, Ramaiya being used in Dehli and Hissár, Bhátra in Lahore and Pindi, and both in the Ambála division; and I directed that both sets of figures should be included under the head Bhátra. Unfortunately the order was not carried out. The number of Ramaiyas returned is shown in the margin. But in any case the figures are incomplete. The Bhátra is essentially a pedlar, and has probably been returned by one of the names for pedlars just referred to more often than by his caste name. He is said to be called Mádho in Ráwalpindi, but this is probably due to some confusion of Bhátra with Bhát.

Delhi division	419
Hissar division	19
Ambala division	16
	454

553. The Kangar (Caste No. 180).—The Kangar is also a travelling hawker, but he confines his traffic to small articles of earthenware such as pipe-bowls, and especially to those earthen images in which native children delight. These he makes himself and hawks about for sale. He is returned in the tables from the Amritsar division only. But Baden-Powell gives at page 267 of *Panjáb Manufactures* a long account of an operation for a new nose said to be successfully performed by the Kangars of Kángra.

554. The Kunjra (Caste No. 114).—Here again is a purely occupational term, and again confusion as the consequence. Kunjra is nothing more or less than the Hindústáni, as *Sabzi farosh* is the Persian for greengrocer. The big men generally use the latter term, the small costermongers the former. But in no case is it a caste. The Kunjra belongs as a rule to one of the castes of market gardeners which have been described under minor agricultural tribes. I do not know why Kunjra should have been returned under that name only in the east. It may be that in other parts of the Province it is more usual to call the seller of vegetables an Aráin or Bághbán, as the case may be, and that the word Kunjra is little used. This probably is the true explanation, as the figures for Native States show the same peculiarity.

555. The Tamboli (Caste No. 165).—A Tamboli is a man who sells pân and betel-nut; but whether the sale of those commodities is confined to a real caste of that name I cannot say. It is probable that the term is only occupational. If Tamboli were a real caste we should have it returned from every district, as the word seems to be in use throughout the Province. Sherring, however, gives it as a separate caste in the neighbourhood of Benares. *Tambúli* is the Sanskrit name of the betel plant.

MISCELLANEOUS CASTES.

556. Miscellaneous Castes.—The castes which I have included in Abstract No. 95 on the next page are of a miscellaneous nature, and would not conveniently fall under any of the main divisions under which I have grouped my castes. I have divided them into two classes. The first, which includes Kashmíris, Dogras, Gúrkhas, and Pársis, are Indian castes who live on the borders of the Panjáb but are only present in the Province as immigrants; though indeed some of the Kashmíri colonies are now permanent and contain large numbers of people. The second, which includes Káyaths, Bishnois, Cháhzangs, and Kanchans are inhabitants of the Panjáb, though no one of them except the Káyath of the plains can be said to be a true caste.

Part V.—Religious, Professional, Mercantile, and Miscellaneous Castes.

Abstract No. 95, *showing* Miscellaneous Castes *for* Districts and States.

	MISCELLANEOUS CASTES.																		
	FIGURES.									PROPORTION PER 1,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.									
	26	182	148	168	184	90	106	138	96	26	148	168		90	106	138	96		
	Kashmíri.	Dogra.	Gúrkha.	Bangálí.	Pársí.	Káyath.	Bishnoí.	Cháhzang.	Kanchan.	Kashmíri.	Gúrkha.	Bangálí.	TOTAL.	Káyath.	Bishnoí.	Cháhzang.	Kanchan.	TOTAL.	GRAND TOTAL.
Dehli	82	...	...	6	27	3,887	1	..	323	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	1	7	7
Gurgaon	...	...	...	...	...	664	...	...	238	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1
Karnál	21	1	...	...	...	737	...	...	275	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1
Hissar	...	...	...	...	...	404	8,118	...	122	...	...	...	...	1	16	...	...	17	17
Rohtak	...	...	...	...	...	673	7	...	210	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1
Sirsa	...	...	...	...	...	304	417	...	5	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	3	3
Ambala	58	...	...	616	6	1,641	...	...	745	...	...	1	1	2	...	...	3	5	6
Ludhiána	2,492	...	...	10	...	112	...	...	202	4	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	4
Simla	205	...	12	...	...	130	...	...	27	5	...	...	5	3	...	...	1	4	9
Jalandhar	1,291	...	...	241	2	237	...	...	391	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	2
Hushyarpur	315	...	...	...	2	192	...	...	262	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kangra	1,661	...	1	...	4	105	...	2,624	10	2	...	...	2	...	...	4	...	4	6
Amritsar	32,495	...	...	...	9	366	...	...	767	36	...	...	36	...	...	...	1	1	37
Gurdaspur	6,662	...	921	...	...	183	...	...	191	8	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	8
Sialkot	19,153	...	...	...	7	138	1	...	450	19	...	...	19	...	...	...	...	...	19
Lahore	11,659	...	8	...	92	1,157	...	...	1,285	13	...	...	13	1	...	...	1	2	15
Gujranwala	6,186	...	...	...	...	72	...	...	478	10	...	...	10	...	...	...	1	1	11
Firozpur	1,637	...	...	...	9	378	...	...	689	3	...	...	3	1	...	...	1	2	5
Rawalpindi	23,803	115	...	10	169	211	...	...	167	29	...	...	29	...	...	...	...	...	29
Jahlam	9,672	40	...	...	16	84	...	...	219	16	...	...	16	...	...	...	...	...	16
Gujrat	33,319	5	26	...	...	23	...	...	227	48	...	...	48	...	...	...	...	...	48
Shahpur	143	...	1	...	...	48	...	...	89	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Multan	92	...	6	8	63	84	1	...	1,003	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	2
Jhang	15	...	...	...	2	24	...	...	286	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1
Montgomery	35	...	...	...	2	11	1	...	347	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1
Muzaffargarh	17	...	...	...	...	18	...	...	242	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1
Peshawar	13,082	148	9	13	39	...	...	...	183	22	...	...	22	...	...	...	...	...	22
Hazara	13,997	...	761	1	...	...	...	...	...	34	2	...	36	...	...	...	...	...	36
British Territory	**178,253**	**393**	**1,759**	**918**	**462**	**11,910**	**8,550**	**2,624**	**9,648**	**9**	...	...	**9**	**1**	...	...	**1**	**2**	**11**
Patiala	144	4	1	34	...	1,016	8	...	736	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1
Total East. Plains	735	4	4	34	...	1,423	26	...	1,183	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1
Bahawalpur	4	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total Hill States	28	...	149	92	...	79	...	...	79	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
British Territory	**178,253**	**393**	**1,759**	**918**	**462**	**11,910**	**8,550**	**2,624**	**9,648**	**9**	...	...	**9**	**1**	...	...	**1**	**2**	**11**
Native States	**767**	**4**	**153**	**126**	...	**1,510**	**26**	...	**1,262**	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Province	**179,020**	**397**	**1,912**	**1,044**	**462**	**13,420**	**8,576**	**2,624**	**10,910**	**8**	...	...	**8**	**1**	...	...	...	**1**	**9**

557. The Kashmiri and Dogra (Caste Nos. 26 and 182).—The word Kashmíri is perhaps applicable to the members of any of the races of Kashmír; but it is commonly used in Kashmír itself to denote the people of the valley of Srínagar. Our figures however probably include some Chibhális, or the race who inhabit the Kashmír hills and the borders of Gújrát, Ráwalpindi, and Hazára. But they do not include either Dogras or the Paháris of Kishtwár and Badarwáh, as these last are Hindus, while our Kashmíris are Musalmáns. In any case the term is a geographical one, and probably includes many of what we should in the Panjáb call separate castes. The cultivating class who form the great mass of the Kashmíris proper are probably of Aryan descent, though perhaps with an intermixture of Khas blood, and possess marked characters. Drew describes them as "large made and robust and of a really fine cast of "feature," and ranks them as "the finest race on the whole Continent of India." But their history is, at any rate in recent times, one of the most grievous suffering and oppression; and they are cowards, liars, and withal quarrelsome, though at the same time keen-witted, cheerful, and humorous. A good account of them will be found in Drew's *Jummoo and Kashmir*. The Chibhális are for the most part Musalmán Rájpúts, and differ from the Dogras only in religion, and perhaps in clan.

The Kashmíris of the Panjáb may be broadly divided into three classes. First the great Kashmíri colonies of Lúdhiána and Amritsar, where there are nearly 35,000 Kashmíris permanently settled and engaged for the most part in weaving shawls and similar fine fabrics. These men are chiefly true Kashmíris. Secondly, the recent immigrants driven from Kashmír by the late famine into our sub-montane districts, or attracted by the special demand for labour in the Salt-range Tract and upper frontier which was created by works in connection with the Kábul campaign. It is impossible to say how many of these men are

Part V.—Religious, Professional, Mercantile, and Miscellaneous Castes.

Chibhális and how many Kashmíris. Thirdly, the Chibhális who have crossed the border and settled in our territories in the ordinary course of affairs. These men are probably confined to Gújrát and the trans-Salt-range Tract. Besides those who are returned as Kashmíris, I find no fewer than 7,515 persons returned as Kashmíri Jats, of whom 1,152 are in Lahore and 5,081 in Gújránwála. Those are probably Kashmírís who have settled and taken to cultivation. The Kashmíri weavers of Amritsar are described as "litigious, "deceitful, and cowardly, while their habits are so unclean that the quarter of the city which they inhabit "is a constant source of danger from its liability to epidemic disease." The Kashmíris have returned numerous sub-divisions, of which the few largest are shown in the margin. Their distribution does not appear to follow any rule; and it is hardly worth while giving detailed figures in this place. The Kashmíris of our cities are as a rule miserably poor.

KASHMIRI TRIBES.			
1. Bat	24,463	6. Shekh	14,902
2. Lún	4,848	7. Batti	14,725
3. Dár	16,215	8. Mahar	3,083
4. Wáin	7,419	9. Warde	4,863
5. Mír	19,855	10. Mán	2,656

558. The Dogra (Caste No. 181).—The Dogras are Rájpúts who inhabit Jammu, and have returned themselves as such to the number of 1,415 scattered about the Province, the largest number in one district being 391 in Ráwalpindi. Thus our separate figures mean little, and might well have been included with Rájpúts. The word Dogra, however, is commonly used for any inhabitant of Jammu whatever be his caste, Dogar being another word for the Jammu territory. Dogras are probably present in the Panjáb as settlers from across the border, as famine fugitives, and in the Dogra regiments of our army. I believe their Rájpút origin is undoubted; but that it is equally certain that they are not pure Rájpúts.

559. The Gurkha, Parsi, and Bangali (Caste Nos. 148, 184, and 168).—The Gúrkhas are the ruling and military race of Nepal, and are only found in the Panjáb as members of our Gúrkha regiments. They are of mixed Aryan and Turanian blood, and an admirable and interesting account of them will be found in that one of Hodgson's *Essays* which deals with the military tribes of Nepal. The Pársis are the Zoroastrian class of that name who have come from the Bombay Presidency into the Panjáb as merchants and shop-keepers. The Bangális are the Bengali Baboos of our offices. They are I believe for the most part either Bráhmans or Káyaths, Bengali being of course a purely geographical term. They are only found in offices and counting-houses.

560. The Kayaths (Caste No. 90).—The Káyath is the well-known writer class of Hindústán. He does not appear to be indigenous in the Panjáb, and is found in decreasing numbers as we go westwards. He is only to be found in the administrative or commercial centres and is being rapidly displaced, so far as Government service is concerned, by Panjábi clerks. His origin is discussed in Colebrook's *Essays*.

But in the Panjáb hills Káyath is the term of an occupation rather than of a caste, and is applied to members of a mixed caste formed by the intermarriage of Bráhmans and Káyaths proper, and even of Banyas who follow clerkly pursuits. Their caste would be Mahájan (Pahári) and their occupation Káyath. Mr. Barnes says: "The Káyath of the hills is not identical with the Káyath of the plains. He "belongs to the Vaisya or commercial class, and is entitled to wear the *janeo* or sacred thread. The "Káyath of the plains is a Súdra, and is not entitled to assume the *janeo*."[1] (See also Pahári Mahájan, page 294.)

561. The Bishnoi (Caste No. 106).—The Bishnois are really a religious sect and not a true caste. Their tenets and practice have been briefly sketched at page 123 in the Chapter on Religion. Almost all the followers of this sect are either Jats or Tarkháns by caste, and come from the Bágar or Bíkáner prairies; but on becoming Bishnois they very commonly give up their caste name and call themselves after their new creed. This is, however, not always so; and many of the Bishnois will doubtless have returned themselves under their caste names. I do not know whether the Jat and Tarkhán Bishnois intermarry or not. But a Bishnoi will only marry a Bishnoi. They are only found in Hariána, and are all Hindus.

562. The Chahzang (Caste No. 138).—This again is not a true caste, for it is confined to the Buddhists of Spiti, among whom caste is said to be unknown. The word Cháhzang means nothing more or less than "land-owner," from *cháh* "owner" and *zang* "land," and includes all the land-owning classes of Spiti, where everybody owns land except Hesis and Lohárs. These people are by nationality Tibetan, or as they call themselves Bhoti, and should perhaps have been returned as such. Mr. Anderson says: "Cháhzang means the land-holding class, and the people towards Tibet, Ladákh, and Zanskár are "known as Cháhzang. It appears to be used in a very wide sense to mean all that speak Bhoti, just as "Monpa means 'the people that do not know,' that is, the Hindus."

563. The Kanchan (Caste No. 96).—This again is hardly a caste, Kanchan simply meaning a Musalmán pimp or prostitute, and being the Hindústáni equivalent for the Panjábi Kanjar. The figures for Kanjar, except in the Dehli, Hissár, and Ambála divisions, have been included under this heading (see section 590). The word *kanchan* is said to mean "pure and illustrious." The Hindu prostitute is commonly known as Rámjani, and it appears that they have generally returned themselves under their proper castes[2]. Such few as have not shown themselves as Rámjani have been included with Kanchan. Randi is also used for a prostitute in the east of the Province, but it means a "widow" throughout the Panjáb proper. It will be observed that two-fifths of the Kanchans are males. These people form a distinct class, though not only their offspring, but also girls bought in infancy or joining the community in later life and devoting themselves to prostitution, are known as Kanchans.

563a. Miscellaneous Castes of Table VIII B.—In Table VIII B. I have given the figures for a number of miscellaneous castes which I did not think it worth while to show in detail in Table VIII A. Many of these I cannot identify, and cannot even be sure that I have got the names right. And many more would properly fall under some one of the various groups into which I have divided my castes for the purposes of this chapter. But the numbers are so small and time so pressing that I shall take them as

[1] This last assertion is contested in a pamphlet called *Kayastha Ethnology* (Lucknow, 1877).
[2] But see Sherring, Vol. I, p. 274.

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they come in Table VIII B, and give briefly the information I possess regarding such of them as I know anything about. Many of them are not castes at all, but either occupational or geographical terms. *Toba* (*Caste No. 186*).—literally means a diver, but is used for the men who dig and clean wells, in which process diving is necessary. They generally belong to the Jhínwar and Máchhi caste, and are often fishermen as well as well-sinkers. *Patwa* (*Caste No. 187*).—From *pat* silk, and means any worker in silk, but is generally used only for those who make silken cord and waistbands, thread beads on silk, and so forth. They are called *Patoi* in the west. They are said often to be Khatris. *Bágri* (*Caste No. 188*)—means any one from the Bágar or prairies of Bíkáner, but is usually confined to Jats from those parts. *Gwálpa* (*Caste No. 189*).—These men are apparently Tibetans, but I cannot define the meaning of the word. *Kharásia* (*Caste No. 190*).—The men who work the water mills so common in the hills. They are said often to be Dáolis. *Pachháda* (*Caste No. 192*)—used in Bhattiána and Hariána for Musalmán Jat and Rájpút immigrants from the Satluj country to the west (*pachham*), just as Bágri is used for similar Hindu immigrants from the south. *Turáora* (*Caste No. 193*).—These people came to Hazára from Amb and the Buner and Chagharzai hills. They trace their descent from a Káfir convert to Islám called Dúman. They all are agricultural by occupation. *Palledár* (*Caste No. 194*)—A porter, generally found in the bazaars and markets. *Kamáchi* (*Caste No. 196*).—A class of vagrant minstrels who beg and play at weddings. *Kúchband* (*Caste No. 197*).—Makers of *kúch* or weaver's brushes. They belong to the outcast and vagrant classes. *Dárúgar* (*Caste No. 198*).—A man who makes gunpowder. Under this head is included *Atishbáz*, a man who makes fireworks. *Páli* (*Caste No. 199*).—Páli is the ordinary village word for cowherd in the east of the Panjáb. But in Multán there is a separate Páli caste who have lately been converted from Hinduism and still retain many of their Hindu customs. They follow all sorts of handicrafts, and especially that of oil-pressing, and engage in trade in a small way. *Jarráh* (*Caste No. 200*).—The Native Surgeon who applies plasters, draws teeth, sets fractures, and so on.' He is almost always a Nái. *Kápri* (*Caste No. 201*).—A caste who claim Bráhman origin, and whose occupation is that of making the ornaments worn by the bridegroom at weddings, artificial flowers, and similar articles made of talc, tinsel, and the like. They are apparently connected, in Delhi at least, with the Jain temples, where they officiate as priests and receive offerings. They also act as Bháts at weddings. They are said to come from Rájpútána. *Pánda* (*Caste No. 202*).—A name commonly given to any educated Bráhman who teaches or officiates at religious functions. Probably of the same origin as Pandit. In the hills it is said to be used for Dákaut Bráhmans. *Sapela* (*Caste No. 203*).—A snake-catcher and charmer, generally belonging to one of the vagrant tribes. *Marátha* (*Caste No. 204*).—An inhabitant of Maharásthra or the Mahratta Country. *Akhúndzádah* (*Caste No. 205*).—See Ulama, section 517. *Sapándi* (*Caste No. 206*). Probably the same as Sapela No. 203 *q. v.* *Díwán* (*Caste No. 207*).—This is the title of the revenue minister at a Native Court. There is also a Sikh order called Díwána. *Hesi* (*Caste No. 208*)—should have been included with No. 167 described under Gipsy tribes in the next part of this chapter. *Arya* (*Caste No. 209*).—Probably followers of the Arya Sumáj. *Attár* (*Caste No. 210*).—A dispensing druggist, as distinct from the *Pansári* from whom the drugs are bought, and the *Gándi*, a distiller of essences and perfumes. The Attár however makes arracks and sherbets. *Qarol* (*Caste No. 211*).—These are the descendants of the hunters and menagerie keepers of the old Mughal Court at Delhi. They are of several castes, but probably for the most part Pathán; but they have now formed a separate caste, marry only among themselves, and have taken to agriculture. They are called after their weapon, the hunting-knife or *qarol*. *Marejha* (*Caste No. 212*).—A class of wandering beggars who come from Rájpútána and Sindh. *Márwári* (*Caste No. 213*).—Inhabitants of Márwár, but generally applied in the Panjáb to Bráhman money-lenders or Bohras from that tract. *Láhori* (*Caste No. 214*).—Residents of Lahore; but perhaps Khatris, of whom there is a great Láhori section. *Lúnia* (*Caste No. 215*).—Probably salt-makers, and should have been included with Núngar No. 176. *Gargajje* (*Caste No. 216*).—The same as *Garzmár*, a class of *fáqirs* who thrust iron spikes into their flesh. *Bodhi* (*Caste No. 217*).—As it stands the word would mean a Buddhist. But it is perhaps a misreading for Bhoti, an inhabitant of Bhot or Thibet, who also would be a Buddhist. *Nánbai* (*Caste No. 218*).—A baker. *Jahojha* (*Caste No. 219*).—A Púrbi caste who keep milch kine. *Múnhband* (*Caste No. 220*).—The Jain ascetic who hangs a cloth over his mouth (*múnh*.) *Bisáti* (*Caste No. 221*).—A dealer in petty hardware who spreads (*basat*) his mat (*bisát*) in front of him and displays his wares upon it. *Pahári* (*Caste No. 222*).—A generic term for a hill man. *Hijra* (*Caste No. 226*).—A eunuch, distinct from the Hinjrá which is a large Jat tribe and separately described in its proper place. *Sahnsar* (*Caste No. 227*).—A small caste in Hushyárpur who were only a few generations ago Punwár Rájpúts, but have been driven by poverty to growing vegetables and working in grass, and are now a separate caste ranking with the Aráins. *Gharámi* (*Caste No. 229*).—Thatchers, generally Jhínwars. *Chhatarsáz* (*Caste No. 231*).—Umbrella makers. *Sangtarásh* (*Caste No. 233*).—Stone-cutters. *Chirimár* (*Caste No. 234*).—Bird catchers, who almost always belong to the vagrant tribes. *Chínigar* (*Caste No. 239*).—Sugar refiners. *Suthár* (*Caste No. 259*).—The Bombay word for carpenters, *c.f.*, Tarkhán No. 11. *Dhai Sirkiband* (*Caste No. 263*).—The men who make *sirki* or roof-ridges of grass to protect carts and the like. Almost always of the vagrant classes. *Hindki* (*Caste No. 271*).—A generic term on the Upper Indus for all Musalmáns of Indian descent who speak Panjábi dialects. *Kamera* (*Caste No. 280*).—An agricultural labourer hired by the day, month, or year on fixed pay, not receiving a share of the produce. *Guru* (*Caste No. 297*).—A Hindu spiritual preceptor. *Karár* (*Caste No. 300*.)—More properly Kirár. Any Hindu trader in the west or in the hills. *Uzbak* (*Caste No. 301*).—A Túrk tribe, and should have been included with Túrk No. 126. *Gwála* (*Caste No. 306*).—The term for a Hindu cowherd and shepherd—generally an Ahír. *Tabákhia* (*Caste No. 308*).—A man who keeps a cook-shop and hawks cooked food about the streets. *Kharol* (*Caste No. 317*).—Probably the same as Qarol, No. 211, described above.

PART VI.—THE VAGRANT, MENIAL, AND ARTISAN CASTES.

564. Division of the subject.—Having discussed the land-owning and agricultural, and the priestly, mercantile, and professional castes, I now turn to the lowest strata of Panjáb society, the vagrant and criminal tribes, the gipsies, the menials, and the artisans. These classes form in many respects one of the most interesting sections of the community. Politically they are unimportant; but they include the great mass of such aboriginal element as is still to be found in the Panjáb, their customs are not only exceedingly peculiar but also exceedingly interesting as affording us a clue to the separation of the non-Aryan element in the customs of other tribes, and while the industries of the Province are almost entirely in their hands an immense deal of the hardest part of the field-work is performed by them. At the same time they are precisely the classes regarding whom it is most difficult to obtain reliable information. They are not pleasant people to deal with and we are thrown but little into contact with them, while the better class of native groups most of them under one or two generic terms, such as Chúhra, Dúm, or Nat, and thinks it would degrade him to show any closer acquaintance with their habits. I have roughly divided these castes into eleven groups. First I have taken the vagrant, hunting, and criminal tribes, then the gipsy tribes, then the scavenger classes, the leather-workers and weavers, the water-carriers, fishermen, and boatmen, the carpenters, blacksmiths, stone-masons and potters, the goldsmiths and saltmakers, the washermen, dyers, and tailors, the oilmen, butchers, cotton scutchers, wine distillers, and other miscellaneous artisans, the menials peculiar to the hills, and finally the Púrbi menials of our cantonments.

These classes may be grouped in two different ways, according as the classification is based upon their ethnic and occupational affinities, or upon their position in the industrial œconomy of the country. I shall first consider them from the former point of view.

565. Origin and evolution of the lower menials.—It appears to me that starting with an aboriginal and vagrant stock, there are two continuous series of gradations leading from that stock to the weavers at least on the one hand and probably to the water-carriers on the other, and that no line can be drawn anywhere in either series which shall distinctly mark off those above from those below it. For specific instances of the manner in which these occupations shade off one into another I must refer the reader to the following pages. But I will endeavour to exemplify what I mean by an imaginary series. Suppose an aboriginal tribe of vagrant habits, wandering about from jungle to jungle and from village to village, catching for the sake of food the vermin which abound such as jackals, foxes, and lizards, and eating such dead bodies as may fall in their way, plaiting for themselves rude shelter and utensils from the grasses which fringe the ponds, living with their women very much in common and ready to prostitute them for money when occasion offers, and always on the watch for opportunities of pilfering, and you have the lowest type of gipsy and vagrant tribes as we now find them in the Panjáb. Now imagine such a tribe abandoning its vagrant habits and settling as menials in a village. Being no longer nomads they would cease to hunt and eat vermin; but they would still eat carrion, they would still plait grass, and being what they were, the filthiest work to be performed, namely that of scavengering, would fall to their share. They would then be the Chúhra or scavenger caste as they exist in every village. Suppose again that a section of them, desirous of rising in life, abandoned plaiting grass and scavengering and took to tanning and working in leather, the next less filthy work available, as their occupation, and modified their primitive creed so as to render it somewhat more like that of their Hindu neighbours, but being still specially concerned with dead animals, continued to eat carrion: we should then have the Chamár or tanner and leather-worker. And finally if, desiring to live cleanly, they gave up eating carrion and working in leather and took to weaving, which is (I know not why, unless it be that weavers' implements are made from grass by the outcast classes of grass-workers) considered only less degrading, they would become the Juláha of our towns and villages and be admitted under semi-protest within the pale of Hinduism. Or they might skip the leather-working stage and pass direct from scavengering to weaving. Now if all this were merely speculation upon what is *possible*, it would mean little or nothing. But when we see that changes of this sort are actually in progress, it seems to me that the suggestion may mean a good deal. We see the vagrant classes such as the Báwaria and Aheri tending to settle down in the villages and perform low menial offices; we see the Dhának converted from the hunter of the jungles into a scavenger and weaver; we see the Chúhra refuse to touch night-soil and become a Musalli, or substitute leather-working and tanning for scavengering and become a Rangreta; we see the Khatík who is a scavenger in the east turn into a tanner in the west; we see the Koli Chamár abandon leather-working and take to weaving, and turn into a Chamar-Juláha or Búnia; we see that in some districts most of the Mochis are weavers rather than leather-workers; and we find that it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line anywhere between vagrancy and scavengering at the bottom and weaving at the top or to say that such a caste is above and such a caste is below the line, but that each caste throws out offshoots into the grade above that which is occupied by the greater number of its members.

566. Origin of the water-carrying classes.—In the second series of changes we have not so many examples of the intermediate steps. But it is natural that the upward movement in the social scale which every tribe is fain to make if possible should not be confined to one definite direction only. Some of the vagrant castes have like the Báwaria abandoned the eating of carrion and become hunters of higher game, though not perhaps quite relinquishing their taste for vermin; some while retaining their nomad habits have taken to specified forms of labour like the Od or Changar; others have settled down to cultivation like the Mahtam or to crime like the Mína; while others again have taken to the carrying trade like some sections of the Banjáras, or to the pedlar's business. But there is a group of these tribes who are distinctly water-hunters; who catch, not deer and jackals, but water-fowl fish, and crocodiles

or tortoises, who live in the fens or on the river-banks, weave huts for themselves from the pliant withies of the water-loving shrubs, and make twine and rope for their nets from the riverside grasses. Such are the Kehal, the Mor, the Jhabel. And on giving up eating crocodiles and tortoises and confining themselves to fish, these men are as it were received into society, as is the case with the Kehals. The Jhabels again have advanced a step further, and are a respectable class of boatmen and fishermen. Now the Jhínwar, Kahár, and Máchhi castes are the basket-makers, boatmen, fishermen, and water-carriers, and among the Musalmáns the cooks of the country. Is it not possible that they may be but a step, a long one perhaps, in advance of the Jhabel? I find that in the hills, where Hindu customs have probably preserved their primitive integrity most completely, Bráhmans will drink from the hands of very many people from whose hands they will not eat; and the Sanskrit Scriptures make the fisherman the descendant of a Súdra woman by a Bráhman father. It is stated that the Rámdásia or Sikh Chamárs have taken largely to the occupation of "Kahárs or bearers," though this may not and probably does not include water-carrying. The series of steps is not so close as in the former case; but I think that the suggestion is worthy of further examination.

567. Effect of religion upon occupation.—I have pointed out that with the rise in the social scale, the original religion would be gradually modified so as to bring it more into accord with the religion of the respectable classes. As a fact it is curious how generally the observances, if not the actual religion of these lower menials, follow those of the villagers to whom they are attached. Chúhras and the like will bury their dead in a Musalmán and burn them in a Hindu village, though not recognised by their masters as either Hindu or Musalmán. But it is not uncommonly the case that the open adoption of a definite faith, the substitution of Islám or Sikhism for that half-Hindu half-aboriginal religion which distinguishes most of these outcast classes, is the first step made in their upward struggle; and it is very commonly accompanied by the abandonment of the old occupation for that which stands next higher in the scale. The scavenger on becoming a Musalmán will refuse to remove night soil, and on becoming a Sikh will take to tanning and leather-working. The tanner and leather-worker on becoming a Musalmán will give up tanning, and on taking the Sikh *páhul* will turn his hand to the loom, and so forth. I quote a very interesting note on this subject by Sardár Gurdiál Singh, one of our Native Civilians:—

"Of the Bhagats enumerated in Bhagatmál several were of low castes. They were all reformers of the dark ages of Hindustan. They addressed the people in their vernaculars and did away with the secresy observed by the Brahmanical teachings and removed the barrier in the way of reform presented by the difficulty of the language (Sanskrit) through which the Brahmins taught their system of religion. Among others was Kabír a Juláha, Sadhna a Kasai, Nám Deo a Chhímba, and Ravi Dás a Chamár. Their writings have been quoted in the Adi Granth, the Sikh scriptures. One of the reforms contemplated and partially carried out by Sikhism was the abolition of caste system and opening the study of Theology and the Scriptures (Hindu) to every class, even the Chúhras and Chamárs who were mentioned in Dharm Shastras as having no *adhikár*[1]. Taking advantage of this, some of the lowest classes received Sikh baptism (*pahul*) and became Sikhs. They gave up their mean occupation and took to other means of livelihood. They also changed their name and gave up as much social intercourse with the unconverted members of their tribe as they possibly could. Thus the Chamárs on their conversion to Sikhism took the name of Ravi Dás, the first Bhagat of their tribe, to show that they followed his example. Ravdásia is the correct form of the word. But it was soon confounded with the name of Rám Das, the 4th Sikh Guru, and pronounced Rámdásia[2]. The word is still pronounced as Ravdásia by most of the Sikhs. Similarly Chhímba Sikhs call themselves Námabansis from Nám Deo.

"The Chúbras on becoming Sikhs took the names of Mazhabi (just as that of Díndár on conversion to Islam) and Rangreta. No one of the Rangretas follows the occupation of a Chúhra, but they have been rightly classed with Chúhras. Similarly if the Rámdásias do not follow the occupation of Chamárs, it is no reason to separate them from that caste. So if a Rámdásia is Julaha, that is a weaver, and if he is a 'Bazzaz' that is a draper, his caste remains unchanged. If a Chamár, a leather-worker becomes a Sikh and receives the '*pahul*' to-day, he at once joins the Rámdásias. The Rámdásias do receive the daughters in marriage of ordinary Chamárs, but give them '*pahul*' before associating with them. A Rámdásia would not drink water from the hands of an ordinary Chamár unless he becomes a Sikh. The Mazbi Sikhs also keep themselves aloof from the Chuhras, in exactly the same manner as Rámdásias do from Chamárs."

It is quite true, as the Sardár points out, that the Rámdási is still a Chamár and the Rangreta still a Chúhra. The change has been recent and is still in progress. But how long will they remain so? Their origin is already hotly disputed and often indignantly denied, though the fact of new admissions still taking place puts it beyond the possibility of doubt. But there can be little doubt that they will in time grow into separate castes of a standing superior to those from which they sprang; or more probably perhaps, that they will grow to be included under the generic name of the caste whose hereditary occupation they have adopted, but will form distinct sections of those castes and be known by separate sectional names, even after the tradition of their origin has faded from the memory of the caste. And there can, I think, be as little doubt that some of the sections which now form integral parts of these lower occupational castes would, if we could trace back their history, be found to have been formed in a precisely similar manner. The tradition of inferior origin and status has survived, and the other sections, perhaps themselves derived from the same stock but at a more remote date, will hold no communion with them; but the precise reason for the distinction has been forgotten. The absence of the hereditary theory of occupation among the people of the frontier and its effect by example upon those of the Western Plains, have already been discussed in sections 343 and 348.

568. Growth of sections among the menial castes.—But if these occupational castes are recruited by new sections coming up from below, they also receive additions from above. The weavers especially may be said to form a sort of debateable land between the higher and the lower artisan castes, for a man of decent caste who from poverty or other circumstances sinks in the scale often takes to weaving, though he perhaps rarely falls lower than this. The barber, carpenter, and blacksmith classes have in Sirsa been recruited from the agricultural castes within the memory of the present generation, and it is hardly possible that what has so lately happened there should not have earlier happened elsewhere. When a hitherto uninhabited tract is settled by immigrants of all classes pouring in from all directions, as has

[1] The word *adhikár* means "fitness;" and those castes were said to have no *adhikár* who were not fit to listen to the Hindu Scriptures.

[2] I do not think this is quite correct. The Rabdási or Raidási Chamárs are Hindus, and the Rámdási are Sikhs. But it may be that the Ravdási are analogous with the Nánakpanthi Sikhs who are commonly reckoned as Hindus, while the Rámdási correspond with the Singhi or Govindi Sikhs proper. As the Sardár points out presently, the Rámdásis receive the *páhul*, an institution of Guru Govind; while the Rabdásis do not. (See further section 606 *infra*.)

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

been the case with Sirsa during the last fifty years, the conditions are probably especially favourable to social change. People who have hitherto been separated by distance but who have the same caste name or the same occupation, meet together bringing with them the varying customs and distinctions of the several neighbourhoods whence they came. They do not as a rule fuse together, but remain distinct sections included under a common caste-name, though often reluctant to admit that there is any community of origin or even of caste, and refusing to associate or to intermarry with each other. There is a great demand for agricultural labour and the artisan tends to become a cultivator; old distinctions are sometimes forgotten, and new sections are continually formed. To use technical language, society is more colloid than in older settled tracts where the process of crystallisation, for which rest and quiet are necessary, is more advanced; and diffusion and osmose are correspondingly more easy and more active. But what is now taking place in Sirsa must have taken place elsewhere at some time or other. Almost all the menial and artisan castes are divided into sections which are separate from each other in custom and status; and though in many cases these distinctions are probably based upon geographical distribution and consequent variation of customs, yet in other cases they probably result from the fact that one section has risen and another fallen to its present position.

569. **The higher and hill menials.**—The higher menial classes present, so far as I see, no such continuity of gradation as we find among the outcasts. The Kumhár or potter with his donkey is perhaps the lowest of them, and may not improbably belong by origin and affinity to the classes just discussed. The blacksmith, carpenter, and stonemason class form a very distinct group, as also do the washermen and dyers. The oilman and butcher is perhaps lower than any of them, and it appears that he should rank with the weavers, though I do not know that there is at present any connection between the two classes. The goldsmiths seem to stand alone, and to have descended from above into the artisan classes, probably being by origin akin to the mercantile castes. Among the menials of the hills, on the contrary, the continuity of the whole class now under consideration is almost unbroken. The outcast classes are indeed separate from the higher artisans in the lower hills; but as we penetrate further into the Himálayas we find the scavenger class working as carpenters and blacksmiths, and the whole forming one body which it is almost impossible to separate into sections on any other basis than the present calling of the individual.

570. **The œconomical divisions of the menial classes.**—The second or œconomical basis upon which these menial and artisan castes may be classified will be dismissed with a very few words. The whole group may be broadly divided into three sections, the vagrant classes, the village menials, and the independent artisans. The vagrant classes serve no man and follow no settled calling. The independent artisans work, like the artisans of Europe, by the piece or for daily hire; and in urban communities, as distinct from the village community which is often found living in a town the lands attached to which they hold and cultivate, include all industrial classes and orders. But in the villages there is a very wide distinction between the village menial and the independent artisan. The carpenter, the blacksmith, the potter, the scavenger, the leather-worker, the water-carrier, and in villages where the women are secluded the washerman,—all classes in fact whose services are required in husbandry or daily domestic life,—are paid not by the job, but by customary dues usually consisting of a fixed share of the produce of the fields; and the service they are bound to perform is often measured by kind and not by quantity. Thus the potter has to supply all the earthen vessels, and the leather-worker all the leathern articles that are required by his clients. Those artisans, however, whose services are only occasionally required, such as the weaver, the oilman, and the dyer, are paid by the job; not usually indeed in cash, but either in grain, or by being allowed to retain a fixed proportion of the raw material which their employers provide for them to work upon. The goldsmith occupies in the village a semi-mercantile position, and is a pawnbroker as much as an artisan; while the other crafts are scarcely represented among the rural communities.

571. **The internal organisation of the menial classes.**—The elaborate organisation of the menial and artisan classes, whether based upon the tribal organisation of the agricultural communities whom they serve, or following the type of the trades-guilds proper of the towns, has already been alluded to in sections 352 and 356. The subject is one of which we know little, yet a more accurate knowledge of the details of these two types of organisation could hardly fail to throw much light upon the evolution of caste. Especially would it be interesting to trace the points of similarity and of difference between the respective systems where the occupation is hereditary and partakes of the nature of other castes, and where it is individual and the guild is little more than a voluntary association. The question of how caste and guild rules are reconciled in cases where the guild includes men of many castes, and what happens when they conflict, is also one of considerable interest. That the organisation is singularly complete and the authority wielded by it exceedingly great, is beyond the possibility of doubt; and it is a common observation that disputes between members of these classes rarely come before our courts for adjudication, being almost invariably settled by the administrative body of the caste or guild. This may be a survival from old times, when such courts or officers of justice as existed would probably have declined to be troubled with the disputes of low caste men.

VAGRANT AND CRIMINAL TRIBES.

572. **The wandering and criminal tribes.**—The figures for the wandering and criminal tribes are given in Abstract No. 96 on page 309. This group and that of the gipsy tribes which I shall discuss next are so much akin that it is impossible to draw any definite line of demarcation. I have attempted to include in the former the vagrant, criminal, and hunting tribes, and in the latter those who earn their living by singing, dancing, tumbling, and various kinds of performances. The two together form an exceedingly interesting section of the population, but one regarding which I have been able to obtain singularly little information. They are specially interesting, not only because almost every tribe included in these two groups is probably aboriginal in its ultimate origin, for so much could be said, I believe, of some even of our Jat tribes; but also because they have in a special degree retained their

aboriginal customs and beliefs, and in fact are at the present moment the Panjáb representatives of the indigenous inhabitants of the Province. A complete record of their manners and customs would probably throw much light upon the ethnology of the Panjáb, as it would enable us to discriminate aboriginal from Aryan customs, and thus assist us in determining the stock to which each of those many castes whose origin is so doubtful should be referred.

The tribes under discussion are for the most part outcasts, chiefly because they feed on the fox, jackal, lizard, tortoise, and such like unclean animals. They are, like the scavengers, hereditary workers in grass, straw, reeds, and the like. Many of them appear to use a speech peculiar to themselves, regarding which Dr. Leitner has collected some information, while a sort of glossary has been published by the darogha of the Lahore Central Jail. In some cases this speech appears to be a true language or dialect peculiar to the tribe; in others to be a mere *argot* consisting of the language current in the locality, thinly disguised, but sufficiently so to render it unintelligible to the ordinary listener. A copious glossary of the Rámási or *lingua franca* of the thieving classes is said to have been published in 1855 as Volume I of the "Selections from the Records of the Agra Government." Much information regarding the criminal tribes may be gleaned from the published reports of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department, and especially from Colonel Sleeman's report published in 1849. The wandering tribes included in the group now under discussion have been divided into three classes. The first, including the Ods, the Beldárs, and the Changars are those who have a fixed occupation, though no fixed dwelling-place. The last, which comprises the Mínas and the Hárnis, are not hunters, and are rather criminal than wandering, the families at least usually having fixed abodes, though the men travel about in search of opportunities for theft. The middle group, consisting of the Báwaria, the Aheri, the Thori, the Sánsi, the Pakhíwára, the Jhabel, the Kehal, and the Gágra, are hunters and fishermen living a more or less vagrant life in the jungles and on the river banks; and often, though by no means always, addicted to crime. The distribution of each tribe is noted under its separate head; but the action of the Criminal Tribes Act, which is enforced against a given tribe in some districts but not in others, has probably modified their distribution by inducing them to move from the former to the latter class of the districts. At the end of this section I notice various castes of criminal habits who either have not been distinguished in our tables, or have been treated of elsewhere.

573. The Od and Beldar (Caste Nos. 85 and 129).—These two sets of figures should probably be taken together, as they appear to refer to the same caste. Indeed in several of the divisional offices the two terms have been treated as synonymous. Beldár is properly the name of an occupation merely; it is derived from *bel* a mattock, and it denotes all whose calling it is to work with that instrument. But though the common coolie of the Province will often turn his hand to digging, the Od is the *professional* navvy of the Panjáb; and the word Beldár is seldom applied, at least as a tribal name, to the members of any other caste, though it seems in more common use in the west than in the east, the Od of the west being generally known as Beldár[1].

The Od or Odh is a wandering tribe whose proper home appears to be Western Hindústán and Rájpútána; at least the Ods of the Panjáb usually hail from those parts. They are vagrants, wandering about with their families in search of employment on earthwork. They will not as a rule take petty jobs, but prefer small contracts on roads, canals, railways, and the like, or will build a house of adobe, and dig a tank, or even a well. They settle down in temporary reed huts on the edge of the work; the men dig, the women carry the earth to the donkeys which they always have with them, and the children drive the donkeys to the spoilbank. In the Salt-range Tract they also quarry and carry stone; and in parts of the North-West Provinces they are said to be wandering pedlars. They eat anything and everything, and though not unfrequently Musalmáns, especially in the west, are always outcast. They have a speech of their own called Odki of which I know nothing, but which is very probably nothing more than the ordinary dialect of their place of origin. They wear woollen clothes, or at least one woollen garment. They claim descent from one Bhagírat who vowed never to drink twice out of the same well, and so dug a fresh one every day till one day he dug down and down and never came up again. It is in mourning for him that they wear wool, and in imitation of him they bury their dead even when Hindu, though they marry by the Hindu ceremony. Till the re-appearance of Bhagírat they will, they say, remain outcasts. They are said to claim Rájpút or Kshatriya origin and to come from Márwár. They worship Ráma and Siva (*c.f.* Pushkárna Brahmans. Wilson's *Indian Caste*, Vol. II, pp. 114, 139, 169). They are, for a vagrant tribe, singularly free from all imputation of crime. They are distributed pretty generally throughout the Province, but are most numerous in Lahore and along the lower Indus and Chanáb, and least numerous in the hills and sub-montane districts.

574. The Changar (Caste No. 64).—The Changars are outcasts of probably aboriginal descent, who are most numerous in the Amritsar division, Lahore, Fírozpur, and Farídkot, but especially in Siálkot; and they say that their ancestors came from the Jammu hills. They are originally a vagrant tribe who wander about in search of work; but in the neighbourhood of large cities they are to be found in settled colonies. They will do almost any sort of work, but are largely employed in agriculture, particularly as reapers; while their women are very generally employed in sifting and cleaning grain for the grain-dealers. They are all Musalmáns and marry by *nikáh*, and they say that they were converted by Shams Tabríz of Multán. Their women still wear petticoats and not drawers; but these are blue, not red. They are exceedingly industrious, and not at all given to crime. They have a dialect of their own regarding which, and indeed regarding the tribe generally, Dr. Leitner has published some very interesting information. He says that they call themselves not Changar but Chúbna, and suggests that Changar is derived from *chhánna* to sift. It has been suggested that Changar is another form of Zingari; but Dr. Leitner does not support the suggestion.

[1] Mr. Christie, however, assures me that there are large communities of professional Beldárs who are *not* Ods. They are generally Musalmán in the Punjáb proper and Hindu in the eastern districts; they are not outcasts, have fixed habitations, and work as carriers with their animals when earth-work is not forthcoming. It may be that the Musalmáns returned in our tables belong to this class; as Od and Beldár have been confused.

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

Abstract No. 96, *showing* Wandering and Criminal Tribes *for* Districts and States.

WANDERING AND CRIMINAL TRIBES.

Figures.

	Od.	Beldár.	Changar.	Báwaria.	Aheri.	Thori.	Sánsi.	Pakhíwára.	Jhabel.	Kehal.	Gágra.	Mína.	Hárni.
	85	129	64	71	91	100	72	117	107	161	133	166	159
Dehli	223	...	...	...	88	...	53	...	...	...	...	41	...
Gurgaon	113	...	...	618	529	...	2	...	...	...	...	691	...
Karnal	629	...	...	3	109	...	1,309	...	...	...	49	7	...
Hissar	202	356	...	788	4,487	1,550	179	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rohtak	776	...	13	242	843	3	140	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sirsa	198	...	39	3,335	527	2,841	92	...	987	...	...	28	...
Ambála	84	155	...	...	292	27	905	...	...	...	108	...	...
Ludhiana	101	...	323	265	...	...	1,330	...	...	...	169	...	150
Jalandhar	...	2	4,499	...	...	...	403	52	...	...	49	...	22
Hushyarpur	...	515	164	...	...	...	159	...	200	...	115	...	342
Kángra	47	475	336	...	...	...	18	...	...	...	15	...	...
Amritsar	22	...	4,712	...	...	...	2,853	190	...	...	368	...	...
Gurdáspur	...	...	3,082	...	...	...	1,973	450	546	...	308	...	186
Siálkot	...	173	7,139	...	...	...	1,736	2,441	...	...	421	...	424
Lahore	1,873	791	4,279	2,000	...	1	2,163	29	570	...	426	...	1
Gujránwála	29	...	741	2	...	...	2,887	175	...	...	677	...	...
Firozpur	156	2	1,513	8,130	...	1	492	...	1,876	...	54	...	37
Ráwalpindi	...	376	474	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gujrat	...	279	64	...	...	...	1,090	213	...	...	...	...	...
Shahpur	6	110	63	...	...	...	491	25	...	...	...	...	...
Multan	3,459	38	79	...	...	...	115	727	1,868	232	...	...	...
Jhang	2	...	87	...	...	...	151	...	7	142	...	...	...
Montgomery	706	...	243	...	...	...	436	8	318	123	...	...	...
Muzaffargarh	1,862	79	...	...	...	...	18	...	1,351	723	...	...	...
D. I. Khan	602	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
D. G. Khan	1,352	...	...	...	22	...	...	1	17	23	...	...	...
British Territory	12,470	3,409	28,011	15,394	6,928	4,535	19,035	4,311	7,754	1,243	2,759	768	1,162
Patiala	457	...	84	2,184	3,998	1,579	1,121	...	...	...	46	206	9
Nabha	36	...	13	482	98	...	223	...	...	...	...	124	2
Kapurthala	...	...	614	...	...	...	68	191	137	...	62	...	17
Jind	214	...	8	122	1,983	...	198	...	...	...	...	...	...
Faridkot	470	...	105	3,072	...	...	128	...	23	...	2	...	128
Total Eastern Plains	1,184	...	826	6,121	6,158	1,579	2,032	191	160	...	117	348	176
Bahawalpur	1,973	...	20	509	...	1,408	162	...	149	8	231	...	...
Nahan	...	...	25	...	...	781	7	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bilaspur	...	25	...	...	...	268	32	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bashahr	...	...	...	...	...	572	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Nalagarh	...	15	4	...	...	175	18	...	...	...	3	...	...
Total Hill States	...	40	29	...	...	3,072	80	...	...	...	3	...	...
British Territory	12,470	3,409	28,011	15,394	6,928	4,535	19,035	4,311	7,754	1,243	2,759	768	1,162
Native States	3,157	40	875	6,630	6,158	6,059	2,274	191	309	8	351	348	176
Province	15,627	3,449	28,886	22,024	13,086	10,594	21,309	4,502	8,063	1,251	3,110	1,116	1,338

Proportion per 1,000 of total Population.

	Od.	Beldár.	Changar.	Total.	Báwaria.	Aheri.	Thori.	Sánsi.	Pakhíwára.	Jhabel.	Kehal.	Gágra.	Total.	Mína.	Hárni.	Total.	Grand Total.
	85	129	64		71	91	100	72	117	107	161	133		166	159		
Dehli	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gurgaon	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	1	3
Karnal	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	3
Hissar	...	1	...	1	2	9	3	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	...	...	15
Rohtak	1	...	...	1	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	3
Sirsa	1	...	...	1	13	2	11	...	...	4	...	...	30	...	...	...	31
Ambála	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
Ludhiana	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	3
Jalandhar	...	...	6	6	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	7
Hushyarpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kángra	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Amritsar	...	...	5	5	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	8
Gurdáspur	...	...	4	4	...	...	...	2	1	1	...	...	4	...	...	...	8
Siálkot	...	...	7	7	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	11
Lahore	2	1	5	8	2	...	...	2	...	1	...	...	5	...	...	...	13
Gujránwála	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	1	6	...	...	...	7
Firozpur	...	...	2	2	12	...	...	1	...	3	...	...	16	...	...	...	18
Ráwalpindi	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Gujrat	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	2
Shahpur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
Multan	6	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	1	3	...	...	4	...	...	...	10
Jhang	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Montgomery	2	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	4
Muzaffargarh	6	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	4	2	...	6	...	...	...	12
D. I. Khan	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
D. G. Khan	4	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
British Territory	1	...	1	2	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	4
Patiala	...	...	...	...	1	3	1	1	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	6
Nabha	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	3
Kapurthala	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	4
Jind	1	...	...	1	...	8	...	1	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	10
Faridkot	5	...	1	6	32	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	33	...	1	1	40
Total Eastern Plains	...	...	...	...	2	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	6
Bahawalpur	3	...	...	3	1	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	7
Nahan	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	7
Bilaspur	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	3
Bashahr	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	9
Nalagarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	3
Total Hill States	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	4
British Territory	1	...	1	2	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	4
Native States	1	...	...	1	2	2	2	1	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	8
Province	1	...	1	2	1	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	5

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

575. The Bawaria (Caste No. 71).—The Báwarias are a hunting tribe who take their name from the *báwar* or noose with which they snare wild animals[1]. They set long lines of these nooses in the grass across the jungles; from this line they arrange two rows of scarecrows consisting of bits of rag and the like tied on to the trees and grass; they then drive the jungle, and the frightened deer and other animals, keeping between the lines of scarecrows, cross the line of nooses in which their feet become entangled. In addition to hunting they make articles of grass and straw and reeds and sell them to the villagers. The Báwarias are a vagrant tribe whose proper home appears to be Mewár, Ajmer, and Jodhpur; in the Panjáb they are chiefly found along the middle Satluj valley in Sirsa, Fírozpur, Farídkot, Lahore, and Patiála, though they occur in smaller numbers in Hissár, Rohtak, and Gurgáon, all on the Rájpútána border. They are black in colour and of poor physique.

But though they are primarily vagrants, they have settled down in some parts, and especially in the Fírozpur district are largely employed as field labourers and even cultivate land as tenants. Their skill in tracking also is notorious. They are by no means always, or indeed generally criminal, in this Province at least; and in Lahore and Sirsa seem to be sufficiently inoffensive. But in many parts of the Panjáb, and generally I believe in Rájpútána, they are much addicted to crime. I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. MacCracken, Personal Assistant to the Inspector-General of Police, for the figures of Abstract No. 97 on page 312, which shows the number of each criminal caste registered under the Criminal Tribes Act in each district of the Panjáb. From these figures it appears that the Báwarias are registered as professional criminals only in Fírozpur and Lúdhiána, and that in the former district only a small portion of the caste is so registered. Even where they are criminal they usually confine themselves to petty theft, seldom employing violence. About one-tenth of them are returned as Sikhs, but hardly any as Musalmáns. They eat all wild animals, including the pig and the lizard, and most of them will eat carrion. But it is said that the ordinary Bráhman officiates at their weddings, so that they can hardly be called outcast. They, like most thieving classes, worship Devi, and sacrifice to her goats and buffaloes with the blood of which they mark their foreheads; and they reverence the cow, wear the *choti*, burn their dead, and send the ashes to the Ganges. It is said that the criminal section of the tribe will admit men of other castes to their fraternity on payment. They have a language of their own which is spoken by the women and children as well as by the men. They are said to be divided into three sections: the Bidáwati of Bíkáner who trace their origin to Bidáwar in Jaipur, do not eat carrion, disdain petty theft but delight in crimes of violence, will not steal cows or oxen, and affect a superiority over the rest; the Jangali or Kálkamalia[2] generally found in the Jangaldes of the Sikh States, Fírozpur, and Sirsa, and whose women wear black blankets; and the Káparia who are most numerous in the neighbourhood of Dehli, and are notoriously a criminal tribe. The three sections neither eat together nor intermarry. The Kálkamalia is the only section which are still hunters by profession, the other sections looking down upon that calling. The Káparia are for the most part vagrant; while the Bidáwati live generally in fixed abodes.

576. The Aheri and Thori (Caste Nos. 91 and 100.)—It appears almost certain that, so far as the plains of the Panjáb are concerned, these two sets of figures refer to the same caste and should be taken together. In the hills the men who carry merchandise on pack animals are known as Thoris; and it is probable that the Thoris returned for the Hill States are nothing more than persons who follow this occupation, for it is improbable that the Aheri of Rájpútána should be found in the Simla hills, and the word seems to be applied to anybody who carries on beasts of burden without regard to caste. Still, the Thoris do seem to have a connection with the Banjáras. They are said by Tod to be carriers in the Rájpútána deserts; and the headmen of both Thoris and Banjáras are called Náik. The question needs further examination. It is not at all impossible that the Thoris may be allied to or identical with the lower class of Banjáras, while the Aheris are true hunters. But in the Panjáb plains the two words seem to be used indifferently, and I shall consider them as synonymous for the present. Mr. Wilson says that an Aheri is called Náik as a term of honour, and Thori as a term of contempt.

The Aheris or Heris or Thoris are by heredity hunters and fowlers, and Sir Henry Elliott says that they have proceeded from the Dhánaks, though they do not eat dead carcasses as the Dhánaks do. Their name is said to signify "cowherd," from *her*, a herd of cattle. They are vagrant in their habits, but not unfrequently settle down in villages where they find employment. They catch and eat all sorts of wild animals, pure and impure, and work in reeds and grass. In addition to these occupations they work in the fields, and especially move about in gangs at harvest time in search of employment as reapers; and they cut wood and grass and work as general labourers, and on roads and other earthworks. In Sirsa they occasionally cultivate, while in Karnál they often make saltpetre, and in Rájpútána they are employed as out-door servants, and even as musicians. Their home is Rájpútána, and especially Jodhpur and the prairies of Bíkáner, and they are found in the Panjáb only in the Dehli and Hissár divisions, Jínd, and Patiála. In appearance and physique they resemble the Báwaria just described; but they have no special dialect of their own. A few in the Sikh States are returned as Sikhs; but the remainder are Hindus. They are considered outcasts, and made to live beyond the village ditch. They do not keep donkeys nor eat beef or carrion, and they worship the ordinary village deities, but especially Bábaji of Kohmand in Jodhpur and Khetrpál of Jodhpur. The Chamarwa Bráhmans officiate at their marriages and on like occasions. They burn their dead and send the ashes to the Ganges. Mr. Christie says "What beef is to the Hindu and pork to the Musalmán, horse-flesh is to the Aheri". They have clans with Rájpút names, all of which intermarry one with another. They are said in some parts to be addicted to thieving; but this is not their general character.

[1] The Mahtams hunt with similar nooses; but theirs are made of *múnj* rope, while the Báwaria nooses are made of leather.
[2] Also called Kaldhaballia, from *dhabla* a skirt, the blanket forming a petticoat.

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

577. The Sansi (Caste No. 72).—The Sánsis are the vagrants of the centre of the Panjáb, as the Aheris are of its south-eastern portions. They are most numerous in the Lahore and Amritsar divisions, and are also found in considerable numbers in Lúdhiána, Karnál, and Gújrát. They trace their origin from Márwár and Ajmer where they are still very numerous. They are essentially a wandering tribe, seldom or never settling for long in any one place. They are great hunters, catching and eating all sorts of wild animals, both clean and unclean, and eating carrion. They keep sheep, goats, pigs, and donkeys, work in grass and straw and reeds, and beg; and their women very commonly dance and sing and prostitute themselves. They have some curious connection with the Jat tribes of the Central Panjáb, to most of whom they are the hereditary genealogists or bards; and even in Rájpútána they commonly call themselves *bhart* or "bards." They are said also to act as genealogists to the Dogars of Fírozpur, the Rájpúts of Hushyárpur and Jálandhar, and the Sodhis of Anandpur. About 11 per cent. are returned as Musalmáns and a very few as Sikhs. The rest are Hindus, but they are of course outcasts. A slight sketch of their religion is given in section 296. They trace their descent from one Sáns Mal of Bhartpur whom they still revere as their Guru, and are said to worship his patron saint under the name of Malang Sháh. Their marriage ceremony is peculiar, the bride being covered by a basket on which the bridegroom sits while the nuptial rites are being performed. They are divided into two great tribes, Kálka and Málka, which do not intermarry. They have a dialect peculiar to themselves; and their women are especially depraved.

The Sánsis are the most criminal class in the Panjáb; and it will be seen from Abstract No. 97 on the next page that they are registered under the Act in nine districts. Still though the whole caste is probably open to suspicion of petty pilfering, they are by no means always professional thieves. The Panjáb Government wrote in 1881: "Their habits vary greatly in different localities. A generation ago they "were not considered a criminal class at Lahore, where they kept up the genealogies of the Jat land- "holders and worked as agricultural labourers. In Gurdáspur on the other hand they are notorious as "the worst of criminals." Where they are professional criminals they are determined and fearless, and commit burglary and highway robbery, though their gangs are seldom large. The thieving Sánsis are said to admit any caste to their fraternity on payment except Dhedhs and Mhangs; and the man so admitted becomes to all intents and purposes a Sánsi.

578. The Pakhiwara (Caste No. 117).—The Pakhíwáras are often said to be a branch of the Sánsis, whom they resemble in many respects; but this is more than doubtful. They take their name from the word *pakhi*, which means a "bird," and also a "straw hut," either meaning being appropriate, as the Pakhíwáras live in straw huts and are hunters and fowlers. They are found chiefly in the Amritsar division, Gújrát, and Multán, but especially in Siálkot. They are all Musalmán, but eat vermin and are therefore outcasts[1]. They are by hereditary occupation fowlers and hunters; but they seem to have taken very generally to hawking vegetables about for sale, and in some parts the word Pakhíwára is almost synonymous with *kunjra* or "greengrocer." They are a very criminal tribe, and in Siálkot they are (see Abstract No. 97) registered as such and have been settled by Government in small villages and given land to cultivate. Excepting the persons so settled, the Pakhíwáras are essentially vagrant in their habits.

579. The Jhabel (Caste No. 107).—The Jhabel, or as he is often called Chabel, is said to take his name from *chamb*, the Panjábi for a *jhíl* or marsh[2]. Mr. O'Brien describes the Jhabel in his *Glossary* as "a tribe of fishermen who came originally from Sindh, and still speak pure Sindhi among themselves; "and who are addressed by the title of *Jám*, which is Sindhi for 'Prince.' They are Musalmáns and are "considered orthodox, because they do not, like the Kehals and other fishing tribes, eat turtles and croco- "diles[1]." This refers to the neighbourhood of Multán, where they are a purely fishing and hunting caste of vagrant habits, living on the banks of the river. But they have spread up the Satluj as high as Fírozpur and Lahore, and on the upper parts of the river work chiefly as boatmen, though they still fish and are great hunters. In fact Mr. Wilson says that all the Sirsa Malláhs or boatmen are Jhabels, and it is very probable that many Jhabels have in that district, and perhaps elsewhere, returned themselves as Malláh.

There are small colonies of Jhabels in Hushyárpur, Gurdáspur, and Kapúrthala, who are hunters and fishermen, divers and well-sinkers, and sometimes own a little land. They look upon the calling of boatman as degrading, and will not intermarry with the Jhabels of the Satluj. In Gurdáspur the word is said to include men of any caste who make their living from the fens or swamps; but I doubt the accuracy of this statement. (See also next paragraph under Kehal.)

580. The Kehal or Mor (Caste No. 161).—The Kehals or Mors, for the two appear to be identical and I have joined the figures together, are a vagrant fishing tribe found on the banks of the lower Satluj, Chanáb, and Indus. Mr. O'Brien writes of them in his *Glossary*:—

"They profess Mahomedanism, but eat alligators, turtles and tortoises, which they justify by a text of Imám Sháfi[1]. They "derive their name from *kehara*, Sindhi for lion; but perhaps the Sanskrit *kewada* or 'fisherman' is a more probable derivation."

And in his Settlement Report he writes:—

"The Kehals and Mors are said to be one tribe. In the north of the district they are called Mors, eat crocodiles and "tortoises, and no Mahomedan will associate with them. In the south they do not eat these animals, and are considered good "Mahomedans. The Kehals and Mors live by fishing, but some of them, as well as of the Jhabels, have taken to agriculture, and "are fond of cultivating *samúka*, a grain that is sown in the mud left by the retreating river. These tribes live separately in "villages near the river called Miáni, from *me*, a 'fisherman.' There is an old report in the Deputy Commissioner's office, "which says that these three tribes were cannibals; but modern observation does not confirm this."

The Kehals also catch and eat lizards. It is said that a crocodile can smell a Mor from a long distance,

[1] Mr. Christie says that, of the four great Sunni schools (see section 283), the Hambali are most restricted as to what is lawful to eat, the Hanifi rules follow very closely the Mosaic customs, the Sháfai teach that all animals which inhabit the water are clean, while the Máliki pronounces everything pure, whether on earth or in the water, and excludes only such animals as have been specially declared unclean, as the dog, the pig, and birds that use their talons when feeding. He tells me that all Pakhíwáras belong to the Máliki, and all Jhabels and Malláhs to the Sháfai school.

[2] Another derivation is from *jham*, the dredger used in sinking wells.

Part VI—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

Abstract No. 97, *showing* Classes registered *under the* Criminal Tribes Act *for* Districts.

1	2				3				4				5				6				7				8			
District.	Minas.				Bilochis.				Bawarias.				Harnis.				Sansis.				Pakhiwaras.				Gurmangs.			
	Males.		Females.		Males.		Females.		Males.		Females.		Males.		Females.		Males.		Females.		Males.		Females.		Males.		Females.	
	Adults.	Children.	Adults.	Children.	Adults.	Children.	Adults.	Children.	Adults.	Children.	Adults.	Children.	Adults.	Children.	Adults.	Children.	Adults.	Children.	Adults.	Children.	Adults.	Children.	Adults.	Children.	Adults.	Children.	Adults.	Children.
Gurgáon [1]	301	133	298	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Karnál [2]	...	...	...	...	70	...	52	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	459	...	343	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ámbála [2]	...	...	...	...	408	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lúdhiána [3]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	270	20	256	2	1,048	153	910	148	390	55	310	68	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Firozpur [1, 2]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	893	71	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jálandhar [2]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	38	...	41	...	247	...	232	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hushiárpur [4]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	199	...	194	...	92	...	82	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gurdáspur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	752	...	644	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lahore [2]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	539	362	487	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Siálkot [2]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	711	...	538	...	587	...	426	...	...	...	...	...
Gujránwála [2]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,283	...	1,030	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ráwalpindi [2]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	23	...	20	...
Gújrát [2]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	294	209	257	179	1	4	1	1	...	...	...	...
Total	301	133	298	8	478	...	52	...	1,063	91	256	2	1,285	153	1,145	148	4,767	626	3,923	247	588	4	427	1	23	...	20	...

[1] Under orders of Government, the names of the females have now been removed from the registers.
[2] Children below the age of 12 years are not registered.
[3] Children under 6 years of age are omitted from the registers.
[4] No children have been registered.

and will flee at his approach; and some officers who have come into contact with the tribe tell me that they are inclined to believe the statement, for that they would do the same. Of the 1,251 Kehals entered in the tables, 390 returned themselves as Mor and 861 as Kehal.

581. The Gagra (Caste No. 133).—Gágra is a small caste, for the most part Musalmán and chiefly found in the central districts, who wander about catching and eating vermin. But their hereditary occupation is that of catching, keeping, and applying leeches; and they are often called Jukera, from *jonk*, a "leech." They also make matting and generally work in grass and straw, and in some parts the coarse sacking used for bags for pack animals and similar purposes is said to be made almost entirely by them. The Musalmán Gágras marry by *nikáh*. They seem to fulfil some sort of functions at weddings, and are said to receive fees on those occasions. It is said that they worship Bála Sháh, the Chúhra *Guru*.

582. The Mina (Caste No. 166).—The Mína is, in the Panjáb at least, almost invariably criminal. In Alwar and Jaipur however, which are his home, this does not appear to be the case. Indeed the Jaipur State is said to be "really made up of petty Mína States, now under the chieftaincy of the Kachwáha Rájpúts." In Gurgáon indeed he cultivates land, but this does not prevent his being a professional thief. I extract the following description of the caste from Major Powlett's Gazetteer of Alwar:—

"Minas were formerly the rulers of much of the country now held by the Jaipur Chief. They still hold a good social "position, for Rajputs will eat and drink from their hands, and they are the most trusted guards in the Jaipur State. The "Minas are of two classes, the '*Zamindari*,' or agricultural, and the 'Chaukidari,' or watchmen. The former are excellent "cultivators, and are good, well-behaved people. They form a large portion of the population in Karauli, and are numerous "in Jaipur.

"The 'Chaukidari' Minas, though of the same tribe as the other class, are distinct from it. They consider themselves "soldiers by profession, and so somewhat superior to their agricultural brethren, from whom they take, but do not give, "girls in marriage. Many of the 'Chaukidari' Minas take to agriculture, and, I believe, thereby lose caste to some extent. "These Chaukidari Minas are the famous marauders. They travel in bands, headed by a chosen leader, as far south as "Haidarabad in the Deccan, where they commit daring robberies; and they are the principal class which the Thaggi and "Dacoiti Suppression Department has to act against. In their own villages they are often charitable; and as successful plun-"der has made some rich, they benefit greatly the poor of their neighbourhood, and are consequently popular. But those who "have not the enterprise for distant expeditions, but steal and rob near their own homes, are numerous and are felt to be a great "pest. Some villages pay them highly as Chaukidars to refrain from plundering and to protect the village from others. So "notorious are they as robbers that the late Chief of Alwar, Banni Singh, was afraid lest they should corrupt their agricultural "brethren, and desirous of keeping them apart forbade their marrying, or even smoking or associating with members of the "well-conducted class.

"In April 1863, Major Impey, then Political Agent of Alwar, issued orders placing the Chaukidari Minas under sur-"veillance; and under Major Cadell's direction lists of them have been made out, periodical roll-call enforced in the villages "and absence without leave certificate punished.

"I am not sure that, although speaking generally Minas are divided into Chaukidari and Zamindari, there is any hard and "fast line between the two classes. There is, I believe, an intermediate class, for Maharaja Banni Singh's attempts to keep the two "apart were not very successful.

"There are said to be 32 clans of Minas. Out of 59 Minas apprehended for dacoity by the Dacoity Suppression Department, "I found that the Jeb clan furnished 17, the Kagot 9, the Sira 8, and the Jarwál and Bágri 5 each. The Susáwat was, I believe, "formerly the most powerful clan, and that which held Ajmere."

The Mínas are the boldest of our criminal classes. Their head-quarters, so far as the Panjáb is concerned, are the village of Sháhjahánpur, attached to the Gurgáon district but surrounded on all sides by Rájpútána territory. There they till lately defied our police, and even resisted them with armed force. Their enterprises are on a large scale, and they are always prepared to use violence if necessary. In Márwár they are armed with small bows, which do considerable execution. They travel great distances in gangs of from 12 to 20 men, practising robbery and dacoity even as far as the Deccan. The gangs usually start off immediately after the Díwáli feast, and often remain absent the whole year. They have agents in all the large cities of Rájpútána and the Deccan who give them information, and they are in league with the carrying castes of Márwár. After a successful foray they offer one-tenth of the proceeds at the shrine of Káli Devi. The criminal Mínas are said to inhabit a tract of country about 65 miles long and 40 broad, stretching from Sháhpurah 40 miles north of Jaipur to Guráora in Gurgáon on the Rohtak border, the most noted villages being Koti Putli, Bhairor, and Sháhjahánpur, each of which contains some 500 robbers. Their claim to Rájpút descent is probably well founded, though they are said to spring from an illegitimate son of a Rájpút; and in woman's slang one woman is said to "give Mína" (*mína dena*) to another when she accuses her of illicit intercourse[1]. They practise *karewa* or widow-marriage. They have a dialect of their own; or rather perhaps, a set of slang words and phrases which are common to the criminal classes. In the Panjáb the Mína is almost confined to Gurgáon and the neighbouring portions of the Patiála and Nábha States. They are almost all Hindus and belong to the Chaukidári section and the Kagot clan (see further under Meo, section 478).

583. The Harni (Caste No. 159).—This again is one of the most criminal castes in the Province, and as will be seen from the figures of Abstract No. 97 on page 312, a greater number of them are registered under the Criminal Tribes Act than of any other caste except Sánsi. They are found in the districts lying under the hills from Lúdhiána to Siálkot, and also in Fírozpur and Farídkot. They are said to have been Rájpúts driven from Bhatner by famine, who were employed by the Rai of Raikot in Lúdhiána for purposes of theft and to harass his enemies. They are also said to be Bhíls or Gonds and to have come from the Rájpútána desert. Their chief crimes are burglary and highway robbery, to effect which they travel in gangs, often under the disguise of carriers with pack-oxen. Their women also wander about as pedlars to pilfer and collect information. They are all returned as Musalmán.

584. The Bilochi (Caste No. 18).—The Biloch of the frontier has already been described at pages

[1] This is as I find the fact stated. But the word *mihna* or *mahna* seems to be commonly used in the same sense throughout the Panjáb; and it is very probable that the expression quoted has nothing to do with the name of the Mína caste.

193ff. But there is a small criminal tribe called Bilochi who may be noticed here. They seem to be found chiefly, if not entirely, in Ambála and Karnál, numbering some 1,000 souls in the former and 150 in the latter district, inhabiting the banks of the Saruswati from Pehoa downwards, and infesting the Chǻchra or dense *dhák* jungle of that neighbourhood. Mr. Stone writes :—" During the rainy season the whole country " is inundated for months. Village roads are washed away or concealed under the luxurious growth of " grass, and dense masses of jungle shut in the view on every side. No stranger could possibly penetrate " to the Biloch villages through such a clueless maze without a guide. The only road open to the traveller " is the raised one between Thánesar and Pehoa; the moment he leaves that he is lost. A more suitable " stronghold for a criminal tribe can hardly be imagined." They are almost certainly of true Biloch origin, and still give their tribal names as Rind, Lashári, Jatoi, and Korai. But they are by their habits quite distinct from both the land-owning Biloch and the camel-driver who is so commonly called Biloch simply because he *is* a camel-driver (see section 375.) Abstract No. 97 on page 312 shows the numbers registered as professional criminals. They are described as coarse-looking men of a dark colour, living in a separate quarter, and with nothing to distinguish them from the scavenger caste except a profusion of stolen ornaments and similar property. They say that their ancestors once lived beyond Kasúr in the Lahore district, but were driven out on account of their marauding habits. The men still keep camels and cultivate a little land as their ostensible occupation ; but during a great part of the year they leave the women, who are strictly secluded, at home, and wander about disguised as *faqírs* or as butchers in search of sheep for sale, extending their excursions to great distances and apparently to almost all parts of India. Further information will be found in a very interesting report by Mr. Stone in Panjáb Government Home Proceedings, No. 16 of March 1877.

585. The Bangali.—The word Bangáli is applied to any native of Bengal, and especially to the Bengali Baboo of our offices. The figures given in our tables under Caste No. 168 evidently refer to these men and are not properly caste statistics, the Bengalis of the Panjáb being of various castes, though generally I believe either Bráhmans or Káyaths. But in the Panjáb there is a distinct criminal tribe known as Bangáli, who are said to have emigrated from Hushyárpur to Kángra in which district they are chiefly to be found. They are not registered under the Criminal Tribes Act. None of these people have been returned in our Census tables as Bangáli by caste ; and as they are sometimes said to be a Sánsi clan, and as the word Bangáli seems to be applied in some districts to all Kanjars and in others to all Sipádas or snake-charmers, it is probable that the Kángra Bangális are not a separate caste. I see that in the Dehli division Bangális have been included with Sánsis. Mr. Christie writes: " The Bangális have very probably been " included with Jogis in the returns. There are a vagrant tribe of immigrants from Bengal. They keep " dogs and donkeys and exhibit snakes, eat all sorts of vermin, and have a dialect of their own. Their " women dance, sing, and prostitute themselves. They are not criminals in the ordinary sense, but are in " the habit of kidnapping boys to sell to Hindu mahants (*sic*). The name is also applied generally to " Musalmán jugglers".

586. Other criminal tribes.—The **Tagus** of Karnál and the upper *doáb* of the Ganges and Jamna are admittedly Bráhmans, and have probably returned themselves as such [1]. Tágu is merely used to denote a section of that caste which has taken to picking pockets and petty theft. They steal only by day and seclude their women. They wear the *janeo* or sacred thread. They have lately been declared under the Criminal Tribes Act. They must be distinguished from the Tagas, also a Brahminical tribe of the same parts, who are peaceful agriculturists. It is said that the name is properly Táku, but Tágu is the form in common use.

The Gurmangs are an insignificant class of criminals found in the Ráwalpindi district, where some of them are registered as criminals. They do not appear in our returns, nor can I say under what caste they have returned themselves.

The Kanjars (Caste No. 135) will presently be described in section 590. They appear to be often criminal in their habits, more especially in the neighbourhood of Dehli.

The Dumnas and Chuhras (Caste Nos. 41 and 44).—are described in sections 597 to 600. Many of the Dúmnas of the Jammu hills and the plains immediately below them are professional thieves. Of criminal Chuhrás there *appear* to be two distinct classes, those of the Dehli territory and those of the western sub-montane districts, each of which uses a separate *argot* peculiar to itself.

The Rawals (Caste No. 80)—have been described in section 528, and are often professional criminals. In fact the same may be said of almost every one of the lowest castes, as well as of the vagrant classes next to be discussed.

THE GIPSY TRIBES.

587. The Gipsy tribes.—The gipsy tribes, for which the figures will be found in Abstract No. 98 on the opposite page, are hardly to be distinguished from those whom I called the wandering and criminal tribes. They too are vagrants and outcasts, and they too are hereditary workers in grass, straw, and the like. But I have classed as Gipsies, for want of a better distinction, those tribes who perform in any way, who practise tumbling or rope-dancing, lead about bears and monkeys, and so forth. The gipsy, and apparently all the vagrant tribes, are governed by tribal councils and often appeal to ordeal. A common form of ordeal is that the accused stands in a pond with a pole in his hand. At a given signal he ducks his head ; while another man, honest and true, starts running at a fair pace for a spot 70 paces distant. If the accused can keep under water while the 140 paces there and back are accomplished, he is acquitted. If not, he has to submit to such penalty as the council may impose.

[1] Mr. Christie states, however, that the term Tágu is often used to include Jhínwars, or rather Dhínwars, as well as Bráhmans.

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

Abstract No. 98, *showing the* Gipsy Tribes *for* Districts and States.

	Figures.									Proportion per 1,000 of total Population.								
	98	89	164	135	167	177	121	158	150	98	89	164	135	167	177	121	158	
	Nat.	Bázigar.	Perna.	Kanjar.	Hesi.	Garri.	Qalandari.	Gandhíla.	Baddún.	Nat.	Bázígar.	Perna.	Kanjar.	Hesi.	Garri.	Qalandari.	Gandhíla.	Total.
Dehli	266	1	...	591	...	...	147	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
Gurgaon	629	719	102	692	...	...	1,806	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	3	...	6
Karnál	815	248	...	30	...	...	14	67	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Hissar	576	294	...	1	...	...	30	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Rohtak	106	318	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Sirsa	287	...	28	265	...	...	8	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	2
Ambála	1,990	489	...	114	...	...	6	343	9	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Lúdhiána	161	935	...	...	...	...	2	...	121	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Jálandhar	112	254	...	...	...	...	9	113	339	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hushyárpur	75	...	...	...	18	...	45	14	56	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kangra	360	...	...	...	424	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Amritsar	163	442	...	...	...	...	...	...	164	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gurdáspur	8	160	83	...	...	...	...	...	91	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Siálkot	28	36	...	...	...	685	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
Lahore	...	1,361	147	...	...	...	185	186	339	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Gujránwála	...	930	5	...	...	...	400	8	151	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	2
Firozpur	...	1,188	18	...	...	...	16	...	170	...	2	...	...	...		...	...	2
Ráwalpindi	580	667	17	...	...	...	5	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Jahlam	281	238	8	...	...	...	145	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gújrát	139	68	19	...	...	...	800	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1
Shahpur	320	594	1	...	...	...	16	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Multan	369	130	130	...	...	...	16	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Jhang	276	1	85	...	...	...	122	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
M ntgomery	398	2,349	277	...	...	...	69	55	...	1	6	1	...	...	...	...	...	8
Muzaffargarh	97	72	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
British Territory	**8,190**	**11,504**	**933**	**1,694**	**442**	**685**	**3,841**	**793**	**1,440**	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Patiála	1,052	1,598	45	5	...	...	54	165	26	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Nábha	57	296	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Kapurthala	39	2	38	85	...	...	...	...	270	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Jínd	183	152	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Farídkot	90	124	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Maler Kotla	1	76	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Kalsia	85	53	...	...	...	...	...	18	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Total East. Plains	1,548	2,301	123	90	...	...	54	183	296	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Bahâwalpur	1,919	...	101	1,041	...	...	...	472	...	3	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	6
Total Hill States	83	36	...	47	668	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1
British Territory	**8,190**	**11,504**	**933**	**1,694**	**442**	**685**	**3,841**	**793**	**1,440**	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Native States	**3,550**	**2,337**	**224**	**1,178**	**668**	...	**54**	**656**	**296**	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Province	**11,740**	**13,841**	**1,157**	**2,872**	**1,110**	**685**	**3,895**	**1,449**	**1,736**	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1

588. The Nat and Bazigar (Caste Nos. 98 and 89).—The Nat is the typical gipsy of the Panjáb. It is possible that there may be properly some distinction between the Nat and the Bázígar; but the two words are synonymous in general parlance, and I shall discuss the figures together. In the Lahore division indeed, and in some other districts, the two have not been returned separately. Bázígar is a Persian word meaning "he who does *bázi*," or any sort of game or play, but it is applied only to jugglers and acrobats. Some say that the Bázígar is a tumbler and the Nat a rope-dancer; others that the Bázígar is a juggler as well as an acrobat, while the Nat is only the latter, and it is possible that those who reach the higher ranks of the profession may call themselves by the Persian name; others again say that among the Nats the males only, but among the Bázígars both sexes perform; and this latter distinction is reported from several districts. On the whole it is perhaps more probable that the Nat is the caste to which both classes belong, and Bázígar an occupational term. In the Dehli and Hissár divisions the word used for Bázígar is Bádi, a term which is apparently quite unknown in any other part of the Panjáb except Ambála; and I have classed Bádi and Bázígar together.

The Nats then, with whom I include the Bázígars, are a gipsy tribe of vagrant habits who wander about with their families, settling for a few days or weeks at a time in the vicinity of large villages or towns, and constructing temporary shelters of grass. In addition to practising acrobatic feats and conjuring of a low class, they make articles of grass, straw, and reeds for sale; and in the centre of the Panjáb are said to act as Mírásis, though this is perhaps doubtful. They often practice surgery and physic in a small way, and are not free from the suspicion of sorcery. They are said to be divided into two main classes; those whose males only perform as acrobats, and those whose women, called Kabútri, perform

and prostitute themselves. About three-quarters of their number returned themselves as Hindus, and most of the rest as Musalmáns. They mostly marry by *phera*, and burn the dead; but they are really outcasts, keeping many dogs with which they hunt and eat the vermin of the jungles. They are said especially to reverence the goddess Devi, Guru Teg Bahádur the Guru of the Sikh scavengers, and Hanúmán or the monkey god, the last because of the acrobatic powers of monkeys. They very generally trace their origin from Márwár; and they are found all over the Province except on the frontier, where they are apparently almost unknown. The large numbers returned in Baháwalpur and Montgomery, in the former as Nats and in the latter as Bázígars, is very striking. Their different tribes are governed by a Rája and Ráni, or King and Queen, like the gipsy tribes of Europe. The Musalmán Nats are said to prostitute their unmarried, but not their married women; and when a Nat woman marries, the first child is either given to the grandmother as compensation for the loss of the mother's gains as a prostitute, or is redeemed by payment of R30. But this is perhaps the custom with the Pernas rather than with the Nats (see below). Another, and more probable account is, that the first wife married is one of the tribe, and is kept secluded; after which the Musalmán Nát, who is usually to be found in the towns, will marry as many women as he can procure by purchase from the vagrant tribes or otherwise, and these latter he prostitutes.

589. The Perna (Caste No. 164).—The Pernas are also a vagrant tribe of gipsies, exceedingly similar to the Nats or Bázígars. But there is said to be this great distinction, that the Pernas habitually and professedly prostitute their women, which the Nats do not[1]. The Perna women are said to be jugglers and tumblers, and generally perform their acrobatic feats holding a sword or knife to their throats; but their characteristic occupation is dancing and singing rather than tumbling. The men apparently do not perform, but merely play the drum for the women to dance to. It is not quite clear that the word is anything more than the name of an occupation like Bázígar, for some Pernas are said to be Chúhra by caste. It is possible that they are a true caste, but like many of the vagrant tribes will admit strangers to their fraternity on payment. They are almost all Musalmáns, and are said to marry by *nikáh*. They are said to be divided into two classes, *báratáli* and *teratáli*, from the sort of music to which they dance, *tál* meaning a "beat" in music. If so, the music with thirteen beats in a bar must be worth listening to as a curiosity. They are probably found almost all over the Province except in the frontier districts; but in the Lahore division they have been included with Bázígar, and perhaps the same has happened elsewhere, though my papers do not show it.

590. The Kanjar (Caste No. 135).—I have taken a liberty with these figures which is I think justified by my information. The Kanjar of the Dehli territory, or as he seems to be called in the Ambála division the Jallád, is a wandering tribe very similar to the Perna; and in that part of the country a pimp or prostitute is called Kanchan or by some similar name, and never Kanjar. In the remainder of the Panjáb the word Kanchan is not used, the wandering tribe of Kanjars is apparently not found, and Kanjar is the ordinary word for pimp or prostitute. Thus I found Kanchan and Kanjar (including Jallád) separately returned for the Dehli, Hissár, and Ambála divisions, and Kanjar only for the rest of the Province. Now prostitutes are found all over the Province. Accordingly I classed the Kanchan of the three divisions just named, together with the Kanjar of the remainder of the Panjáb, under the head Kanchan (Caste No. 96), and left only the Kanjar of the Dehli territory under the head we are now discussing. The Kanchans are almost all Musalmáns, while the Kanjars are all Hindus except in Sirsa; and it is probable that the Musalmán Kanjars shown for Sirsa should also have been classed as Kanchan, and that the Hindus shown as Kanchan are really Kanjars.

The Kanjars of the Dehli territory are a vagrant tribe who wander about the country catching and eating jackals, lizards, and the like, making rope and other articles of grass for sale, and curing boils and other diseases. They particularly make the grass brushes used by weavers[2]. They are said to divide their girls into two classes; one they marry themselves, and them they do not prostitute; the other they keep for purposes of prostitution. The Jalláds of Ambála are said to be the descendants of a Kanjar family who were attached to the Dehli Court as executioners, and who, their duty being to flog, mutilate, and execute, were called Jallád or "skinners," from *jild*, "skin." The Kanjars appear to be of a higher status than the Nat, though they are necessarily outcasts. They worship Máta, whom they also call Káli Mái; but whether they refer to Káli Devi or to Sítala does not appear; most probably to the former. They also reverence Gúga Pír. Dehli is said to be the Panjáb head-quarters of the tribe. But the word Kanjar seems to be used in a very loose manner; it is by no means certain that these Kanjars are not merely a Báwaria tribe; and it is just possible that they have received their name from their habit of prostituting their daughters, from the Panjábi word Kanjar. The words Kanjar and Bangáli also seem often to be used as synonymous. A good deal of information regarding the Kanjars will be found in No. X of 1866 of the Selected Cases of the Panjáb Police. In that pamphlet they are called Báwarias. I should probably have done better had I grouped Kanjar with Báwaria, and not with Nat and Perna

591. The Hesi (Caste No. 167).—The Hesi appears to share with the Lohár the distinction of being the only castes recognised among the Buddhists of Spiti, the other classes of that society eating together and intermarrying freely, but excluding these two from social intercourse. The Hesis of Spiti however, or rather the Bedas as they are there called, the two names referring to the same people, do not appear to have returned themselves as of that caste, as all our Hesis are Hindus, whereas all the people of Spiti except two are returned as Buddhists.

[1] Mr. Christie on the other hand, who is a good authority, says that the fact is exactly the reverse of this.

[2] The Kúchband, who make these brushes, are said to be a section of the Kanjars who have given up prostitution, form a separate guild, and will not marry with the other sections of the tribe.

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

The Hesis are the wandering minstrels of the higher Himalayan valleys. "The men play the pipes and kettle-drum, while the women dance and sing and play the tambourine. They are (in Láhul and Spiti) the only class that owns no land. 'The Beda no land and the dog no load' is a proverbial saying." He is called "the 18th caste," or the odd caste which is not required, for no one will eat from the hands of a Hesi. Yet he has his inferiors, for he himself will not eat from the hands of a Lohár or of a Náth, the Kúlu equivalent for Jogi. He is ordinarily a beggar, but sometimes engages in petty trade; and to call a transaction "a Hesi's bargain" is to imply that it is mean and paltry. The Hesi or Hensi, as the word is sometimes spelt, is found in Kángra, Mandi, and Suket. To the figures of Table VIII A should be added 201 Hesis in Suket who were left out by mistake, and are shown under Caste No. 208, Table VIII B.

592. The Garris (Caste No. 177).—The Garris are returned in Siálkot only. They are said to be a poor caste of strolling actors and mountebanks, mostly Hindu, who have their head-quarters in Jammu, but are not unfrequently found in the Baijwát or plain country under the Jammu hills.

593. The Qalandari (Caste No. 121).—The Qalandari is the Kalender of the *Arabian Nights*. He is properly a holy Mahomedan ascetic who abandons the world and wanders about with shaven head and beard. But the word is generally used in the Panjáb for a monkey-man; and I have classed him here instead of with *faqirs*. I believe that some of them have a sort of pretence to a religious character; but their ostensible occupation is that of leading about bears, monkeys, and other performing animals, and they are said, like the Kanjars, to make clay pipe-bowls of superior quality. The numbers returned are small except in Gurgáon, where the figures are suspiciously large[1]; but it is probable that many of these men have returned themselves simply as *faqírs*. The detailed tables of sub-divisions will when published throw light upon the subject.

594. The Baddun (Caste No. 150).—A gipsy tribe of Musalmáns, returned from the centre of the Panjáb, chiefly in the upper valleys of the Satluj and Beás. They, like the Kehals, are followers of Imám Sháfi, and justify by his teaching their habit of eating the crocodile, tortoise, and frog. They are considered outcasts by other Mahomedans. They work in straw, make pipe-bowls, and their women bleed by cupping. They also are said to lead about bears, and occasionally to travel as pedlars. They are said to have three clans, Wáhle, Dhara, and Balare, and to claim Arab origin.

595. The Gandhila (Caste No. 158).—The Gandhílas are a low vagrant tribe, who are said by Elliott to be "a few degrees more respectable than the Báwarias," though I fancy that in the Panjáb their positions are reversed. They wander about bare-headed and bare-footed, beg, work in grass and straw, catch quails, clean and sharpen knives and swords, cut wood, and generally do odd jobs. They are said to eat tortoises and vermin. They also keep donkeys, and even engage in trade in a small way. It is said that in some parts they lead about performing bears; but this I doubt. They have curious traditions which are reported to me from distant parts of the Province, regarding a kingdom which the tribe once possessed, and which they seem inclined to place beyond the Indus. They say they are under a vow not to wear shoes or turbans till their possessions are restored to them.

THE SCAVENGER CASTES.

596. The Scavenger Castes.—Abstract No. 99 on the next page shows the distribution of this class, in which I have included Chúhra, Dhának, and Khatík. The class is numerically and œconomically one of the most important in the Province, for the Chúhras are only exceeded in number by the Jat, Rájpút, and Bráhman, while they occupy a very prominent position among the agricultural labourers of the Panjáb. But socially they are the lowest of the low, even lower perhaps than the vagrant Sánsi and the gipsy Nat, and as a rule can hardly be said to stand even at the foot of the social ladder, though some sections of the clan have mounted the first one or two steps. Their hereditary occupation is scavengering, sweeping the houses and streets, working up, carrying to the fields, and distributing manure, and in cities and in village houses where the women are strictly secluded, removing night soil. They alone of all classes keep those impure animals, pigs and fowls; and they and the leather-workers alone eat the flesh of animals that have died of disease or by natural death. Together with the vagrants and gipsies they are the hereditary workers in grass and reeds, from which they make winnowing pans and other articles used in agriculture; and like them they eat jackals, lizards, tortoises, and pigs. Many of them have abandoned scavengering and taken to leather-work and even to weaving, and by doing so have mounted one or even two steps in the social grades, as in the latter case they pass over the leather-workers. But to secure the full benefit of this change of occupation they must relinquish the habit of eating carrion. Their agricultural functions will be presently described. It is probable that they are essentially of aboriginal origin; but there is little doubt that the aboriginal nucleus has received additions from other sources, of those who have gradually sunk in the scale of occupations or have in any way been degraded to the lowest level. The distribution of the class will be noticed as each of the three castes is discussed. In the hills they are replaced by menials who will be described in the separate section on the menials of those parts.

[1] Mr. Channing suggests that these men may be the *faqirs* of the shrine of Sháh Chokha, a saint much venerated by the Meos; insomuch that the abduction of a married woman from the fair of the saint is held to be allowable, Sháh Chokha being said to have given the woman to the abductor.

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

Abstract No. 99, *showing the* Scavenger Castes.

	Scavenger Class. Figures. 4 Chúhra.	43 Dhának.	87 Khatik.	Proportion per 1,000 of total Population. 4 Chúhra.	43 Dhának.	87 Khatik.	Total.
Dehli	26,067	6,700	1,867	40	11	3	54
Gurgaon	17,783	5,693	1,398	28	9	2	39
Karnál	31,288	3,369	1,093	50	5	2	57
Hissar	12,126	13,529	950	24	27	2	53
Rohtak	19,901	18,692	832	36	34	2	72
Sirsa	16,051	1,491	1,100	63	6	4	73
Ambala	41,755	44	1,200	39	...	1	40
Ludhiána	18,525	...	196	30	...	...	30
Simla	1,845	...	2	43	...	...	43
Jalandhar	31,849	16	697	40	...	1	41
Hushyárpur	17,287	...	570	19	...	1	20
Kángra	896	1	131	1	...	...	1
Amritsar	107,011	...	...	120	...	...	120
Gurdáspur	56,985	...	...	69	...	...	69
Siálkot	78,980	...	93	78	...	...	78
Lahore	99,025	43	242	107	...	...	107
Gujránwála	57,911	...	93	94	...	...	94
Firozpur	68,905	144	389	106	...	1	107
Ráwalpindi	22,046	8	263	27	...	...	27
Jahlam	25,027	4	52	42	...	..	42
Gujrát	38,231	...	444	55	...	1	56
Shahpur	28,297	...	6	67	...	...	67
Multan	29,489	31	18	53	...	...	53
Jhang	20,944	...	2	53	...	...	53
Montgomery	28,857	...	8	68	...	...	68

	Scavenger Class. Figures. 4 Chúhra.	43 Dhának.	87 Khatik.	Proportion per 1,000 of total Population. 4 Chúhra.	43 Dhának.	87 Khatik.	Total.
Muzaffargarh	11,312	...	114	33	...	...	33
Dera Ismail Khan	9,041	2	...	20	...	...	20
Dera Ghazi Khan	4,633	16	6	13	...	...	13
Bannu	5,940	8	1	18	...	...	18
Peshâwar	7,653	79	22	13	...	...	13
Hazara	2,279	...	48	6	...	...	6
Kohát	1,221	2	3	7	...	...	7
British Territory	**939,572**	**49,876**	**11,845**	**50**	**3**	**1**	**54**
Patiála	66,183	5,548	1,254	45	4	1	50
Nábha	10,429	1,378	148	40	5	1	46
Kapurthala	16,334	...	61	65	...	...	65
Jínd	7,006	7,090	315	29	28	1	58
Farídkot	13,369	42	...	138	...	...	138
Maler Kotla	1,465	...	89	21	...	1	22
Kalsia	3,008	...	117	44	...	2	46
Total Eastern Plains	118,667	16,165	2,120	47	6	1	54
Baháwalpur	18,604	...	182	32	...	...	32
Total Hill States	1,896	18	34	2	..	...	2
British Territory	**939,572**	**49,876**	**11,845**	**50**	**3**	**1**	**54**
Native States	**139,167**	**16,183**	**2,336**	**36**	**4**	**1**	**41**
Province	**1,078,739**	**66,059**	**14,181**	**48**	**3**	**1**	**52**

597. The Chuhra (Caste No. 4).—The Chúhra or Bhangi of Hindústán[1] is the sweeper and scavenger *par excellence* of the Panjáb, and is found throughout the Province except in the hills, where he is replaced by other castes presently to be described. He is comparatively rare on the frontier, where he is, I believe, chiefly confined to the towns; and most numerous in the Lahore and Amritsar divisions and Farídkot where much of the agricultural labour is performed by him, as he here fills the position with respect to field-work which is held in the east of the Province by the Chamár. For the frontier, however, the figures of Abstract No. 72 (page 224) must be added, which shows the Chúhras and Kutánas who have returned themselves as Jats. He is one of the village menials proper, who receive a customary share of the produce and perform certain duties. In the east of the Province he sweeps the houses and village, collects the cowdung, pats it into cakes and stacks it, works up the manure, helps with the cattle, and takes them from village to village. News of a death sent to friends is invariably carried by him, and he is the general village messenger (*Lehbar, Baláí, Baláhar, Daura*). He also makes the *chháj* or winnowing pan, and the *sirki* or grass thatch used to cover carts and the like. In the centre of the Province he adds to these functions actual hard work at the plough and in the field. He claims the flesh of such dead animals as do not divide the hoof, the cloven-footed belonging to the Chamár. But his occupations change somewhat with his religion; and here it will be well to show exactly what other entries of our schedules I have included under the head of Chúhra:—

Divisions.	Mazbi.	Rangreta.	Musalli.	Kutána.	Divisions.	Mazbi.	Rangreta.	Musalli.	Kutána.
Dehli	39	—	—	—	Lahore	3,780	—	3,109	—
Hissár	—	—	—	—	Ráwalpindi	1,411	—	84,539	—
Ambála	1,761	245	—	—	Multán	364	—	—	14,297
Jalandhar	1,314	14	70	—	Derajat	—	—	—	6,766
Amritsar	3,758	—	—	—	Peshâwar	305	—	7,171	—

These various names denote nothing more than a change of religion, sometimes accompanied by a change of occupation. Table VIII shows that the Hindu Chúhra, that is to say the Chúhra who follows the original religion of the caste and has been classed by us as Hindu, is found in all the eastern half of the Panjáb plains; but that west of Lahore he hardly exists save in the great cities of Ráwalpindi, Multán, and Peshâwar. His religion is sketched in Part VIII of the Chapter on Religion. I may add that since writing that chapter, I have received traditions from distant parts of the Province which leave little doubt that Bála Sháh, one of the Chúhra *Gurus*, is another name for Bál Mík, a hunter of the Karnál district who was converted by a holy Rishi, and eventually wrote the Rámáyana. The Rishi wished to prescribe penance, but reflected that so vile a man would not be able to say RÁM RAM. So he set him to say

[1] They prefer to call themselves Chúhra, looking upon the term Bhangi as opprobrious.

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

MRA MRA which, if you say it fast enough, comes to much the same thing. Their other *Guru* is Lál Beg; and they still call their priests Lálgurus. They generally marry by *phera* and bury their dead face downwards, though they not unseldom follow in these respects the custom of the villagers whom they serve.

598. The Sikh Chuhra—Mazbi and Rangreta.—The second and third entries in the table of the last paragraph, *viz.*, Mazbi and Rangreta, denote Chúhras who have become Sikhs. Of course a Mazbi will often have been returned as Chúhra by caste and Sikh by religion; and the figures of Table VIII A are the ones to be followed, those given above being intended merely to show how many men returned to me under each of the heads shown I have classed as Chúhras. Sikh Chúhras are almost confined to the districts and states immediately east and south-east of Lahore, which form the centre of Sikhism. Mazbi means nothing more than a member of the scavenger class converted to Sikhism (*see further, page* 154). The Mazbis take the *páhul*, wear their hair long, and abstain from tobacco, and they apparently refuse to touch night-soil, though performing all the other offices hereditary to the Chúhra caste. Their great *Guru* is Teg Bahádur, whose mutilated body was brought back from Dehli by Chúhras who were then and there admitted to the faith as a reward for their devotion. But though good Sikhs so far as religious observance is concerned, the taint of hereditary pollution is upon them; and Sikhs of other castes refuse to associate with them even in religious ceremonies. They often intermarry with the Lál Begi or Hindu Chúhra. They make capital soldiers and some of our regiments are wholly composed of Mazbis. The Rangreta are a class of Mazbi apparently found only in Ambála, Lúdhiána, and the neighbourhood, who consider themselves socially superior to the rest. The origin of their superiority, I am informed, lies in the fact that they were once notorious as highway robbers! But it appears that the Rangretas have very generally abandoned scavengering for leather-work, and this would at once account for their rise in the social scale. In the hills Rangreta is often used as synonymous with Rangrez, or Chhímba, or Lílári to denote the cotton dyer and stamper; and in Sirsa the Sikhs will often call any Chúhra whom they wish to please Rangreta, and a rhyme is current *Rangreta, Guru ká beta*, or "the Rangreta is the son of the Guru."

599. The Musalman Chuhra—Musalli, Kutana, &c.—Almost all the Chúhras west of Lahore are Musalmáns, and they are very commonly called Musalli or Kutána, the two terms being apparently almost synonymous, but Kutána being chiefly used in the south-west and Musalli in the north-west. In Sirsa the converted Chúhra is called Díndár or "faithful" as a term of respect, or Khojah, a eunuch, in satirical allusion to his circumcision, or, as sometimes interpreted, Khoja, one who has found salvation. But it appears that in many parts the Musalmán Chúhra continues to be called Chúhra so long as he eats carrion or removes night-soil, and is only promoted to the title of Musalli on his relinquishing those habits, the Musalli being considered distinctly a higher class than the Chúhra. On the other hand the Musalli of the frontier towns does remove night-soil. On the Pesháwar frontier the Musalli is the grave-digger as well as the sweeper, and is said to be sometimes called Sháhi Khel, though this latter title would seem to be more generally used for Chúhras who have settled on the upper Indus and taken to working in grass and reeds like the Kutánas presently to be described.

Kutána, or as it is more commonly called in the villages Kurtána [1], is the name usually given to a class of Musalmán sweepers who have settled on the bank of the lower Indus, have given up scavengering and eating carrion, and taken to making ropes and working in grass and reeds; though the word is also applied to any Mahomedan sweeper. Some of the Kurtánas even cultivate land on their own account. So long as they do no scavengering the Kurtánas are admitted to religious equality by the other Mahomedans. I think it is not impossible that the Kurtánas of the Indus banks are a distinct caste from the Bhangi and Chúhra of the Eastern Panjáb. The detailed table of clans will doubtless throw light on the point.

600. Divisions of the Chuhras.—The Chúhra divisions are very numerous, but the larger sections returned in our schedules only include about half the total number. Some of the largest are shown in the margin. The greater number of them are evidently named after the dominant tribe whom they or their ancestors served. The Sahotra is far the most widely distributed, and this and the Bhatti and Khokhar are the principal tribes in the Multán and Ráwalpindi divisions. The others seem to be most largely returned from the Lahore and Amritsar divisions. Those who returned themselves as Chùhras and Musallis respectively showed some large tribes, and the above figures include both. The Kurtánas returned no large tribes.

CHUHRA TRIBES.

Tribe	Number	Tribe	Number
Sahotra	79,551	Sindhu	22,895
Gil	77,613	Chhapriband	18,872
Bhatti	44,486	Untwál	18,781
Khokhar	39,751	Kandabári	17,623
Mattu	36,746	Hánsi	13,234
Kháru	26,654	Khosar	13,180
Kaliyána	25,814	Borat	12,535
Ladhar	24,199	Dháríwál	5,617

601. The Dhanak (Caste No. 43).—The Dhának is found only in the Dehli and Hissár divisions and the eastern portion of the Phúlkián States. He is essentially a caste of Hindústán and not of the Panjáb proper. Sir H. Elliott says that they are most numerous in Behar, and that they are fowlers, archers, and watchmen, besides performing other menial service. He says that the Aheri tribe of hunters is an offshoot from the Dhánaks, and Wilson derives the name from the Sanskrit *dhanushka* a bowman. The Panjáb Dhánaks, however, are not hunters, and the only difference between their avocations and those of the Chúhras would appear to be that the Dhánaks, while they will do general scavengering, will not remove night-soil, and that a great deal of weaving is done by them in the villages. Like the Chúhras, they are generally village menials proper, having customary rights and duties. The Chúhras are said to look down upon the Dhánaks; but they are apparently on an equality, as neither will eat the leavings of the other, though each will eat the leavings of all other tribes except Sánsis, not excluding Khatíks. There are practically speaking no Sikh or Musalmán Dhánaks, and their religion would appear to be

[1] There is said to be a respectable agricultural caste of this name in Derah Ismáíl Khán, who must be distinguished from the sweeper Kurtána.

that of the Chúhras, as the only considerable tribe the Dhánaks have returned is Lál Guru, another name for Lál Beg the sweeper Guru. But they are said to burn their dead. They marry by *phera* and no Bráhman will officiate.

602. The Khatik (Caste No. 87).—This also is a caste of Hindústán, and is found in any numbers only in the Jamna zone, Patiála, and Sirsa. But it has apparently followed our troops into the Panjáb, and is found in most of the large cantonments or in their neighbourhood. Many of these latter have adopted the Musalmán religion. They appear to be closely allied to the Pásis, and indeed are sometimes classed as a tribe of that caste. They form a connecting link between the scavengers and the leather-workers, though they occupy a social position distinctly inferior to that of the latter. They are great keepers of pigs and poultry, which a Chamár would not keep. At the same time many of them tan and dye leather, and indeed are not seldom confused with the Chamrang. The Khatík, however, tans only sheep and goat skins (so at least I am informed by some Lahore Khatíks and Chamrangs) using salt and the juice of the Madár (*Calotropis procera*), but no lime; while the Chamrang tans buffalo and ox hides with lime, and does not dye leather. It is probable, however, that Chamrang is more the name of an occupation than of a caste. The Khatík is said sometimes to keep sheep and goats and twist their hair into waistbands for sale; and even occasionally to act as butcher, but this last seems improbable from his low position, unless indeed it be as a pork-butcher. At the same time the information that I have received is very conflicting, and it may be that I have put the Khatík too low, and that he would have better been classed with the leather-workers. So far as I can make out, the fact is that the Khatík of the east is a pig-keeper and the Khatík of the west a tanner, the latter occupying a higher position than the former (see further under Chamrang, section 609). Mr. Christie tells me that the Hindu Khatík pig-keeper is a Púrbi immigrant; while the Musalmán Khatík tanner of the Panjáb proper is nothing more than a Chamár who has adopted Islám and given up working in cowhide.

THE LEATHER-WORKERS AND WEAVERS.

603. The leather-workers and weavers.—Next above the scavenger classes in social standing come the workers in leather, and above them again the weavers. Abstract No. 100 on the opposite page gives the distribution of both groups. I have taken them together; for though there is a wide distinction between the typical leather-worker or Chamár and the typical weaver or Juláha, yet they are connected by certain sections of the leather-working classes who have taken to weaving and thus risen in the social scale, just as we found in the case of some of the scavengering classes. It is probable that our figures for Chamár and Mochi really refer to the same caste, while Chamrang and Dabgar are perhaps merely names of occupations. The group forms an exceedingly large proportion of the population in the eastern districts and States and under the hills, where the Chamár is the field-labourer of the villages. But in the central districts his place in this respect is taken, as already remarked, by the Chúhra. In the west, too, the leather-worker, like all other occupational castes, is much less numerous than in the east. The weaver class, on the other hand, is naturally least numerous in the eastern districts where much of the weaving is done by the leather-working castes.

604. The Chamar (Caste No. 5.)—The Chamár is the tanner and leather-worker of North-Western India, and in the western parts of the Panjáb he is called Mochi whenever he is, as he generally is, a Musalmán, the caste being one and the same. The name Chamár is derived from the Sanskrit *Charmakára* or "worker in hides." But in the east of the Province he is far more than a leather-worker. He is the general coolie and field labourer of the villages; and a Chamár, if asked his caste by an Englishman at any rate, will answer "Coolie" as often as "Chamár"[1]. They do all the *begár*, or such work as cutting grass, carrying wood and bundles, acting as watchmen, and the like; and they plaster the houses with mud when they need it. They take the hides of all dead cattle and the flesh of all cloven-footed animals, that of such as do not divide the hoof going to Chúhras. They make and mend shoes, thongs for the cart, and whips and other leather work; and above all they do an immense deal of hard work in the fields, each family supplying each cultivating association with the continuous labour of a certain number of hands. All this they do as village menials, receiving fixed customary dues in the shape of a share of the produce of the fields. In the east and south-east of the Panjáb the village Chamárs also do a great deal of weaving, which however is paid for separately. The Chamárs stand far above the Chúhras in social position, and some of their tribes are almost accepted as Hindus. Their religion is sketched in section 294. They are generally dark in colour, and are almost certainly of aboriginal origin, though here again their numbers have perhaps been swollen by members of other and higher castes who have fallen or been degraded. The people say: "Do not cross the "ferry with a black Bráhman or a fair Chamár," one being as unusual as the other. Their women are celebrated for beauty, and loss of caste is often attributed to too great partiality for a Chamárni. Sherring has a long disquisition on the Chamár caste, which appears to be much more extensive and to include much more varied tribes in Hindústán than in the Panjáb.

Rahtia	572	Bilái	423
Búnia	512	Dhed	242

605. Miscellaneous entries classed as Chamars.—Under the head Chamár I have included the schedule entries shown in the margin.

The **Dhed** appears to be a separate caste in the Central Provinces, though closely allied with the Chamár. But in the Panjáb, as also I understand in the Central Provinces, the word is often used for any "low fellow," and is especially applied to a Chamár.

[1] Why is a Chamár always addressed with "Oh Chamár ke" instead of "Oh Chamár," as any other caste would be?

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

Abstract No. 100, *showing* Castes of Leather-workers and Weavers.

	LEATHER-WORKERS AND WEAVERS.															
	FIGURES.							PROPORTION PER 1,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.								
	5	19	113	169	9	73	170	5	19	113		9	73	170		
	Chamár.	Mochi.	Chamrang.	Dabgar.	Juláha.	Gadaria.	Kanera.	Chamár.	Mochi.	Chamrang.	TOTAL.	Juláha.	Gadaria.	Kanera.	TOTAL.	GRAND TOTAL.
Dehli	63,407	128	...	27	6,673	2,457	...	98	...	...	98	10	4	...	14	112
Gurgaon	71,504	51	...	...	2,339	4,424	...	111	...	...	111	4	7	...	11	122
Karnál	54,067	197	...	20	9,090	3,725	...	87	...	...	87	15	6	...	21	108
Hissar	49,269	782	...	98	1,265	1	...	98	1	...	99	3	...	...	3	102
Rohtak	50,081	106	...	...	1,275	3	...	90	...	...	90	2	...	...	2	92
Sirsa	18,022	3,073	...	57	2,817	...	...	71	12	...	83	11	...	...	11	94
Ambála	140,751	932	...	...	24,931	6,671	...	131	1	...	132	23	6	...	29	161
Ludhiána	59,655	8,171	...	...	14,728	29	...	96	13	...	109	24	...	...	24	133
Simla	3,384	174	...	...	700	242	...	79	4	...	83	16	6	...	22	105
Jálandhar	79,155	16,517	...	4	15,790	58	...	100	21	...	121	20	...	...	20	141
Hushyárpur	100,207	14,726	...	6	20,841	...	...	111	16	...	127	23	...	...	23	150
Kángra	51,679	151	...	1	28,129	...	...	71	...	...	71	38	...	...	38	109
Amritsar	1,049	24,311	338	8	41,598	...	...	1	27	...	28	47	...	...	47	75
Gurdáspur	20,972	14,716	806	10	40,456	...	...	25	18	1	44	49	...	...	49	93
Siálkot	8,076	15,003	2,602	...	27,140	39	...	8	15	3	26	27	...	...	27	53
Lahore	4,775	18,527	15	115	35,742	276	...	5	20	...	25	39	...	...	39	64
Gujránwála	183	22,260	...	90	26,230	6	...	...	36	...	36	43	...	...	43	79
Firozpur	13,501	18,386	180	36	20,434	312	17	21	28	...	49	31	...	...	31	80
Ráwalpindi	2,069	20,385	2	...	37,061	203	...	3	25	...	28	45	...	...	45	73
Jahlam	294	21,844	...	23	28,620	22	...	...	37	...	37	49	...	...	49	86
Gújrát	440	32,461	...	107	23,870	...	...	1	47	...	48	35	...	...	35	83
Shahpur	16	15,314	...	38	22,472	4	...	...	36	...	36	53	...	...	53	89
Multan	1,946	16,596	155	69	23,753	91	109	4	30	...	34	43	...	...	43	77
Jhang	34	14,132	...	36	24,176	7	...	...	36	...	36	61	...	...	61	97
Montgomery	256	14,118	...	68	20,454	...	...	1	33	...	34	48	...	...	48	82
Muzaffargarh	78	11,103	...	...	13,625	...	346	...	33	...	33	40	...	1	41	74
Derah Ismail Khan	4	4,903	...	22	5,673	...	106	...	11	...	11	13	...	...	13	24
Derah Ghazi Khan	3	1,013	...	...	726	9	13	...	3	...	3	2	...	...	2	5
Bannu	...	3,890	...	...	3,357	5	421	...	12	...	12	10	...	1	11	23
Peshâwar	4,156	3,263	111	...	15,372	98	...	7	6	...	13	26	...	...	26	39
Hazara	2,292	4,285	...	...	11,885	...	...	6	10	...	16	29	...	...	29	45
Kohát	652	1,349	...	...	1,781	10	...	4	7	...	11	10	...	...	10	21
British Territory	801,995	322,873	4,209	835	552,944	18,693	1,012	42	17	...	59	29	1	...	30	8
Patiála	143,093	3,227	752	30	19,910	964	5	97	2	1	100	14	1	...	15	115
Nábha	24,817	922	...	...	4,694	2	...	95	3	...	98	18	...	...	18	116
Kapurthala	10,061	6,302	...	9	7,399	...	...	40	25	...	65	29	...	...	29	94
Jínd	22,242	145	...	15	1,160	112	...	89	1	...	90	5	...	...	5	95
Farídkot	2,065	2,441	...	...	2,661	...	...	21	25	...	46	27	...	...	27	73
Maler Kotla	7,282	181	...	...	1,682	...	...	102	3	...	105	24	...	...	24	129
Kalsia	9,508	165	...	...	3,141	636	...	140	2	...	142	46	9	...	55	197
Total Eastern Plains	223,972	13,388	752	63	40,735	1,714	5	89	5	...	94	16	1	...	17	111
Baháwalpur	5,383	12,830	...	141	17,397	...	...	9	22	...	31	30	...	...	30	61
Mandi	8,178	2	...	...	3,575	...	...	56	...	...	56	24	...	...	24	80
Chamba	4,799	65	...	...	2,266	...	...	41	1	...	42	20	...	...	20	62
Nahan	4,354	1	67	...	592	75	...	39	...	1	40	5	1	...	6	46
Biláspur	8,275	...	...	...	4,750	...	...	96	...	...	96	55	...	...	55	151
Nálagarh	5,753	26	...	...	664	1	...	108	...	...	108	12	...	...	12	120
Suket	2,498	...	...	...	909	...	...	48	...	...	48	17	...	...	17	65
Total Hill States	41,349	181	67	...	13,236	93	...	54	...	...	54	17	...	...	17	71
British Territory	801,995	322,873	4,209	835	552,944	18,693	1,012	42	17	...	59	29	1	...	30	89
Native States	270,704	26,399	819	204	71,368	1,807	5	70	7	...	77	19	...	...	19	96
Province	1,072,699	349,272	5,028	1,039	624,312	20,500	1,017	47	15	...	62	28	1	...	29	91

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

The **Bunia** appears only in the Lúdhiána district, and is applied to a Sikh Chamár who has given up leather-work and taken to weaving, and accordingly stands in a higher rank than the leather-worker.

The **Bilai** is apparently the village messenger of the Dehli division. He is at least as often a Chúhra as a Chamár, and might perhaps better have been classed with the former. But there is a Chamár clan of that name who work chiefly as grooms.

The **Dosad** is a Púrbi tribe of Chamárs, and has apparently come into the Panjáb with the troops, being returned only in Dehli, Lahore, and Ambála.

The **Rahtia** is said by several of my informants to be a Sikh Chamár who, like the Búnia, has taken to weaving; but unfortunately part of my Rahtias are Musalmán. In Sirsa the word seems to be applied to the members of any low caste, such as Chamár or Chúhra[1].

606. The Sikh Chamar or Ramdasia.—It will be seen from Table VIII A that in the north and centre of the Eastern Plains a very considerable number of Chamárs have embraced the Sikh religion. These men are called Rámdásia after Guru Rám Dás, though what connection they have with him I have been unable to discover. Perhaps he was the first Guru to admit Chamárs to the religion. Many, perhaps most of the Rámdási Chamárs have abandoned leather-work for the loom; they do not eat carrion, and they occupy a much higher position than the Hindu Chamárs, though they are not admitted to religious equality by the other Sikhs. The Rámdási are often confused with the Raidási or Rabdási Chamárs. The former are true Sikhs, and take the *páhul*. The latter are Hindus, or if Sikhs, only Nánakpanthi Sikhs and do not take the *páhul;* and are followers of Bhagat Rav Dás or Rab Dás, himself a Chamár. They are apparently as true Hindus as any Chamárs can be, and are wrongly called Sikhs by confusion with the Ramdásias. (See further, paragraph 608.)

607. The Musalman Chamar or Mochi (Caste No. 19).—The word Mochi is properly the name of an occupation, and signifies the worker in tanned leather as distinguished from the tanner. The Mochi not only makes leather articles, but he alone grains leather and gives it a surface colour or stain, as distinguished from a colour dyed throughout. In the east of the Panjáb the name is usually applied only to the more skilled workmen of the towns. In the west however it is simply used to designate a Musalmán Chamár; and the Mochi there is what the Chamár is in the east and belongs to the same caste, though his change of religion improves, though only slightly, his social position. He does not ordinarily weave, though in Hushyárpur the majority of the Mochis are said to be weavers, and he is not admitted to religious or social communion by the other Musalmáns. In the west of the Panjáb, however, the Chamár or Mochi no longer occupies that important position as an agricultural labourer that he does in the east. In the west he is merely a tanner and leather-worker, and his numbers are proportionally less than when a large part of the field-work is done by him. Moreover, he no longer renders menial service; and it may be that his improved social position is partly due to this fact. Mr. Christie indeed, says that so soon as a Chamár, whether Hindu or Musalmán, abandons menial offices and confines himself to working in leather, he rises in the social scale and assumes the more respectable name of Mochi. The Mochi is proverbially unpunctual in rendering service, and there is a saying, "The Mochi's to-morrow never comes." To the figures for Mochis must be added those who are shown in Abstract No. 72 (page 224) as having returned themselves as Jats.

608. Divisions of Chamars and Mochis.—The tribes of the Chamár caste are innumerable, and some of them very large. It does not seem worth while to give any tabular statement, as to include anything like even half the total number a very long list would have to be shown. But it is worth while comparing the figures for Chamárs and Mochis for a few of the largest tribes. This is done in the margin. Only the first seven tribes are found in any numbers among the Chamárs of the Dehli and Hissár divisions. Nos. 4 and 7 are the principal ones of the Ambála division; while these two last, together with Nos. 8 to 18, are found in the Jálandhar division. Among the Mochis the Bhatti and Chauhán tribes are the most numerous.

Tribe.	Chamar and Muchi tribes.	
	Chamars.	Mochis.
1. Jatia	53,088	...
2. Raidási	61,616	...
3. Chándar	32,061	...
4. Chauhán	21,390	12,188
5. Chámar	7,893	...
6. Golia	1,178	...
7. Bhatti	16,286	40,286
8. Mahmi	7,340	819
9. Phúndwál	5,328	...
10. Jál	8,326	3,137
11. Batoi	19,096	...
12. Badhan	13,753	1,167
13. Sindhu	13,889	3,426
14. Hír	12,860	767
15. Bains	6,591	442
16. Ghameri	2,715	...
17. Rámdásia	28,634	...
18. Bhuti	648	2,770
19. Kathána	...	3,585

It is obvious that many of these tribal names are merely taken from the dominant race in whose service the tribe was formed. Rámdásia is of course a religious and not a tribal division; and doubtless many of the sub-divisions returned are merely clans, and included in the larger tribes. This last point will be shown in the detailed tables. But it appears that the Chamárs of the Eastern Panjáb may be broadly divided into five great sections, the Jatia, the Raidási, the Chámar, the Chándar, and the Golia or Raigar, no one of which intermarries with the others. The Jatia are found in greatest numbers about the neighbourhood of Dehli and Gurgáon. They work in horse and camel hides, which are an abomination to the Chándar, probably as having the foot uncloven; and are perhaps named from the word *Jat* (hard *t*), a camel-grazier. On the other hand, they are said to obtain the services of Gaur Bráhmans, which would put them above all other Chamárs, who have to be content with the ministrations of the outcast Chamarwa Bráhman. The Raidási or Rabdási Chamárs are named after Rai Dás Bhagat, himself a Chamár, a contemporary of Kabír, and like him a disciple of Rámánand. They are the prevalent tribe in Karnál and the neighbourhood. The Golia is the lowest of all the sections; and indeed the word Golia is the name of a section of many of the menial castes in the Eastern Panjáb, and in almost all cases carries with it an inferior standing in the caste. The Chámar comes between the Jatia and the Golia, and is the prevalent tribe further west, about Jálandhar and Lúdhiána. The Chándar is the highest of all, and is said in Dehli to trace its origin from Benares, probably from some association with Kabír. It is the principal section in Hissár and Sirsa. They do not tan, leaving that to the Chamrangs and Khatíks, and working only in ready prepared leather. There are doubtles simila tribal distinctions among the Chamárs of the central districts; but I have no information regarding them.

609. The Chamrang (Caste No. 113).—Chamrang is probably a purely occupational term, Chamrangs being Chamárs by caste. The figures of Table VIII A however would seem to show that Chamrang and Khatík have been confused in our returns, Chamrang being returned in largest numbers for the Amritsar division, for which no Khatíks are shown. The Chamrang does not stain or dye leather, but only tans it,

[1] So I am told. Mr. Wilson, however, says that he has never heard the word used.

rangna, as applied to leather, meaning nothing more than to "tan." He tans ox and buffalo hides only, and does not work in the leather which he tans. (See further Khatík, section 602.)

610. The Dabgar (Caste No. 169).—The Dabgar is the man who makes the raw hide jars in which oil and *ghi* are carried and stored. He is said to be a separate caste in the North-West Provinces; but the word implies, at least in many parts of the Province, nothing more than an occupation which, in Siálkot, is followed chiefly by Khojahs, Chamrangs, and Chúhras.

611. The Koli of the plains (Caste No. 66).—The Koli of the hills will be discussed when the hill menials are treated of; but the figures include a certain number of people who probably belong to a wholly different caste from them. The former are probably of true Kolian origin; while the latter, that is to say all those returned as Kolis for the Dehli and Hissár divisions, belong in all probability to the great Kori or Koli tribe of Chamárs, the head-quarters of which is in Oudh, and whose usual occupation is weaving. These men are commonly classed with Chamárs in the districts in which they are found, but are distinguished from the indigenous Chamárs by the fact of their weaving only, and doing no leather-work. Indeed they are commonly known as Chamar-Juláhas. Mr. Benton says: "The Chamar-Juláhas have no "share in the village skins, and do no menial service; but they would be very glad to be entered among "the village Chamárs, who have anticipated them and driven them to weaving as an occupation." I very much doubt whether this is generally true. As a rule the substitution of weaving for leather-work is made voluntarily, and denotes a distinct rise in the social scale. The Karnál Kolis do not obtain the services of Bráhmans. (See further Koli, section 657, and Kori, section 663.)

612. The Julaha and Paoli (Caste No. 9).—The weavers proper, of which the Juláha as he is called in the east and the Páoli as he is called in the villages of the west is the type, are an exceedingly numerous and important artisan class, more especially in the western districts where no weaving is done by the leather-working or scavenger castes. It is very possible that the Juláha is of aboriginal extraction. Indeed Mr. Wilson, who has had while making the settlement of the Sirsa district unequalled opportunities of comparing different sections of the people, is of opinion that the Juláhas and Chamárs are probably the same by origin, the distinction between them having arisen from divergence of occupation. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that the present position of the two is widely dissimilar. The Juláha does not work in impure leather, he eats no carrion, he touches no carcases, and he is recognised by both Hindu and Musalmán as a fellow believer and admitted to religious equality. In a word, the Chamár is a menial, the Juláha an artisan. The real fact seems to be that the word Juláha, which is a pure Persian word, the equivalent Hindi term being Tánti, is the name of the highest occupation ordinarily open to the outcast section of the community. Thus we find Koli-Juláhas, Chamar-Juláhas, Mochi-Juláhas, Rámdási-Juláhas, and so forth; and it is probable that after a few generations these men drop the prefix which denotes their low origin, and become Juláhas pure and simple.

The Juláha proper is scantily represented in the Dehli and Hissár divisions, where his place is taken by the Koli or Chamar-Juláha and Dhának; and is hardly known in the Deraját, where probably the Jat does most of the weaving. (See also figures of Abstract No. 72, page 224). In the rest of the Province he constitutes some 3 to 4 per cent. of the total population. He is generally Hindu in Kángra and Dehli, and often Hindu in Karnál, Ambála, and Hushyárpur; but on the whole some 92 per cent. of the Juláhas are Musalmán. The Sikhs are few in number.

The Juláha confines himself, I believe, wholly to weaving. He is not a true village menial, being paid by the piece and not by customary dues. He is perhaps the most troublesome of the artisan classes. Like the shoe-maker of Europe, he follows a wholly sedentary occupation, and in the towns at least is one of the most turbulent classes of the community. There is a proverbial saying: "How should a "weaver be patient?" Indeed the contrast between the low social standing and the obtrusive pretentiousness of the class is often used to point a proverb: "A weaver by trade, and his name is Fatah Khán "'(victorious chief).'" "Lord preserve us! The weaver is going out hunting!" "Himself a weaver, and "he has a Saiyad for his servant!" "What! Patháns the bond servants of weavers!" and so forth.

613. Divisions of Julahas.—The Juláha sub-divisions are exceedingly numerous, but the names of most of the larger ones are taken from dominant land-owning tribes. I note some of the largest in the margin. The Bhattis are very widely distributed; the Khokhars are chiefly found west of Lahore: the Janjúas and Awáns in the Ráwalpindi division, the Sindhus in the Amritsar and Lahore divisions, and the Jaryáls in Kángra. The Kabírbansi are returned for Ambála and Kángra, and apparently this word has become a true tribal name and now includes Musalmán Juláhas. It is derived from the great Bhagat Kabír of Benares who was himself a Juláha, and whose teaching most of the Hindu Juláhas profess to follow. The eastern Juláhas are said to be divided into two great sections, Deawále, or those of the country, and Tel, the latter being supposed to be descended from a Juláha who married a Toli woman. The latter are socially inferior to the former. In the Jamna districts there are also a Gangapuri (? Gangapári) and a Multáni section, the former being found only in the Jamna valley and the latter on the borders of the Málwa. The weaver appears to be called Golah in Peshawar and Kásbi in Hazára.

JULAHA DIVISIONS.

1. Bhatti	50,558
2. Khokhar	33,672
3. Janjúa	22,150
4. Sindhu	18,724
5. Kabírbansi	11,222
6. Awán	8,832
7. Jaryál	5,984

614. The Gadaria (Caste No. 73).—The Gadaria is the shepherd and goatherd of Hindústán, and is almost confined to the Jamna zone of the Panjáb. But even in that part of the Province he has almost ceased to be distinctively a shepherd, as the cultivating classes themselves often pasture their own flocks, and has become rather a blanket weaver, being indeed as often called Kambalia as Gadaria. The Gadarias are Hindu almost without exception.

615. The Kanera (Caste No. 170).—A small Mahomedan caste, found only on the lower courses of the Satluj, Chanáb, and Indus. They must be distinguished from the Kandera or Penja of Dehli. They are a river tribe, and their original occupation was plaiting mats from grass and leaves, making string, and generally working in grass and reeds; but they have now taken to weaving generally, and even cultivate land. They are a low caste, slightly but only slightly superior in standing and habits to the other grass-workers and tribes of the river banks. "A Kaneri by caste, and her name is Ghulám Fátimah, and she is an associate of the gentlemen of the desert (wild-pigs.)!"

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

WATERMEN, BOATMEN, AND COOKS.

616. Watermen, boatmen, and cooks.—Abstract No. 101 below gives the figures for this great group, in which I have included the Jhínwar, the Máchhi, the Bhatyára, the Bharbhúnja, and the Malláh. It is generally believed that all these men are of the same caste, Kahár being their usual name in the North-West Provinces, Jhínwar in the east of the Panjáb where they are for the most part Hindu, and Máchhi in the west of the Province where they are mostly Musalmán. Being essentially fishermen and watermen, they are most numerous in proportion to total population in the western and central districts which are traversed by the great Panjáb rivers, where too they assist largely in agricultural labour, besides finding more extensive occupation as cooks among a Musalmán population with no prejudices against eating food prepared by others. On the frontier proper, like most of the occupational castes, they are few in number. In the Eastern Plains and hills these people are returned as Jhínwars; west of Lahore as Máchhis. They are one of the pleasantest and most willing of the menial classes, and the Bhíshti is proverbially a good servant. Bhatyára, Bharbhúnja, and Malláh are names of occupations merely, but of occupations which are followed almost if not quite exclusively by the Jhínwar caste.

Abstract No. 101, *showing* Castes of Watermen *for* Districts and States.

	WATER-CARRIERS, BOATMEN AND COOKS.											
	FIGURES.					PROPORTION PER 1,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.						
	15	28	92	108	42	15	28	92	108	42		
	Jhínwar.	Máchhi.	Bhatyára.	Bharbhúnja.	Malláh.	Jhínwar.	Máchhi.	Bhatyára.	Bharbhúnja.	Malláh.	TOTAL.	
Dehli	14,487	1	519	1,223	740	22	...	1	2	1	26	Dehli
Gurgaon	10,223	70	1,120	1,047	1,385	16	...	2	2	2	22	Gurgaon
Karnál	31,200	...	405	1,257	1,277	50	...	1	2	2	55	Karnál
Hissar	4,144	384	127	248	116	8	1	...	...	...	9	Hissar
Rohtak	9,878	9	365	1,029	3	18	...	1	2	...	21	Rohtak
Sirsa	898	2,839	5	24	58	4	11	...	...	...	15	Sirsa
Ambala	47,104	31	648	1,102	1,009	44	...	1	1	1	47	Ambala
Ludhiána	15,834	23	132	75	453	26	...	...	...	1	27	Ludhiána
Simla	337	...	...	8	8	8	...	...	...	1	9	Simla
Jalandhar	24,717	996	...	64	1,212	31	1	...	...	2	34	Jalandhar
Hushyárpur	22,168	224	...	20	1,399	25	1	...	...	2	28	Hushyárpur
Kangra	10,500	...	...	...	2,661	14	...	...	...	4	18	Kangra
Amritsar	45,360	...	[illegible]	...	2,304	51	...	...	...	3	54	Amritsar
Gurdáspur	34,300	...	...	...	2,925	42	...	...	...	4	46	Gurdáspur
Siálkot	35,314	...	...	...	1,831	35	...	...	...	2	37	Siálkot
Lahore	20,941	24,747	103	172	2,398	23	27	...	...	3	53	Lahore
Gujranwala	4,958	17,091	8	15	970	8	28	...	...	1	37	Gujranwala
Firozpur	9,945	13,935	...	93	1,209	15	22	...	...	2	39	Firozpur
Ráwalpindi	8,632	120	...	...	994	11	...	...	...	1	12	Ráwalpindi
Jahlam	3,413	6,129	...	18	2,145	6	6	...	...	4	16	Jahlam
Gujrát	5,131	14,942	...	...	549	7	22	...	...	1	30	Gujrát
Shahpur	187	11,156	...	...	1,278	...	26	...	...	3	29	Shahpur
Multan	303	9,610	1,964	32	6,011	1	17	4	...	11	33	Multan
Jhang	37	9,517	100	...	3,066	...	24	...	...	8	32	Jhang
Montgomery	126	22,059	...	2	199	...	52	...	...	...	52	Montgomery
Muzaffargarh	19	3,250	2,354	...	7,976	...	10	7	...	24	41	Muzaffargarh
Dera Ismail Khan	362	3,495	...	...	3,176	1	8	...	...	7	16	Dera Ismail Khan
Dera Ghazi Khan	438	411	157	...	1,101	1	1	...	...	3	5	Dera Ghazi Khan
Bannu	339	2,929	...	...	1,546	1	9	...	...	5	15	Bannu
Peshávar	3,956	104	...	...	1,024	1	...	...	...	2	3	Peshávar
Hazara	1,328	...	...	...	532	3	...	...	...	1	4	Hazara
Kohát	1,080	49	...	...	59	6	...	...	...	...	6	Kohát
British Territory	**368,004**	**144,121**	**8,007**	**6,429**	**51,614**	**19**	**8**	...	...	**3**	**30**	**British Territory**
Patiála	36,477	413	403	291	120	25	...	...	...	...	25	Patiála
Nábha	5,744	28	48	...	9	22	...	...	...	...	22	Nábha
Kapurthala	7,769	2,712	...	52	1,751	31	11	...	...	7	49	Kapurthala
Jínd	4,633	12	27	152	55	19	...	...	1	...	20	Jínd
Faridkot	849	1,431	...	...	52	9	15	...	...	1	25	Faridkot
Maler Kotla	1,658	16	...	...	...	23	...	...	...	...	23	Maler Kotla
Kalsia	2,997	129	1	163	1	44	2	...	2	...	48	Kalsia
Total East. Plains	60,694	4,741	533	740	1,988	24	2	...	...	1	27	Total East. Plains
Baháwalpur	128	19,115	3,436	...	14,056	...	33	6	...	25	64	Baháwalpur
Náhan	1,806	...	...	15	47	16	...	...	...	...	16	Náhan
Bilåspur	1,764	...	...	...	...	21	...	...	...	...	21	Bilåspur
Total Hill States	5,058	30	...	25	277	7	...	...	...	...	7	Total Hill States
British Territory	**368,004**	**144,121**	**8,007**	**6,429**	**51,614**	**19**	**8**	...	...	**3**	**30**	**British Territory**
Native States	**65,880**	**23,886**	**3,969**	**765**	**16,321**	**17**	**6**	**1**	...	**4**	**28**	**Native States**
Province	**433,884**	**168,007**	**11,976**	**7,194**	**67,935**	**19**	**8**	**1**	...	**3**	**31**	**Province**

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

617. The Jhinwar (Caste No. 15).—The Jhínwar, also called Kahár in the east, and Mahra[1], where a Hindu, in the centre of the Province, is the carrier, water-man, fisherman, and basket-maker of the east of the Panjáb. He carries palanquins and all such burdens as are borne by a yoke on the shoulders; and he specially is concerned with water, insomuch that the cultivation of water-nuts and the netting of water fowl are for the most part in his hands, and he is the well-sinker of the Province. He is a true village menial, receiving customary dues and performing customary service. In this capacity he supplies all the baskets needed by the cultivator, and brings water to the men in the fields at harvest time, to the houses where the women are secluded, and at weddings and other similar occasions. His occupations in the centre and west of the Province are described below under the head Máchhi. His social standing is in one respect high; for all will drink at his hands. But he is still a servant, though the highest of the class.

Division.	Saqqáh.	Máshkí.
Dehli	12,870	...
Hissár	7,604	...
Ambála	1,104	...
Jalandhar	29	...
Lahore	11,893	...
Ráwalpindi	...	321
Multán	...	125
Peshawar	...	194
States of East. Plains	5,303	...

I have included under Jhínwar such men as returned themselves as Bhíshtis, Máshkis, or Saqqáhs, the terms for Musalmán water-carriers. It is just possible that some of these men may be of other castes than Jhínwar, but the number of such will be exceedingly small. The numbers so included are given in the margin, except for the Amritsar division which made no separate returns.

618. Divisions of Jhinwar, Machhi, and Mallah.—The sub-divisions of both Jhínwar and Máchhi are very numerous. I show one or two of the largest in the margin, adding the figures for Malláhs. These tribes do not appear to be found in any numbers among the Bhatyára and Bharbhúnja, and we must wait for the detailed tables of clans before we can compare the sub-divisions of those castes, and thus throw light upon the question of their identity or diversity.

Division.	Divisions of the Jhinwar group.		
	Jhínwar.	Máchhi.	Malláh.
Khokhar	8,657	43,865	2,362
Mahár	27,337	115	...
Bhatti	6,000	15,961	3,496
Manhás	3,112	7,619	329
Tánk	8,587	2	13
Suhál	3,928	14	...

619. The Machhi and Men (Caste No. 28).—Máchhi is, as I have said, only the western name for the Musalmán Jhínwar. In the Amritsar division those returning themselves as Máchhi have been included under Jhínwar. In the Lahore and Ráwalpindi divisions both names are used; and in the western districts both, where used at all, are applied indifferently to the same person. But in parts of the Central Panjáb, where the eastern Hindu meets the western Musalmán, the two terms are generally used distinctively. The Máchhi occupies in the centre and west the same position which the Jhínwar fills in the east, save that he performs in the former parts of the Province a considerable part of the agricultural labour, while in the east he seldom actually works in the fields, or at least not as a part of his customary duties; though of course all classes work for pay at harvest time, when the rice is being planted out, and so forth. But besides the occupations already described for the Jhínwar[2], the Máchhi is the cook and midwife of the Panjáb proper. All the Dáyas and Dáyis, the accoucheur, midwife, and wetnurse class, are of the Jhínwar or Máchhi caste. So too the common oven which forms so important a feature in the village life of the Panjáb proper, and at which the peasantry have their bread baked in the hot weather, is almost always in the hands of a Máchhi for Musalmáns and a Jhínwar for Hindus. In some parts he is also the wood-cutter of the village. In the Deraját he is sometimes called Mánjhi or Manjhera, more particularly when following the occupation of a fisherman; and the name Men is often given him under the same circumstances in the rest of the Central and Western Panjáb, along the banks of our great rivers. Both these castes, where returned separately, have been classed as Máchhi, as have also the Sammi or fisherman and quail-catcher, and the Mahígír, Machhahra, Machhiyánia, or fisherman. The details are given below. Of the Mens in the Lahore division, 7,035 are in Lahore and 3,095 in Gújránwála, while of those of the Multán division all but 180 are in Montgomery. Thus the Mens seem almost confined to the middle Satluj. On the lower Indus, in Gújarát and lower Sindh, Máchhi seems to mean nothing more than fisherman. The figures of Abstract No. 72 (page 224) show that many of the Máchhis of the Derajàt have returned themselves as Jats.

ENTRIES CLASSED AS MACHHI.

Entry.	Dehli.	Hissar.	Jalandhar.	Lahore.	Pindi.	Multan.	Derajat.
Men	...	...	756	10,743	70	5,195	...
Manchera	...	...	...	...	...	...	48
Mahígír, Machhahra, &c.	70	35	...	...	...	89	...
Sammi	...	...	...	168	...	...	...

620. The Bhatyara and Bharbhunja (Caste Nos. 92 and 108).—The Bhatyára is the baker and seller of ready-cooked food, who is to be found in all the caravanserais of our towns and encamping grounds. He is, I believe almost without exception, a Jhínwar by caste; and in many districts those who have returned themselves as Bhatyáras have been classed either as Jhínwar or as Máchhi, so that our figures do not

[1] Mahra seems to be a title of respect, just as a Bhíshti is often addressed as Jamadár. *Mahár* is a synonym for "chief" in the south-west of the Province.

[2] The carriage of burdens slung from a *bángi* or yoke seems to be almost unknown in the west of the Panjáb.

completely represent the entries in the schedules. They are said to be divided in the North-West Provinces at any rate into two classes, Shersháhi and Salímsháhi, the women of the former wearing petticoats and of the latter drawers. They date the division from the time of Sultán Sher Sháh and his son Salím Sháh. Now that the railway has diminished their trade, the Bhatyáras are said to have taken to letting out *yekkas* and ponies for hire; and in the Deraját they are said to be the donkey-keepers of the district and to do petty carriage. This would connect them with the kiln rather than with the oven. In any case the name appears to be purely an occupational one, derived from *bhatti*, an oven or kiln; but like so many occupational guilds, the Bhatyáras appear in some parts to marry only among those following the same avocation [1]. The same may be said of the Bharbhúnja, who is as his name implies a grain parcher. He too is almost always a Jhínwar, but a small section of the Bharbhúnjas are Káyaths. He does not appear to occur as a separate class in the west of the Province, where probably the grain parching is done at the public oven of the Jhínwar or Máchhi. The Bharbhúnja is also occasionally called Bhojwa, and on the Indus Chatári.

621. The Mallah and Mohana (Caste No. 42).—The Malláh is the boatman of the Panjáb, and is naturally found in largest numbers in those districts which include the greatest length of navigable river. It appears from Abstract No. 72, (page 224,) that on the Indus he has often returned himself as Jat. He is, I believe, almost invariably a Jhínwar by caste, and very generally a Musalmán by religion; though Mr. Wilson believes that in Sirsa most of the Malláhs on the Satluj are by caste Jhabel *q. v.* He generally combines with his special work of boat management some other of the ordinary occupations of his caste, such as fishing or growing water-nuts; but he is *not* a village menial.

Division.	Classed as Mallah.		
	Mohána.	Táru.	Dren.
Hushyarpur	...	...	69
Kangra	...	145	2,151
Hill States	...	5	73
Jahlam	979	...	...
Multan	4,750	...	...
Jhang	677	...	...
Muzaffargarh	6,641	...	...
Derah Ismail Khan	3,176	...	...
Derah Ghazi Khan	1,101	...	...
Bannu	1,375	...	...
Bahawalpur	9,180	...	...

Under the head Malláh have been included those returning themselves as Moháno, Táru, or Dren, the figures for which entries are given on the margin. In Lahore and Pesháwar no separate returns were made for Moháno. The Moháno is said to be the fisherman of Sindh; but in the Panjáb he is at least as much a boatman as a fisherman. The word in Sanskrit means an estuary or confluence of waters. The Dren and Táru are found in the hills only, where they carry travellers across the rapid mountain torrents on inflated hides. The former are said to be Musalmán and the latter Hindu. The word *dren* appears originally to mean the buffalo hide upon which the transit is made. In the Hill States 55 men returned as Daryái have also been included. Broadly speaking, it may perhaps be said that the Jhínwar and Máchhi follow their avocations on land and the Malláh and Moháno on water, all belonging to the same caste.

622. The Dhinwar of the Jamna.—Along the left bank of the Jamna below Dehli are settled a certain small number of people who call themselves Dhínwars. They work as fishermen and boatmen and some of them as Bharbhúnjas, and have returned themselves in the present Census, partly as Jhínwars, but mostly as Malláhs. They appear to have moved up the river from the neighbourhood of Agra, and to keep themselves distinct from the indigenous Jhínwars. They are much addicted to thieving, and it has been proposed to treat them as a criminal tribe. Violent crime is however rare among them. They cultivate and even own a certain area of land. They generally travel about in the disguise of musicians, singing, begging, pilfering, and committing burglary and theft on a large scale when opportunity offers. They apparently extend all along the banks of the river in Alligarh, Bulandshahr, and other districts of the North-West Provinces. Men of this class seem to travel all over the Panjáb, as they have been convicted even in the frontier districts. All Hindus drink at their hands,—a sufficient proof that they are true Jhínwars by caste.

WORKERS IN WOOD, IRON, STONE, AND CLAY.

623. The workers in wood, iron, stone, and clay.—This group, of which the figures are given in Abstract No. 102 on the opposite page, completes, with the scavenger, leather-worker, and water-carrier classes, the castes from which village menials proper are drawn. It is divided into four sections, the workers in iron, in wood, in stone, and in clay. The workers in iron and wood are in many parts of India identical, the two occupations being followed by the same individuals. In most parts of the Panjáb they are sufficiently well distinguished so far as occupation goes, but there seems reason to believe that they really belong to one and the same caste, and that they very frequently intermarry. True workers in stone may be said hardly to exist in a Province where stone is so scarce; but I include among them the Ráj who is both a mason and a bricklayer and is said generally to be a Tarkhán by caste, and they are connected with the carpenters by the Thávi of the hills, who is both carpenter and stone-mason. The potters and brickmakers are a sufficiently distinct class, who are numerous in the Panjáb owing to the almost universal use of the Persian wheel with its numerous little earthen pots to raise water for purposes of irrigation.

[1] It is noticeable that all those returned as Bhatyára are Musalmán; probably because most Hindus, in the east of the Panjáb at least, will not eat bread made and cooked by a Jhínwar.

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

Abstract No. 102, *showing the* Blacksmith, Carpenter, *and* Potter Castes.

	WORKERS IN WOOD, IRON, STONE AND CLAY.																			
	FIGURES.									PROPORTION PER 1,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.										
	22	157	153	11	132	149	93	171	13	22	153		11	132		149	93		13	
	Lohár.	Siqligar.	Dhogri.	Tarkhán.	Kamángar.	Thávi.	Báj.	Khumra.	Kumhár.	Lohár.	Dhogri.	TOTAL.	Tarkhán.	Kamángar.	TOTAL.	Thávi.	Báj.	TOTAL.	Kumhár.	GRAND TOTAL.
Dehli	5,934	4	...	9,622	107	...	389	131	13,724	10	...	10	15	...	15	...	1	1	21	47
Gurgaon	5,503	1	...	10,655	...	...	64	114	14,261	9	...	9	16	...	16	...	...	..	22	47
Karnál	9,190	12	...	13,787	208	...	583	55	14,712	15	...	15	22	...	22	...	1	1	24	62
Hissar	5,682	31	...	12,627	16	...	310	2	19,662	11	...	11	25	...	25	...	1	1	39	76
Rohtak	7,447	7	...	10,821	71	...	294	159	12,031	13	...	13	20	...	20	...	...	...	22	55
Sirsa	1,652	1	...	7,222	...	...	126	...	16,114	6	...	6	29	...	29	...	...	...	64	99
Ambala	16,550	157	...	25,265	30	...	917	449	15,598	15	...	15	24	...	24	...	1	1	15	55
Ludhiána	8,520	47	2	18,809	12	...	129	...	8,226	14	...	14	30	...	30	...	...	...	13	57
Simla	715	...	...	1,042	...	...	3	...	173	17	...	17	24	...	24	...	...	...	4	45
Jalandhar	13,396	17	...	26,232	5	...	533	...	12,904	17	...	17	33	...	33	...	1	1	16	67
Hushyárpur	15,033	12	...	28,033	15	...	1,146	...	10,661	17	...	17	31	...	31	...	1	1	12	61
Kangra	15,655	34	1,412	16,286	265	...	527	...	7,897	21	2	23	22	...	22	...	1	1	14	60
Amritsar	18,778	1	...	34,984	61	...	717	...	29,175	21	...	21	39	...	39	...	1	1	33	94
Gurdáspur	16,601	...	...	29,621	11	...	675	...	17,029	20	...	20	36	...	36	...	1	1	21	78
Siálkot	18,584	...	...	41,781	...	...	817	...	29,713	18	...	18	41	...	41	...	1	1	29	89
Lahore	13,767	144	...	31,009	239	...	876	...	31,524	15	...	15	34	...	34	...	1	1	34	84
Gujránwála	12,364	12	...	26,872	58	...	324	...	26,931	20	...	20	44	...	44	...	1	1	44	109
Firozpur	7,097	84	...	21,424	39	...	134	...	15,254	11	...	11	33	...	33	...	...	...	23	67
Ráwalpindi	12,236	165	...	22,450	290	...	...	...	14,668	15	...	15	27	...	27	...	...	...	18	60
Jahlam	9,970	23	...	14,824	42	...	1	...	10,031	17	...	17	25	...	25	...	...	...	17	59
Gujrát	12,934	66	...	21,828	33	...	260	...	16,401	19	...	19	32	...	32	...	...	...	24	75
Shahpur	5,074	49	...	10,270	131	...	...	...	11,769	12	...	12	24	...	24	...	...	...	28	64
Multan	2,768	...	...	11,915	441	...	...	...	13,716	5	...	5	22	1	23	...	...	...	25	53
Jhang	3,062	...	...	8,418	173	...	149	...	15,381	8	...	8	21	...	21	...	...	...	39	68
Montgomery	3,673	...	...	9,499	158	...	4	...	17,865	9	...	9	22	...	22	...	...	...	42	51
Muzaffargarh	1,477	...	...	8,024	165	...	...	...	6,629	7	...	7	24	...	24	...	...	...	20	73
Derah Ismail Khan	1,288	...	...	3,939	9	...	...	...	2,674	3	...	3	9	...	9	...	...	...	5	18
Derah Ghazi Khan	220	...	...	782	11	...	3	...	106	1	...	1	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	3
Bannu	4,754	...	...	5,574	101	...	...	...	4,303	14	...	14	17	...	17	...	...	...	13	44
Peshawar	6,521	144	...	12,504	49	...	84	...	7,583	11	...	11	21	...	21	...	...	...	13	45
Hazara	5,899	48	...	8,271	178	...	...	...	3,687	14	...	14	20	...	20	...	...	...	9	43
Kohát	2,374	81	...	3,615	12	...	15	...	1,186	13	...	13	20	...	20	...	...	...	7	40
British Territory	264,720	1,140	1,414	508,008	2,930	...	9,080	910	421,588	14	...	14	27	...	27	...	...	...	22	63
Patiála	17,788	155	...	41,454	132	9	1,202	94	27,464	12	...	12	28	...	28	...	1	1	19	60
Nábha	2,858	12	...	9,208	1	...	57	...	5,002	11	...	11	35	...	35	...	...	...	19	65
Kapurthala	4,106	2	...	7,715	6	...	471	...	4,797	16	...	16	30	...	30	...	2	2	19	67
Jind	3,634	64	...	5,358	32	...	138	...	5,333	15	...	15	22	...	22	...	1	1	21	59
Faridkot	1,180	...	...	3,944	...	...	8	...	1,636	12	...	12	41	...	41	...	...	...	17	70
Maler Kotla	1,325	...	...	1,929	...	...	109	...	1,154	19	...	19	27	...	27	...	2	2	16	64
Kalsia	1,177	16	...	1,683	...	...	177	...	1,014	17	...	17	25	...	25	...	3	3	15	60
Total East. Plains	32,327	258	...	72,468	172	9	2,162	94	47,771	13	...	13	29	...	29	...	1	1	19	62
Baháwalpur	2,833	21	...	9,996	56	...	...	...	10,883	5	...	5	17	...	17	...	...	...	19	41
Mandi	1,632	...	...	270	...	610	...	...	1,508	11	...	11	2	...	2	4	...	4	10	27
Chamba	1,537	...	302	1,570	...	...	...	...	1,540	13	3	16	14	...	14	...	...	...	13	43
Náhan	1,707	...	...	1,336	...	...	1	...	278	15	...	15	12	...	12	...	...	...	2	29
Bilaspur	1,914	35	...	238	...	178	...	...	844	22	...	22	3	...	3	1	...	1	10	36
Bashahr	916	...	...	1,166	...	...	...	...	63	14	...	14	18	...	18	...	...	...	1	33
Nálagarh	773	10	...	527	...	123	...	...	457	14	...	14	10	...	10	2	...	2	8	34
Suket	1,201	...	...	56	...	781	...	...	313	23	...	23	1	...	1	15	...	15	6	45
Total Hill States	11,902	64	302	6,469	...	1,895	48	...	5,783	16	...	16	8	...	8	2	...	2	8	34
British Territory	264,720	1,140	1,414	508,008	2,930	...	9,080	910	421,588	14	...	14	27	...	27	...	...	...	22	63
Native States	47,062	343	302	88,033	228	1,904	2,210	94	64,437	12	...	12	23	...	23	...	1	1	17	53
Province	311,782	1,483	1,716	596,041	3,158	1,904	11,290	1,004	486,025	14	...	14	26	...	26	...	...	...	21	61

624. The Lohar (Caste No. 22).—The Lohár of the Panjáb is, as his name implies, a blacksmith pure and simple. He is one of the true village menials, receiving customary dues in the shape of a share of the produce, in return for which he makes and mends all the iron implements of agriculture, the material being found by the husbandman. He is most numerous in proportion to total population in the hills and the districts that lie immediately below them, where like all other artisan castes he is largely employed in field labour. He is, even if the figures of Abstract No. 72 (page 224) be included, present in singularly small numbers in the Multán and Deraját divisions and in Baháwalpur; but why so I am unable to explain. Probably men of other castes engage in blacksmith's work in those parts, or perhaps the carpenter and the blacksmith are the same. His social position is low, even for a menial; and he is classed as an impure caste in so far that Jats and others of similar standing will have no social communion with him, though not as an outcast like the scavenger. His impurity, like that of the barber, washerman, and dyer, springs solely from the nature of his employment; perhaps because it is a dirty one, but more probably because black is a colour of evil omen, though on the other hand iron has powerful virtue as a charm against the evil eye. It is not impossible that the necessity under which he labours of using bellows made of cowhide may have something to do with his impurity[1]. He appears to follow very generally the religion of the neighbourhood, and some 34 per cent. of the Lohárs are Hindu,

[1] Colebrooke says that the Karmakára or blacksmith is classed in the Puráns as one of the polluted tribes.

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

about 8 per cent. Sikh, and 58 per cent. Musalmán. Most of the men shown as Lohárs in our tables have returned themselves as such, though some few were recorded as Ahngar, the Persian for blacksmith, and as Nálband or farrier. In the north of Sirsa, and probably in the Central States of the Eastern Plains, the Lohár or blacksmith and the Kháti or carpenter are undistinguishable, the same men doing both kinds of work; and in many, perhaps in most parts of the Panjáb the two intermarry. In Hushyárpur they are said to form a single caste called Lohár-Tarkhán, and the son of a blacksmith will often take to carpentry and *vice versá;* but it appears that the castes were originally separate, for the joint caste is still divided into two sections who will not intermarry or even eat or smoke together, the Dhamán, from *dhamna* "to blow," and the Khatti from *khát* "wood." In Gújránwála the same two sections exist; and they are the two great Tarkhán tribes also (see section 627). In Karnál a sort of connection seems to be admitted, but the castes are now distinct. In Sirsa the Lohárs may be divided into three main sections; the first, men of undoubted and recent Jat and even Rájpút origin who have, generally by reason of poverty, taken to work as blacksmiths; secondly the Suthár Lohár or members of the Suthár tribe of carpenters who have similarly changed their original occupation; and thirdly, the Gádiya Lohár, a class of wandering blacksmiths not uncommon throughout the east and south-east of the Province, who come up from Rájpútána and the North-West Provinces and travel about with their families and implements in carts from village to village, doing the finer sorts of iron work which are beyond the capacity of the village artisan. The tradition runs that the Suthár Lohárs, who are now Musalmán, were originally Hindu Tarkháns of the Suthár tribe (see section 627); and that Akbar took 12,000 of them from Jodhpur to Dehli, forcibly circumcised them, and obliged them to work in iron instead of wood. The story is admitted by a section of the Lohárs themselves, and probably has some substratum of truth. These men came to Sírsa from the direction of Sindh, where they say they formerly held land, and are commonly known as Multáni Lohárs. The Jat and Suthár Lohárs stand highest in rank, and the Gádiya lowest. Similar distinctions doubtless exist in other parts of the Panjáb, but unfortunately I have no information regarding them. Our tables show very few Lohár tribes of any size, the only one at all numerous being the Dhamán found in Karnál and its neighbourhood, where it is also a carpenter tribe.

The Lohár of the hills is described in section 651 (see also Tarkhán, section 627).

625. The Siqligar (Caste No. 157).—The word Siqlígar is the name of a pure occupation, and denotes an armourer or burnisher of metal. They are shown chiefly for the large towns and cantonments; but, many of them probably returned themselves as Lohárs.

626. The Dhogri (Caste No. 153).—These are the iron miners and smelters of the hills, an outcast and impure people, whose name is perhaps derived from *dhonkni* "bellows;" and it is possible that their name is rather Dhonkri than Dhogri. Their status is much the same as that of the Chamár or Dúmna. They are returned only in Kángra and Chamba.

627. The Tarkhan (Caste No. 11).—The Tarkhán, better known as Barhái in the North-West Provinces, Bárhi in the Jamna districts, and Kháti in the rest of the Eastern Plains, is the carpenter of the Province. Like the Lohár he is a true village menial, mending all agricultural implements and household furniture, and making them all, except the cart, the Persian wheel, and the sugar-press, without payment beyond his customary dues. I have already pointed out that he is in all probability of the same caste with the Lohár; but his social position is distinctly superior. Till quite lately Jats and the like would smoke with him, though latterly they have begun to discontinue the custom. The Kháti of the Central Provinces is both a carpenter and blacksmith, and is considered superior in status to the Lohár who is the latter only. The Tarkhán is very generally distributed over the Province, though, like most occupational castes, he is less numerous on the lower frontier than elsewhere. The figures of Abstract No. 72 (page 224) must, however, be included. In the hills too his place is largely taken by the Thávi (*q. v.*), and perhaps also by the Lohár. I have included under Tarkhán all who returned themselves as either Bárhi or Kháti; and also some 600 Kharádis or turners, who were pretty equally distributed over the Province. I am told that in the Jamna districts the Bárhi considers himself superior to his western brother the Kháti, and will not intermarry with him; and that the married women of the latter do not wear nose-rings, while those of the former do. The Tarkhán of the hills is alluded to in the section on Hill Menials. The Ráj or bricklayer is said to be very generally a Tarkhán.

TRIBES OF TARKHANS.

1. Jhángra	9,518	7. Netál	2,764
2. Dhamán	71,519	8. Janjúa	12,576
3. Khatti	19,071	9. Tháru	2,822
4. Siáwan	1,932	10. Khokhar.	27,534
5. Gáde	2,209	11. Bhatti	18,837
6. Matháru	6,971	12. Begi Khel	2,212

The tribes of Tarkhán are numerous, but as a rule small. I show some of the largest in the margin, arranged in order as they occur from east to west. No. 1 is chiefly found in the Dehli and Hissár divisions; Nos. 2 and 3 in Karnál, the Ambála and Jálandhar divisions, Patiála, Nábha, Farídkot, and Fírozpur; No. 4 in Jálandhar and Síálkot; No. 5 in Amritsar; No. 6 in Lúdhiána, Amritsar, and Lahore; No. 7 in Hushyárpur; No. 8 in the Ráwalpindi division; No. 9 in Gurdáspur and Síálkot; Nos. 10 and 11 in the Lahore, Ráwalpindi, and Multán divisions; and No. 12 in Hazára. The carpenters of Sirsa are divided into two great sections, the Dhamán and the Kháti proper, and the two will not intermarry. These are also two great tribes of the Lohárs (*q. v.*). The Dhamáns again include a tribe of Hindu Tarkháns called Suthár, who are almost entirely agricultural, seldom working in wood, and who look down upon the artisan sections of their caste. They say that they came from Jodhpur, and that their tribe still holds villages and revenue-free grants in Bíkáner. These men say that the Musalmán Multáni Lohárs described in section 624 originally belonged to their tribe; the Suthár Tarkháns, though Hindus, are in fact more closely allied with the Multáni Lohárs than with the Khátis, and many of their clan sub-divisions are identical with those of the former; and some of the Lohárs who have immigrated from Sindh admit the community of caste. Suthár is in Sindh the common term for any carpenter. It is curious that the Bárhis of Karnál are also divided into two great sections, Dese and Multáni. The Sikh Tarkháns on the Patiála border of Sirsa claim Bágri origin, work in iron as well as in wood, and intermarry with the Lohárs. (See *supra* under Lohárs.)

628. The Kamangar (Caste No. 132).—The Kamángar, or as he is commonly called in the Panjáb

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Kamagar, is as his name implies a bow-maker; and with him I have joined the Tírgar or arrow-maker, and the Pharera which appears to be merely a hill name for the Rangsáz. These men are found chiefly in the large towns and cantonments, and, except in Kángra, appear to be always Musalmán. Now that bows and arrows are no longer used save for purposes of presentation, the Kamángar has taken to wood decorating. Any colour or lacquer that can be put on in a lathe is generally applied by the Kharádi; but flat or uneven surfaces are decorated either by the Kamángar or by the Rangsáz; and of the two the Kamángar does the finer sorts of work. Of course rough work, such as painting doors and window-frames, is done by the ordinary Mistri who works in wood, and who is generally if not always a Tarkhán. I am not sure whether the Kamángar can be called a distinct caste; but in his profession he stands far above the Tarkhán, and also above the Rangsáz.

629. The Thavi (Caste No. 149).—The Thávi is the carpenter and stone-mason of the hills, just as the Ráj of the plains, who is a bricklayer by occupation, is said to be generally a Tarkhán by caste. His principal occupation is building the village houses, which are in those parts made of stone; and he also does what wood work is required for them. He thus forms the connecting link between the workers in wood or Tarkháns on the one hand, and the bricklayers and masons or Rájs on the other. Most unfortunately my offices have included the Thávis under the head Tarkhán, so that they are only shown separately for the Hill States; and indeed many of the Hill States themselves have evidently followed the same course, so that our figures are very incomplete. In Gurdáspur 1,722 and in Siálkot 1,063 Thávis are thus included under Tarkhán. The Thávi is always a Hindu, and ranks in social standing far above the Dági or outcast menial, but somewhat below the Kanet or inferior cultivating caste of the hills. Sardár Gurdiál Singh gives the following information taken down from a Thávi of Hushyárpur:—"An old man said he and his " people were of a Bráhman family, but had taken to stone-cutting and so had become Thávis, since the " Bráhmans would no longer intermarry with them. That the Thávis include men who are Bráhmans, Ráj-" púts, Kanets, and the like by birth, all of whom intermarried freely and thus formed a real Thávi caste, " quite distinct from those who merely followed the occupation of Thávi but retained their original caste." The Thávi of the hills will not eat or intermarry with the Barhái or Kharádi of the neighbourhood. Further details regarding his social position will be found in section 650, the section treating of hill menials.

630. The Raj (Caste No. 93).—Ráj is the title given by the guilds of bricklayers and masons of the towns to their headmen, and is consequently often used to denote all who follow those occupations. Mimár is the corresponding Persian word, and I have included all who so returned themselves under the head of Ráj. The word is probably the name of an occupation rather than of a true caste, the real caste of these men being said to be almost always Tarkhán. The Ráj is returned only for the eastern and central districts, and seems to be generally Musalmán save in Dehli, Gurgáon and Kángra. Under Ráj I have included Batahra, of whom 66 are returned from the Jálandhar and 20 from the Amritsar division. But I am not sure that this is right; for in Chamba at any rate the Batahra seems to be a true caste, working generally as stone-masons, occasionally as carpenters, and not unfrequently cultivating land. In Kúlu however, the Batahra is said to be a Koli by caste who has taken to slate quarrying.

631. The Khumra (Caste No. 171).—The Khumra is a caste of Hindústán, and is found only in the eastern parts of the Panjáb. His trade is dealing in and chipping the stones of the hand-mills used in each family to grind flour; work which is, I believe, generally done by Tarkháns in the Panjáb proper. Every year these men may be seen travelling up the Grand Trunk Road, driving buffaloes which drag behind them millstones loosely cemented together for convenience of carriage. The millstones are brought from the neighbourhood of Agra, and the men deal in a small way in buffaloes. They are almost all Musalmán.

632. The Kumhar (Caste No. 13).—The Kumhár, or, as he is more often called in the Panjáb, Gumiár, is the potter and brick-burner of the country. He is most numerous in Hissár and Sirsa where he is often a husbandman, and in the sub-montane and central districts. On the lower Indus he has returned himself in some numbers as Jat—(see Abstract No. 72, page 224). He is a true village menial, receiving customary dues, in exchange for which he supplies all earthen vessels needed for household use, and the earthenware pots used on the Persian wheel wherever that form of well gear is in vogue. He also, alone of all Panjáb castes, keeps donkeys; and it is his business to carry grain within the village area, and to bring to the village grain bought elsewhere by his clients for seed or food. But he will not carry grain out of the village without payment. He is the petty carrier of the villages and towns, in which latter he is employed to carry dust, manure, fuel, bricks, and the like. His religion appears to follow that of the neighbourhood in which he lives. His social standing is very low, far below that of the Lohár and not very much above that of the Chamár; for his hereditary association with that impure beast the donkey, the animal sacred to Sítala the small-pox goddess, pollutes him; as also his readiness to carry manure and sweepings. He is also the brick-burner of the Panjáb, as he alone understands the working of kilns; and it is in the burning of pots and bricks that he comes into contact with manure, which constitutes his fuel. I believe that he makes bricks also when they are moulded; but the ordinary village brick of sun-dried earth is generally made by the coolie or Chamár. The Kumhár is called Pazáwagar or kiln-burner, and Kúzagar (vulg. Kujgar) or potter, the latter term being generally used for those only who make the finer sorts of pottery. On the frontier he appears to be known as Gilgo.

KUMHAR DIVISIONS.

1. Gola	20,059	4. Dhodi	3,786
2. Mahár	12,649	5. Khokhar	15,039
3. Dol	6,777		

The divisions of Kumhárs are very numerous, and as a rule not very large. I show a few of the largest in the margin. The first two are found in the Dehli and Hissár, the third in the Amritsar and Lahore, and the last two in the Lahore, Ráwalpindi, and Multán divisions. In Peshávar more than two-thirds of the Kumhárs have returned themselves as Hindki.

The Mahár and Gola do not intermarry. The Kumhárs of Sirsa are divided into two great sections, Jodhpuria who came from Jodhpur, use furnaces or *bhattis*, and are generally mere potters; and the Bíkáneri or Dese who came from Bíkáner and use *pajáwas* or kilns, but are chiefly agricultural, looking down upon the potter's occupation as degrading. The Kumhárs of those

parts are hardly to be distinguished from the Bágri Jats. The two sections of the caste appear to be closely connected.

WORKERS IN OTHER METALS AND MINERALS.

633. Workers in other metals and minerals.—Having discussed the blacksmiths, stone-masons, and potters, I next turn to the group for which figures will be found in Abstract No. 103 on the opposite page. It is divisible into four classes, the Sunár, the Nyária, and the Dáoli who work in the precious metals, the Thathera who works in brass, bell-metal and the like, the Agári, Núngar, and Shorágar who make salt and saltpetre, and the Chúrígar or glass-blower and bracelet-maker. The workers in precious metals are found all over the Province, though they are less numerous among the rustic and comparatively poor population of the Western Plains, and most numerous in those districts which include the great cities, and in the rich central districts. The salt-workers are naturally almost confined to the eastern and south-eastern portions of the Province and to the great grazing plains of the Multán division, where the saline water of the wells, the plains covered with soda salts, and the plentiful growth of the barilla plant afford them the means of carrying on their occupation. The salt of the Salt-range is quarried ready for use, indeed in a state of quite singular purity; and the work of quarrying and carrying is performed by ordinary labourers and does not appertain to any special caste or calling.

634. The Sunar (Caste No. 30).—The Sunár, or Zargar as he is often called in the towns, is the gold and silver smith and jeweller of the Province. He is also to a very large extent a money-lender, taking jewels in pawn and making advances upon them. The practice, almost universal among the villagers, of hoarding their savings in the form of silver bracelets and the like makes the caste, for it would appear to be a true caste, an important and extensive one; it is generally distributed throughout the Province, and is represented in most considerable villages. The Sunár is very generally a Hindu throughout the Eastern Plains and the Salt-range Tract, though in the Multán division and on the frontier he is often a Musalmán. In the central division there are a few Sikh Sunárs. The Sunár prides himself upon being one of the twice-born, and many of them wear the *janeo* or sacred thread; but his social standing is far inferior to that of the mercantile and of most of the agricultural castes, though superior to that of many, or perhaps of all other artisans. In Dehli it is said that they are divided into the Dase who do and the Deswále who do not practise *karewa*, and that the Deswála Sunár ranks immediately below the Banya. This is probably true if a religious standard be applied; but I fancy that a Ját looks down upon the Sunár as much below him.

635. The Nyaria (Caste No. 131).—The Nyária or refiner (from *nyára* "separate") is he who melts the leavings and sweepings of the Sunár and extracts the precious metal from them. In the west of the Panjáb he seems to be known as Shodar or Sodar; and as one of the Sunár clans is called Sodari, it may be that the Nyária is generally or always a Sunár by caste. The books are silent on the subject; and I have no other information. The Nyária however is, unlike the Sunár, generally a Musálman; though curiously enough he is shown as Hindu only in Pesháwar.

636. The Daoli (Caste No. 134).—Under this head I have included 87 men who have returned themselves as Sansoi, as this appears to be the usual name in the higher ranges for the Dáoli of the low hills. The Dáolis are men who wash gold from the beds of mountain streams, and are naturally found only in the hills, those returned for Patiála being inhabitants of the hill territory which belongs to that State. They also work the water-mills which are so common on the mountain torrents. Most of them are Hindu, a few Sikh, and none Musalmán. These men are outcasts of about the same status as the Dúmna; indeed they are said by many to belong to the Dúmna caste, and it appears that they also make matting and the like.

637. The Thathera (Caste No. 115).—The Thathera is the man who sells, as the Kasera is the man who makes vessels of copper, brass, and other mixed metals. He is generally a Hindu. The word seems to be merely the name of an occupation, and it is probable that most of the Thatheras have returned themselves as belonging to some mercantile caste. Those shown in the tables are for the most part Hindus. The Thathera is also known as Thathyár. He is said to wear the sacred thread.

638. The Agari (Caste No. 109).—The Agari is the salt-maker of Rájpútána and the east and south-east of the Panjáb, and takes his name from the *ágar* or shallow pan in which he evaporates the saline water of the wells or lakes at which he works. The city of Agra derives its name from the same word. The Agaris would appear to be a true caste, and are said in Gurgáon to claim descent from the Rájpúts of Chitor. There is a proverb: "The Ak, the Jawása, the Agari, and the cartman; when the lightning "flashes these four give up the ghost," because, I suppose, the rain which is likely to follow would dissolve their salt. The Agaris are all Hindus, and are found in the Sultánpur tract on the common borders of the Dehli, Gurgáon, and Rohtak districts, where the well water is exceedingly brackish, and where they manufacture salt by evaporation. Their social position is fairly good, being above that of Lohárs, but of course below that of Jats.

639. The Nungar and Shoragar (Caste Nos. 76 and 154).—Núngar, or as it is often called Núnia or Lúnia or Núnári, is derived from *nún* "salt," and denotes an occupation rather than a true caste. This is true also of the Shorágar or saltpetre-maker, who is sometimes called Rehgar from *reh* or saline efflorescence. But the two terms are commonly applied to the same class of men[1], who indeed, now that the making of salt is prohibited in most parts of the Panjáb, manufacture either saltpetre from the debris of old village sites, or crude soda (*sajji*) from the barilla plant which is found in the arid grazing grounds of the Western Plains. Many of them have settled down to agricultural pursuits, and this is especially true in the Multán and Deraját divisions. They also appear to carry goods from place to place on donkeys, which would seem to indicate a very low social status, though these men are said to consider themselves superior to the Núngars who still work at their hereditary calling, and to refuse to intermarry with them. They are generally Hindus in the east and Musalmáns in the west of the Province.

[1] Núnia is said to signify a maker of saltpetre in Oudh and its neighbourhood.

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

Abstract No. 103, *showing* Castes working in other Metals and Minerals.

	Workers in other metals and minerals.																	
	Figures.								Proportion per 1,000 of total Population.									
	30	131	134	115	109	76	154	139	30	131	134	115		109	76	154		
	Sunár.	Nyária.	Dáoli.	Thathera.	Agari.	Núngar.	Shorágar.	Chúrigar.	Sunár.	Nyária.	Dáoli.	Thathera.	Total.	Agari.	Núngar.	Shorágar.	Total.	Grand Total.
Dehli	4,085	...	...	166	1,300	203	2	55	6	...	...	...	6	2	...	...	2	8
Gurgaon	2,255	3	...	379	2,788	1	...	128	4	...	...	1	5	4	...	...	4	9
Karnál	4,021	13	...	166	7	887	272	...	7	...	...	...	7	...	1	...	1	8
Hissar	3,975	61	...	557	...	...	575	...	6	...	...	1	7	...	...	1	1	8
Rohtak	2,773	48	...	159	940	6	405	153	5	...	...	...	5	2	...	1	3	8
Sirsa	2,479	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	10
Ambala	7,323	102	66	21	...	5,126	20	...	7	...	...	...	7	...	5	...	5	12
Ludhiána	5,962	19	...	73	...	1	...	...	10	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	10
Simla	330	...	...	46	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	1	9	...	...	...	...	9
Jalandhar	6,900	28	6	27	...	1	236	6	9	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	9
Hushyárpur	6,689	8	797	178	...	1	44	47	7	...	1	...	8	...	...	...	...	8
Kángra	3,071	3	381	267	...	...	...	119	4	...	1	...	5	...	...	...	...	5
Amritsar	8,605	17	...	419	...	...	...	159	10	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	...	10
Gurdáspur	6,008	179	...	261	...	...	...	105	7	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	7
Siálkot	8,947	72	...	27	...	...	...	206	9	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	9
Lahore	8,317	258	...	107	...	1	...	73	9	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	9
Gujránwála	6,141	442	...	342	...	1	...	72	10	1	...	1	12	...	...	...	...	12
Firozpur	4,812	18	...	3	...	44	...	13	7	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	7
Ráwalpindi	6,523	176	5	12	...	...	...	138	8	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	8
Jahlam	5,806	354	...	308	...	...	...	180	10	1	...	1	12	...	...	...	...	12
Gujrat	5,446	118	...	80	...	...	...	231	8	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	8
Shahpur	3,597	40	...	19	...	...	...	97	9	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	9
Mooltan	2,044	...	...	274	...	2,303	...	83	4	...	...	1	5	...	4	...	4	9
Jhang	1,697	27	...	73	...	375	...	32	4	...	...	...	4	...	1	...	1	5
Montgomery	3,265	71	...	13	...	1,133	...	2	8	...	...	...	8	...	3	...	3	11
Muzaffargarh	946	63	...	11	...	999	...	52	3	...	...	...	3	...	3	...	3	6
D. I. Khan	1,080	3	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2
D. G. Khan	292	1	...	...	...	146	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
Bannu	3,722	59	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	11
Peshávar	3,079	905	...	...	...	...	...	5	5	2	...	...	7	...	...	...	...	7
Hazara	1,320	...	...	8	...	...	...	95	3	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	3
Kohát	832	15	...	...	...	...	...	58	5	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	5
British Territory	132,345	3,114	1,255	3,996	5,035	11,228	1,554	2,111	7	...	...	...	7	...	1	...	1	8
Patiála	10,709	17	252	230	84	6,283	91	170	7	...	...	...	7	...	4	...	4	11
Nábha	1,811	...	...	26	...	201	...	...	7	...	...	...	7	...	1	...	1	8
Kapurthala	2,162	14	...	160	...	11	...	45	9	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	...	9
Jínd	1,423	28	...	...	...	446	3	...	6	...	...	...	6	...	2	...	2	8
Total East. Plains	18,034	81	252	464	87	7,012	94	215	7	...	...	...	7	...	3	...	3	10
Baháwalpur	2,284	145	...	139	...	1,385	...	122	4	...	...	...	4	...	2	...	2	6
Mandi	335	...	115	5	...	...	...	...	2	...	1	...	3	...	...	...	...	3
Chamba	217	...	...	28	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	2
Náhan	451	...	896	8	...	3	...	...	4	...	8	...	12	...	...	...	...	12
Biláspur	265	...	169	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	2	...	5	...	...	...	...	5
Nálagarh	274	...	136	4	...	14	...	...	5	...	2	...	7	...	...	...	...	7
Total Hill States	2,238	...	1,396	281	...	18	...	...	3	...	2	...	5	...	1	...	1	6
British Territory	132,345	3,114	1,255	3,996	5,035	11,228	1,554	2,111	7	...	...	...	7	...	1	...	1	8
Native States	22,556	226	1,648	884	87	8,415	94	337	6	...	...	...	6	...	2	...	2	8
Province	154,901	3,340	2,903	4,880	5,122	19,643	1,648	2,448	7	...	...	...	7	...	1	...	1	8

640. The Churigar (Caste No. 139).—The Chúrígar, or as he is called in the west Bangera or Wangrígar, is the maker of bracelets, generally of glass or lac. He is also sometimes called Kachera or glass-worker. In the east of the Province the Maniár sells these bracelets, but in the west he is a general pedlar; and I understand that there the Bangera sells as well as makes bracelets. It is also said that the term Chúrígar is extended to men who make bracelets of bell-metal, or of almost any material except silver or gold. The word appears to be merely the name of an occupation, and it is probable that many of these bracelet-makers have returned their true caste. It may be too that in the east of the Province the distinction between Chúrígar and Maniár has not always been observed.

WASHERMEN, DYERS, AND TAILORS.

641. Washermen, Dyers, and Tailors.—The next group I shall discuss is that of the washermen, dyers,

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

calico printers, and tailors. In it I have included the Dhobi, the Chhímba, the Rangrez, the Lílári, and the Charhoa, and the figures for these castes will be found in Abstract No. 104, below. But the group is a curiously confused one; and I regret to say that the confusion has extended to our tables. The terms, at any rate in the west of the Panjáb, denote occupations rather than true castes; and the line of distinction between the various occupations is not only vague, but varies greatly from one part of the Province to another, the Lílári doing in some parts what the Chhímba does in others, and the Charhoa combining the occupations of the whole group in the Multán and Deraját divisions; while the Darzi is often a Chhímba and the Chhímba a Darzi. Thus it is impossible to say that these terms denote separate castes, though the caste to which the group belongs, of which the Dhobi in the east and the Charhoa in the west may be taken as types, is a very distinct one. At the same time, where the occupations are separate they are in the hands of separate trades-guilds with separate rules and organisation, and it is probable that intermarriage is at any rate unusual. Like most occupational castes, those of this group are less numerous on the frontier than elsewhere.

Abstract No. 104, *showing* Washermen, Dyers, and Tailors.

	WASHERMEN, DYERS, AND TAILORS.													
	FIGURES.						PROPORTION PER 1,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.							
	32	36	110	67	59	61	32	36	110	67	59	61		
	Dhobi.	Chhimba.	Rangrez.	Lilári.	Charhoa.	Darzi.	Dhobi.	Chhimba.	Rangrez.	Lilári.	Charhoa.	Darzi.	TOTAL.	
Dehli	4,157	2,626	681	...	...	583	6	4	1	...	...	1	12	Dehli
Gurgaon	3,446	13,89	1,468	...	...	970	5	2	2	...	...	2	11	Gurgaon
Karnal	2,748	4,856	1,662	...	...	1,238	4	8	3	...	...	2	17	Karnal
Hissar	1,785	5,156	...	1,959	...	580	4	10	...	4	...	1	19	Hissar
Rohtak	2,763	4,786	...	1,960	...	78	5	9	...	4	...	...	18	Rohtak
Sirsa	347	2,825	...	410	...	142	1	11	...	2	...	1	15	Sirsa
Ambala	5,036	5,618	...	1,382	...	913	5	5	...	1	...	1	12	Ambala
Ludhiana	1,167	7,158	...	585	...	171	2	12	...	1	...	..	15	Ludhiana
Simla	732	69	...	10	...	81	17	2	...	2	...	2	23	Simla
Jalandhar	1,107	9,743	...	602	...	436	2	14	...	1	...	1	18	Jalandhar
Hushyarpur	288	7,662	...	607	...	1,551	...	9	...	1	...	2	12	Hushyarpur
Kangra	364	2,867	...	532	...	3,682	...	4	...	1	...	5	10	Kangra
Amritsar	2,555	13,379	...	1,817	...	1,227	3	15	...	1	...	2	21	Amritsar
Gurdaspur	5,395	5,778	...	695	...	714	7	7	...	1	...	1	16	Gurdaspur
Sialkot	13,988	1,577	...	2,599	...	1,206	14	2	...	3	...	1	20	Sialkot
Lahore	15,596	...	...	1,107	...	1,026	17	...	...	1	...	1	19	Lahore
Gujranwala	7,901	...	...	2,286	...	1,685	13	...	...	4	...	3	20	Gujranwala
Firozpur	11,649	...	...	376	...	161	18	...	...	1	...	...	19	Firozpur
Rawalpindi	5,751	2	...	1,285	...	6,109	7	...	...	2	...	7	16	Rawalpindi
Jahlam	6,686	...	...	1,156	20	2,222	11	...	...	2	...	4	17	Jahlam
Gujrat	7,674	...	...	2,279	17	1,476	11	...	...	3	...	2	16	Gujrat
Shahpur	5,624	42	...	115	...	437	13	...	...	...	...	1	14	Shahpur
Multan	423	484	...	442	11,452	532	1	1	...	...	21	1	24	Multan
Jhang	9	36	128	61	5,234	387	...	...	...	...	13	1	14	Jhang
Montgomery	1,429	153	21	111	6,049	342	3	...	...	...	14	1	18	Montgomery
Muzaffargarh	8	47	24	106	6,318	125	...	...	...	...	19	...	19	Muzaffargarh
Dera Ismail Khan	...	2	53	5	2,639	87	...	...	...	...	6	...	6	Dera Ismail Khan
Dera Ghazi Khan	...	13	3	4	592	12	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	Dera Ghazi Khan
Bannu	...	12	127	...	2,270	45	..	...	...	...	7	...	7	Bannu
Peshawar	5,467	136	...	1,077	...	737	9	...		1	...	1	11	Peshawar
Hazara	2,694	...	...	59	...	1,076	7	...	...	...	...	3	10	Hazara
Kohat	1,019	...	...	260	...	112	6	...	...	1	...	...	7	Kohat
British Territory	**117,815**	**76,416**	**4,167**	**23,887**	**34,591**	**30,143**	**6**	**4**	**...**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**15**	**British Territory**
Patiala	2,074	15,045	...	1,954	...	471	1	10	...	1	...	...	12	Patiala
Nabha	629	2,784	...	223	...	59	2	11	...	1	...	...	14	Nabha
Kapurthala	762	2,750	...	84	...	719	3	11	...	...	...	3	17	Kapurthala
Jind	1,028	2,351	...	1,013	...	137	4	9	...	4	...	1	18	Jind
Faridkot	17	1,624	...	...	...	8	...	17	...	...	...	..	17	Faridkot
Total East. Plains	5,174	25,967	30	3,520	...	1,515	2	10	...	1	...	1	14	Total East. Plains
Bahawalpur	9,163	...	825	102	...	393	16	...	1	...	...	1	18	Bahawalpur
Total Hill States.	1,063	1,108	38	190	...	412	1	1	...	...	...	1	3	Total Hill States
British Territory	**117,815**	**76,416**	**4,167**	**23,887**	**34,591**	**30,143**	**6**	**4**	**...**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**15**	**British Territory**
Native States	**15,400**	**27,075**	**893**	**3,812**	**...**	**2,320**	**4**	**7**	**...**	**1**	**...**	**1**	**13**	**Native States**
Province	**133,215**	**103,491**	**5,060**	**27,699**	**34,591**	**32,463**	**6**	**5**	**...**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**15**	**Province**

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

642. The Dhobi and Chhimba (Caste Nos. 32 and 33.—The Dhobi is perhaps the most clearly defined and the one most nearly approaching a true caste of all the castes of the group. He is found under that name throughout the Panjáb, but in the Deraját and Multán divisions he is undistinguishable from the Charhoa, and I regret to say that here the divisional officers have included those who returned themselves as Dhobis under the head of Charhoa. Some of the Charhoas seem also to have returned themselves as Jats (see Abstract No. 72, page 224). The Dhobi is the washerman of the country. But with the work of washing he generally combines, especially in the centre and west of the Province, the craft of calico-printing; and in the Lahore and Ráwalpindi divisions the Chhímba has been classed as Dhobi, while in the Jálandhar division most of the Dhobis have been classed as Chhímbas. In fact the two sets of figures must be taken together. The Dhobi is also a true village menial in the sense that he receives a fixed share of the produce in return for washing the clothes of the villages where he performs that office. But he occupies this position only among the higher castes of land-owners, as among the Jats and castes of similar standing the women generally wash the clothes of the family. The Dhobi is therefore to be found in largest number in the towns. His social position is very low, for his occupation is considered impure; and he alone of the tribes which are not outcast will imitate the Kumhár in keeping and using a donkey. He stands below the Nái, but perhaps above the Kumhár. He often takes to working as a Darzi or tailor. He is most often a Musalmán. His title is *Bareta* or *Khalifah*, the latter being the title of the heads of his guild.

The Chhímba, Chhaimpa, Chhípi or Chhímpi is properly a calico-printer, and stamps coloured patterns on the cotton fabrics of the country; and he is said occasionally to stamp similar patterns on paper. But, as before remarked, he can hardly be distinguished from the Dhobi. Besides printing in colour, he dyes in madder, but as a rule in no other colour. He is purely an artisan, never being a village menial except as a washerman. He is sometimes called Chhápegar, and I have classed 45 men so returned as Chhímbas. I have also thus classed 23 men returned as Chhaperas. Wilson, at page 111 of his *Glossary*, gives these two words as synonymous with Chhímpi; but I am informed that in some places, though not in all, Chhápegar is used to distinguish those who ornament calico with patterns in tinsel and foil only. The Chhímba often combines washing with dyeing and stamping, and he very commonly works as a Darzi or tailor, insomuch that Chhímba is not unfrequently translated by "tailor."

Divisions.	Divisions of Washermen.		
	Dhobi.	Chhímba.	Charhoa.
1. Bhalám	1,826	...	74
2. Mahmal	1,318	...	...
3. Koháns	1,032	...	...
4. Agrai	49	...	1,050
5. Rikhrai	682	...	2,264
6. Akthra	943	...	...
7. Sárli	737	...	...
8. Sippal	6,200	3,704	5,799
9. Bhatti	4,207	2,995	4,306
10. Khokhar	3,419	3,107	3,313
11. Kamboh	216	533	2,335

But few large divisions are returned for these castes. I give in the margin the figures for a few of the largest, showing the Dhobi, Chhímba, and Charhoa side by side. The divisions are roughly arranged in the order in which they are found from east to west.

643. The Lilari and Rangrez (Caste Nos. 67 and 110).—These two classes have been hopelessly mixed up in the divisional offices, and the two sets of figures must be taken together. They are both dyers, and both artisans and not menials, being chiefly found in the towns. But the distinction is said to be that the Lílári dyes, as his name implies, in indigo only; while the Rangrez dyes in all country colours except indigo and madder, which last appertains to the Chhímba. It is noticeable that, with the exception of a few returned as Hindus by the Native States, both of these castes are exclusively Musalmán. The Hindu indeed would not dye in blue, which is to him an abomination; and madder-red is his special colour, which perhapsaccounts for the Chhímbas, most of whom are Hindu, dyeing in that colour only. In Pesháwar the Dhobi and Rangrez are said to be identical. The Lílári is often called Nílári or Nírálí; while I have included under this heading 251 men returned as Púngar from Multán, where I am informed that the term is locally used for Lílári.

644. The Charhoa (Caste No. 54).—The Charhoa is the Dhobi and Chhímba of the Multán and Deraját divisions; and, as far as I can find out, not unseldom carries on the handicrafts of the Lílári and Rangrez also. In his capacity of washerman he is, like the Dhobi and under the same circumstances, a recognised village menial, receiving customary dues in exchange for which he washes the clothes of the villagers. In Baháwalpur he has been returned as Dhobi.

645. The Darzi (Caste No. 61).—Darzi, or its Hindi equivalent Súji is purely an occupational term, and though there is a Darzi guild in every town there is no Darzi caste in the proper acceptation of the word. The greater number of Darzis belong perhaps to the Dhobi and Chhímba castes, more especially to the latter; but men of all castes follow the trade, which is that of a tailor or sempster. The Darzis are generally returned as Hindu in the east and Musalmán in the west.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTISANS.

646. Miscellaneous artisans.—A group of miscellaneous artisans completes the artisan and menial class. It includes the Penja or cotton scutcher, the Teli or oil-presser, the Qassáb or butcher, and the Kalál or spirit-distiller. The figures are given in Abstract No. 105 on the next page. The first three form a fairly coherent group, inasmuch as they very often belong to one caste. The last is quite distinct. The distribution of each caste will be noticed under its separate head.

647. The Penja, Teli, and Qassab (Castes Nos. 83, 23, and 38).—The Penja, as often called Pumba or Dhunia, and in the cities Naddáf, is the cotton scutcher who, striking a bow with a heavy wooden plectrum, uses the vibrations of the bow-string to separate the fibres of the cotton, to arrange them side by side, and to part them from dirt and other impurities. The Teli is the oil-presser; and the Qassáb the butcher who slaughters after the Mahomedan fashion, dresses the carcase, and sells the meat. But while the Teli appears to be a true caste, the Qassáb and Penja are only names of occupations which are almost

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

invariably followed by Telis. In Multán and the Deraját the Teli is commonly called Cháki or Chakáni, and a quaint story concerning him is related by Mr. O'Brien at page 93 of his *Multáni Glossary*. The Telí, including the Penja and Qassáb, is very uniformly distributed over the Province save in the hills proper, where oil and cotton are imported and the Hindu population need no butchers. He is naturally most numerous in great cities, while on the frontier he is, like most occupational castes, less common. In the Deraját, however, many of the Qassábs would appear to have been returned as Jats (see Abstract No. 72, page 224).

Abstract No. 105, *showing* Miscellaneous Artisans.

	MISCELLANEOUS ARTISANS.										
	FIGURES.				PROPORTION PER 1,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.						
	83	23	38	56	83	23	38		56		
	Penja.	Teli.	Qassáb.	Kalál.	Penja.	Teli.	Qassáb.	TOTAL.	Kalál.	GRAND TOTAL.	
Dehli	145	5,593	4,320	758	...	9	7	16	1	17	Dehli
Gurgaon	616	4,799	13,352	481	1	7	21	29	1	30	Gurgaon
Karnál	756	9,777	4,587	878	1	16	7	24	1	25	Karnál
Hissar	...	6,891	2,857	360	...	14	6	40	1	41	Hissar
Rohtak	...	6,313	6,318	268	...	11	11	22	...	22	Rohtak
Sirsa	...	3,914	842	401	...	16	3	19	2	21	Sirsa
Ambala	6,684	17,577	2,881	5,057	6	16	3	25	5	30	Ambala
Ludhiána	188	10,883	1,621	1,955	...	18	3	21	3	24	Ludhiána
Simla	33	59	42	99	1	1	1	3	2	5	Simla
Jalandhar	...	10,829	1,603	1,624	...	14	2	16	2	18	Jalandhar
Hushyárpur	4	10,758	2,077	2,695	...	12	2	14	3	17	Hushyárpur
Kángra	2	5,495	190	2,505	...	7	...	7	4	11	Kángra
Amritsar	...	20,654	1,971	2,121	...	23	2	25	2	27	Amritsar
Gurdaspur	...	17,644	846	1,209	...	21	1	22	1	23	Gurdaspur
Siálkot	...	13,652	1,927	1,987	...	13	2	15	2	17	Sialkot
Lahore	...	23,066	2,464	1,909	...	25	2	27	2	29	Lahore
Gujránwála	...	9,523	2,384	551	...	15	4	19	1	20	Gujránwála
Firozpur	...	10,938	714	1,929	...	17	1	18	3	21	Firozpur
Ráwalpindi	...	12,384	789	280	...	15	1	16	...	16	Ráwalpindi
Jahlam	...	8,302	2,003	1,076	...	14	3	17	2	19	Jahlam
Gujrát	...	8,562	1,169	552	...	12	2	14	1	15	Gujrát
Shahpur	210	2,112	5,202	123	...	5	12	17	...	17	Shahpur
Multan	91	484	5,914	580	...	1	11	12	1	13	Multan
Jhang	...	250	4,979	...	...	1	13	14	...	14	Jhang
Montgomery	...	1,557	5,170	275	...	4	12	16	1	17	Montgomery
Muzaffargarh	67	238	3,136	19	...	1	9	10	...	10	Muzaffargarh
Dera Ismail Khan	12	149	1,584	20	...	...	4	4	...	4	Dera Ismail Khan
Dera Ghazi Khan	8	40	221	3	...	...	1	1	...	1	Dera Ghazi Khan
Bannu	...	95	2,967	...	...	...	9	9	...	9	Bannu
Pesháwar	1,344	3,250	2,636	472	2	6	6	14	1	15	Pesháwar
Hazara	164	2,480	412	18	...	6	1	7	...	7	Hazara
Kohát	94	311	1,179	30	1	2	6	9	...	9	Kohat
British Territory	**10 418**	**228,585**	**88,357**	**30,237**	**1**	**12**	**5**	**18**	**2**	**20**	**British Territory**
Patiála	4,827	21,097	4,390	4,609	3	14	3	20	3	23	Patiála
Nábha	280	3,250	468	643	1	12	2	15	2	17	Nábha
Kapurthala	53	3,718	918	1,644	...	15	4	19	7	26	Kapurthala
Jínd	29	3,193	1,306	708	...	13	5	18	3	21	Jínd
Farídkot	...	1,548	92	1,043	...	16	1	17	10	27	Farídkot
Maler Kotla	...	1,192	503	29	...	17	7	24	...	24	Maler Kotla
Kalsia	651	1,196	204	147	10	18	3	31	2	33	Kalsia
Total East. Plains	5,840	35,770	8,719	8,875	2	14	3	19	4	23	Total East. Plains
Baháwalpur	630	727	3,217	319	1	1	6	8	1	9	Baháwalpur
Total Hill States	212	1,806	75	719	...	2	...	2	1	3	Total Hill States
British Territory	**10,418**	**228,585**	**88,357**	**30,237**	**1**	**12**	**5**	**18**	**2**	**20**	**British Territory**
Native States	**6,682**	**38,303**	**12,011**	**9,913**	**2**	**10**	**3**	**15**	**3**	**18**	**Native States**
Province	**17,100**	**266,888**	**100,368**	**40,150**	**1**	**12**	**4**	**17**	**2**	**19**	**Province**

The numbers returned for Gurgáon under the head Qassáb seem extraordinarily large; but I can detect no error in the tables[1]. The Teli is almost exclusively a Musalmán; and the Hindu Penja of the eastern districts is said to be known by the name of Kandera, a word, however, which appears to be applied to Musalmán Penjas also in Rájpútána.

[1] Is it possible that a large portion of the Gurgáon Juláhas have returned themselves as Telis? The Juláhas are not nearly as numerous in Gurgáon as one would expect. Mr. Wilson suggests that the very numerous cattle-dealers or Beopáris who are found about Firozpur Jhirka in the south of the district, and who are perhaps Meos by caste, may very probably have returned themselves as Qassábs. He points out that so much of the weaving in Gurgáon is done by Chamárs that Juláhas would naturally not be very numerous.

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

The Teli is of low social standing, perhaps about the same as that of the Juláha with whom he is often associated, and he is hardly less turbulent and troublesome than the latter. Mr. Fanshawe notes that in Rohtak "the butcher class is the very worst in the district, and is noted for its callousness in "taking human life, and general turbulence in all matters;" and there is a proverb, "He who has not "seen a tiger has still seen a cat, and he who has not seen a Thug has still seen a Qassáb." In Karnál the Qassábs are said often to practice market-gardening.

648. The Kalál (Caste No. 56).—The Kalál, or Kalwár as he is called in the west of the Panjáb, is the distiller and seller of spirituous liquors. The word, however, seems to mean a potter in Peshávar. He is commonly known as Neb in Nábha and Patiála, and when a Mahomedan often calls himself Kakkezai and when a Sikh Ahlúwália, the origin of which names will presently be explained. I have said that the Kalál is a distiller; and that is his hereditary occupation. But since the manufacture of and traffic in spirits have been subjected to Government regulation, a large portion of the caste, and more especially of its Sikh and Musalmán sections, have abandoned their proper calling and taken to other pursuits, very often to commerce, and especially to traffic in boots and shoes, bread, vegetables, and other commodities in which men of good caste object to deal. They are notorious for enterprise, energy, and obstinacy. "Death may budge; but a Kalál won't." They are, owing to circumstances presently to be mentioned, most numerous in the Sikh portions of the Panjáb, and especially in Kapúrthala. In the western districts they seem to be almost unknown. Rather more than half of them are still Hindu, about a quarter Sikh, and the other quarter Musalmán. The original social position of the caste is exceedingly low, though in the Panjáb it has been raised by special circumstances.

The reigning family of Kapúrthala is descended from Sada Singh Kalál, who founded the village of Ahlu near Lahore. The family gradually rose in the social scale, and Badar Singh, the great-grandson of Sada Singh, married the daughter of a petty Sardár of the district. From this union sprang Jassa Singh, who became the most powerful and influential Chief that the Sikhs ever possessed till the rise of Ranjít Singh. He adopted the title of Ahlúwália from his ancestral village Ahlu, the title is still borne by the Kapúrthala royal family, and a Sikh Kalál will commonly give his caste as Ahlúwália. The caste was thus raised in importance, many of its members abandoned their hereditary occupation, and its Musalmán section also grew ashamed of the social stigma conveyed by the confession of Kalál origin. It accordingly fabricated a story of Pathán origin, and, adding to the first letter of the caste name the Pathán tribal termination, called itself Kakkezai. The name was at first only used by the more wealthy members of the caste; but its use is spreading, and the cultivating owners of a village in Gújrát entered themselves as Kalál in the first and as Kakkezai in the second settlement. The well-known Shekhs of Hushyárpur are Kaláls who, while claiming Pathán origin, call themselves Shekhs and forbid widow-marriage. Some of the Musalmán Kaláls claim Rájpút or Khatri origin, and it is probable that many of the caste have returned themselves as Shekhs. The commercial Kaláls are said not to intermarry with those who still practise distillation.

MENIALS OF THE HILLS.

649. The Menials of the Hills.—The figures for such of the menial castes as are peculiar to the hills are given in Abstract No. 106 on page 337. To these must of course be added those members of the menial castes already described as are to be found in the hill tracts, such as the Chamár, Tarkhán, Lohár, and the like. I have divided the class into two groups. The first includes those castes which are found among the lower hills and in the tract at their foot. Even here it will be found that occupations tend to merge one into another in the most confusing manner, and that, even more than in the plains proper, it is difficult to distinguish between one outcast class and another. The second group is more strictly confined to the actual mountains; and here all seems to be confusion.

The Chamár, the Jhínwar, and the artisans appear to be tolerably distinct, and have already been described with the groups under which they fall. But even this is not the case everywhere; while throughout the hills we find a mixed class known as Koli, Dági, or Chanál, who not only perform the usual services demanded of outcasts, but also follow the occupations of very many of the artisan and higher menial castes. It is impossible to say how many of the people who have returned themselves as Barhái or some other caste which is sufficiently distinct in the plains, are really Koli by caste and have adopted the occupation merely of the caste under whose name they are shown. And even the inferior castes which bear the same name in the hills as in the plains, often adopt very different habits and occupy very different positions in the two tracts, as will be seen from the extracts I shall presently give from the reports of Messrs. Barnes and Anderson. One difference is probably almost universal, and that is that in the hills almost *all* menial castes occupy themselves very largely in field-labour; and it will be seen that in some parts the Kolis are generally known as Hális or Sepis, words in common use in the plains for two classes of agricultural labourers. At the same time it would appear that the services performed and dues received by village menials are less commonly regulated by custom in the hills than in the plains. The social position of the menial classes in the hills is thus described by Mr. Barnes in his Kángra Report:—

"Those classes who are too proud or too affluent to plough and yet hold lands, generally entertain *Kámas*, or labourers from "these outcast races, whose condition is almost analogous to that of slavery. He gets bread to eat, and a few clothes a year, and "is bound to a life of thankless exertion. These castes are always first impressed for *begár*, or forced labour, and, in addition to "carrying loads, have to provide grass for the camp. In the hills the depression of these castes is more marked than I have observed "elsewhere; their manner is subdued and deprecatory; they are careful to announce their caste; and an accidental touch of their "persons carries defilement, obliging the toucher to bathe before he can regain his purity. If any person of this caste has a letter "to deliver, he will throw or deposit his charge on the ground, but not transmit it direct from hand to hand. He is not allowed to "approach near, and in Court, when summoned, he will stand outside, not venturing unless bid to intrude within the presence. If "encouraged to advance he does so with hesitation; while all the neighbours fall back to avoid the contamination of his touch. "Under the rule of the Rájas they were subjected to endless restrictions. The women were not allowed to wear flounces deeper than

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" four inches to their dress, nor to use the finer metal of gold for ornaments. Their houses were never to exceed a certain size, nor " to be raised above one floor; the men were interdicted from wearing long hair; and in their marriages the bride was forced to go " on foot, instead of riding in a *jampán* or chair, as allowed to every other class. Certain musical instruments, such as the *Duful* " or drum, and the *Nikára*, or trumpet, were positively prohibited. Many of these restrictions are still maintained, although, of " course, there has been no sanction given or implied by the officers of Government."

650. As for the confusion I have mentioned, it is so clearly brought out in a report by Mr. Anderson, and that report gives such a valuable and interesting picture of the curious condition of the lower stratum of society in Kúlu and the higher hills, that I need not apologize for quoting it at some length. I should explain that the paragraphs I am about to quote were not meant by Mr. Anderson as a complete report upon any section of Kúlu society, but were merely hasty notes written in reply to enquiries made by me concerning certain specified castes:—

" I have said that a Kanet will smoke with a Náth and with a Nai, but in Kulu no good inference can be drawn from the fact " that the *hukka* is common. I believe that not many years ago all castes would have smoked from one pipe. It is still not a " matter of much importance, and under ordinary circumstances a Kanet will smoke with a Thawi, a Náth or a Nai, though he " might probably, if taxed with doing so, deny it. He would not eat with them. In some places as in Monáli Kothi, Kanets smoke " with Dagis, but this is not common in Kulu, though the exclusiveness has arisen only within the last few years, as caste distinc- " tions became gradually more defined.

" Then as to the identity of Dagi and Chanal. In Kulu proper there are no Chanals, that is, there are none who on being " asked to what caste they belong will answer that they are Chanals; but they will describe themselves as Dagi Chanals or Koli " Chanals, and men of the same families as these Dagi Chanals or Koli Chanals will as often merely describe themselves as Dagis " or Kolis. In Kulu Dagi, Koli, and Chanal mean very nearly the same thing, but the word Koli is more common in Seoraj and " Chanal is scarcely used at all in Kulu; but Chanals are, I believe, numerous in Mandi, and in the Kangra valley. A Dagi who " had been out of the Kulu valley told me he would call himself a Dagi in Kulu, a Chanal in Kangra, and a Koli in Plach or " Seoraj, otherwise these local castes would not admit him or eat with him. Again and again the same man has called himself " a Dagi and also a Koli. If a Kanet wishes to be respectful to one of this low caste he will call him a Koli, if angry with him a " Dagi. A Chanal of Mandi Territory will not intermarry with a Kulu Dagi.

" The popular explanation of the word Dagi is that it is derived from *dág* cattle, because they drag away the carcasses of dead " cattle and also eat the flesh. If a man says he is a Koli, then a Kanet turns round on him and asks him whether he does not " drag carcasses; and on his saying he does the Kanet alleges he is a Dagi, and the would-be Koli consents. There are very few " in Kulu proper that abstain from touching the dead. There are more in Seoraj, but they admit they are called either Dagis or " Kolis, and that whether they abstain from touching carcasses or not, all eat, drink and intermarry on equal terms. It is a mere " piece of affectation for a man who does not touch the dead to say he will not intermarry with the family of a man who is not so " fastidious. This is a social distinction, and probably also indicates more or less the wealth of the individual who will not touch the dead.

" From the natural evolution of caste distinctions in this direction, I would reason that once all the lower castes in Kulu ate " the flesh of cattle, but as Hindu ideas got a firmer footing, the better off refrained and applied to themselves the name of Koli. " Popular tradition seems however to go in the opposite direction, for according to it the Kolis came from Hindustan and gradually " fell to their present low position. The real Koli, or as he is called in Kulu the *Sachcha Koli*, is found in Kotlehr, Lambagraon, &c., " of Kangra proper. There the caste is also very low, but tradition ascribes to it a much higher position than it now holds. The " Kolis of Kangra will not have intercourse with the Kolis of Kulu on equal terms; the latter admit their inferiority and ascribe it to " their being defiled by touching flesh. But it is the same with Brahmans of the plains and of the hills; they will not intermarry.

" I am not aware what position the Kolis of Kangra hold to the Chanals of Kangra, but I believe they are considered inferior " to them, and that they will not eat together nor intermarry. The Chanals of Kangra will not, I understand, touch dead cattle, and " will not mix on equal terms with those that do. There are some Chanals in Outer Seoraj who are considered inferior to the Kolis there.

" A Chamar in Seoraj will call himself a Dagi, and men calling themselves Kolis said they would eat and drink with him. " They said he was a Chamar merely because he made shoes, or worked in leather. Most Dagis in Kulu proper will not eat with " Chamars, but in some places they will. It depends on what has been the custom of the families.

" The Kolis of Nirmand keep themselves separate from the Dagis in that direction, that is from those that touch dead cattle. " The reason is that they are more or less under the influence of the Brahmins who form a large part of the population of that " village. These Kolis of Nirmand will however intermarry with a family of Kolis that lives at a distance in Inner Seoraj. " This latter family has for some generations taken to turning in wood, and its members are called Kharadis as well as Kolis. " They do not touch carcasses, probably because they have a profession of their own and are richer; but they call themselves Kolis " or Dagis and intermarry on equal terms with the Kolis round them. This illustrates the unsettled state of these low castes, and " also the gradual advance of Hindu ideas.

" In Kulu there is not much difference between the Koli, the Dagi, and the Chanal, but they are not admitted to be the same " as the Kolis and Chanals of Kangra.

" In Kulu *Bateras* are merely Kolis, that is Dagis, who take out slates. They have taken to this trade, but are really Kolis. " They are found only in Plach, and hence are called Kolis, which name is more common there than that of Dagi. So Barhais are " Kolis or Dagis that use the axe. Bádhis and Barhais are the same in Kulu, but not in Kangra Proper. A Tarkhan of the " plains would shudder to associate with the Barhai of Kulu, who does not scruple to eat the flesh of dead animals. Kharadis " are Kolis of Seoraj that turn wood, and mix with Kolis and Dagis on equal terms. They are considered rather more respectable " than the common Kolis or Dagis, as they will not touch the dead. In Kulu Barhai or Bádhi and Kharadi are names applied to " different trades, not to different castes. The position of Lohars and Chamars is described in para. 113 of the Settlement Report " (quoted below). Barāras are Kolis that work in the *narodli* or hill bamboo. They were once probably all of one caste, and have " merely got the names of the professions they follow; but Lohars and Chamars can scarcely be called Dagis.

" But Thavis cannot be classed with Kolis and Dagis. They occupy a much higher position. They are just below the " Kanets, who will smoke with them, but not eat with them. They work both in wood and in stone, as the style of building in " Kulu requires that they should do so. It is only their trade that connects them with Barhais or Kharadis, with whom they will " not eat nor intermarry."

651.—Mr. Lyall thus describes the constitution and functions of the menial class in Kulu.

" The Dagis are the impure or Kamin caste. They are also commonly called Kolis, a name, however, which out of Kulu is " applied to any Kulu man [1]. In Seoraj they are commonly called Betus. Those among them who have taken to any particular " trade are called by the trade name, *e.g.*, *barára*, basket-maker; *barhái*, carpenter; *dhogri*, iron-smelter; *pumba*, wool-cleaner; " and these names stick to families long after they have abandoned the trade, as has been the case with certain families now named " Smith and Carpenter, in England. So also Chamars and Lohars, though they have been classed separately, are probably only Dagis " who took to those trades; but at the present day other Dagis will not eat with the Lohars, and in some parts they will not eat or " intermarry with the Chamars. Most Dagis will eat the flesh of bears, leopards, or *langúr* monkeys. All except the Lohars eat " the flesh of cattle who have died a natural death. They stand in a subordinate position to the Kanets, though they do not " hold their land of them. Certain families of Dagis, Chamars, and Lohars are said to be the *Korídárs*, *i.e.*, the " courtyard people" " of certain Kanet families. When a Kanet dies his heirs call the Koridar Dagis through their *jatái* or head men; they bring in " fuel for the funeral pile and funeral feast, wood for torches, play the pipes and drums in the funeral procession, and do other ser- " vices, in return for which they get food and the *kiria* or funeral perquisites. The dead bodies of cattle are another perquisite of " the Dagis, but they share them with the Chamars; the latter take the skin, and all divide the flesh. The Dagis carry palanquins " when used at marriages. The Lohars and Chamars also do work in iron and leather for the Kanets, and are paid by certain grain " allowances. The dress of the Dagis does not differ materially from that of the Kanets, except in being generally coarser in material " and scantier in shape. Their mode of life is also much the same."

[1] But see section 657. The word is *Kola*, not *Koli*.

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

Abstract No. 106, *showing* Menials of the Hills.

MENIALS OF THE HILLS.

Figures.

	49	78	57	41	137	97	66	50	176	178	185	151
	Barwála.	Batwál.	Meg.	Dúmna.	Barára.	Sarera.	Koli.	Dági.	Rehar.	Dosáli.	Hádi.	Ghái.
Dehli	7	...	...	...	...	...	4,409	...	...	...	...	...
Gurgaon	72	...	...	...	...	...	5,810	...	...	...	...	...
Hissar	...	...	...	...	...	...	400	...	...	...	...	...
Ambala	...	...	926	128	22	...	1,130	197	...	...	...	...
Ludhiana	5	...	...	9	...	...	205	...	...	...	...	...
Simla	...	...	...	457	...	...	3,794	264	57	...	...	...
Jalandhar	1,339	1	...	278	93	198	95	77	...	30	...	6
Hushyarpur	1,740	85	...	3,529	199	4,520	370	31	...	212	...	3
Kangra	1,514	3,630	...	11,095	989	5,1[illegible]2	11,301	19,742	...	276	295	1,579
Amritsar	13,180	80	237	260	361	...	...	...	...	16	...	...
Gurdaspur	9,530	964	6,373	27,270	327	481	238	...	...	9	...	...
Sialkot	16,901	13,190	28,705	...	79	...	14	...	...	...	...	...
Lahore	3,745	146	496	181	...	55	2	...	...	...	...	...
Gujranwala	5,029	19	80	105	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gujrat	904	...	1,373	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
British Territory	**54,128**	**18,121**	**38,371**	**43,424**	**2,070**	**10,407**	**27,837**	**20,311**	**64**	**622**	**305**	**1,588**
Patiala	...	6	...	1,163	70	2	10,048	...	...	...	...	...
Kapurthala	508	...	...	30	101	116	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total Eastern Plains	511	6	...	1,193	171	119	10,107	...	...	...	...	...
Mandi	...	...	...	11,540	...	15	10,673	4,475	...	...	...	...
Chamba	119	537	96	1,881	18	272	1,609	17,934	147	45	...	...
Nahan	...	...	...	4,126	203	...	24,230	2,213	...	...	...	...
Bilaspur	...	...	...	1,653	12	...	2,947	...	...	...	...	62
Bashahr	...	...	...	97	...	...	14,149	...	29	...	...	...
Nalagarh	...	...	...	1,096	15	...	1,435	3,051	...	...	...	71
Suket	...	...	...	3,133	...	...	7,753	1,689	...	...	...	...
Total Hill States	119	657	96	25,916	434	287	85,227	32,682	750	45	...	138
British Territory	54,128	18,121	38,371	43,424	2,070	10,407	27,837	20,311	64	622	305	1,588
Native States	630	663	96	27,109	605	406	95,334	32,682	750	45	...	138
Province	54,758	18,784	38,467	70,533	2,675	10,813	123,171	52,993	814	667	305	1,726

Proportion per 1,000 of total Population.

	49	78	57	41	137	97		66	50	176	151		
	Barwála.	Batwál.	Meg.	Dúmna.	Barára.	Sarera.	Total.	Koli.	Dági.	Rehar.	Ghái.	Total.	Grand Total.
Dehli	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7	...	...	...	7	7
Gurgaon	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...	...	9	9
Hissar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1
Ambala	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1	2
Ludhiana	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Simla	...	...	...	11	...	...	11	88	6	1	...	95	106
Jalandhar	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	2
Hushyarpur	2	...	...	4	...	5	11	...	...	...	...	...	11
Kangra	2	5	...	15	1	7	30	15	27	...	2	44	74
Amritsar	15	...	...	...	...	...	15	...	...	...	...	...	15
Gurdaspur	12	1	8	33	...	1	55	...	...	...	...	...	55
Sialkot	17	13	28	...	...	...	58	...	...	...	...	...	58
Lahore	4	...	1	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	5
Gujranwala	8	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	8
Gujrat	1	...	2	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	3
British Territory	**3**	**1**	**2**	**2**	...	**1**	**9**	**1**	**1**	...	...	**2**	**11**
Patiala	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	7	...	...	...	7	8
Kapurthala	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	2
Total Eastern Plains	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	4	4
Mandi	...	...	...	79	...	...	79	73	30	...	...	103	182
Chamba	1	5	1	16	...	2	25	14	155	...	...	169	194
Nahan	...	...	...	37	2	...	39	216	20	...	...	236	275
Bilaspur	...	...	...	19	...	...	19	34	...	...	...	34	53
Bashahr	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	220	...	...	...	220	222
Nalagarh	...	...	...	20	...	...	20	27	57	...	1	85	105
Suket	...	...	...	60	...	...	60	148	32	...	...	180	240
Total Hill States	...	...	...	34	1	...	35	111	43	1	...	155	190
British Territory	3	1	2	2	...	1	9	1	1	...	...	2	11
Native States	.	...	...	7	...	...	7	25	8	...	...	33	40
Province	2	1	2	3	...	...	8	5	2	...	...	7	15

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

In Spiti the Lohár would appear to be the only artisan or menial caste, society consisting of the cultivating class, the Lohár, and the Hesi or gipsy minstrel.

652. The Barwala and Batwal (Caste Nos. 49 and 78).—Barwála and Batwál are two words used almost indifferently to express the same thing, the former being more commonly used in the lower hills and the latter in the mountain ranges of Kángra. In Chamba both names are current as synonyms. But I have separated the figures, because the Batwál of Kángra is a true caste while Barwála is little more than the name of an occupation. Both words correspond very closely with the Lahbar or Baláhar of the plains, and denote the village watchman or messenger. In the higher hills this office is almost confined to the Batwáls, while in the lower hills it is performed by men of various low castes who are all included under the generic term of Barwála. These men are also the coolies of the hills, and in fact occupy much the same position there as is held by the Chamárs in the plains, save that they do not tan or work in leather. In Kángra they are also known as Kiráwak or Kirauk, a word which properly means a man whose duty it is to assemble coolies and others for *begár* or forced labour, and they are also called Satwág or "bearers of burdens." Like most hill menials they often cultivate land, and are employed as ploughmen and field labourers by the Rájpúts and allied races of the hills who are too proud to cultivate with their own hands. They are true village menials, and attend upon village guests, fill pipes, bear torches, and carry the bridegroom's palanquin at weddings and the like, and receive fixed fees for doing so. In the towns they appear to be common servants. They are of the lowest or almost the lowest standing as a caste, apparently hardly if at all above the Dúmna or sweeper of the hills; but the Batwál has perhaps a slightly higher standing than the Barwála. Indeed the name of Barwála is said to be a corruption of *báharwála* or "outsider," because, like all outcasts, they live in the outskirts of the village. They are returned in considerable numbers for almost all our sub-montane districts and for Kángra, but in the Hill States they would appear to have been included under some other of the menial castes. The term Barwála seems to be current also in Jálandhar, Amritsar, Lahore, and Síálkot, as considerable numbers are returned for these districts. In the higher ranges and where they are known as Batwál, they are almost all Hindus; but when they descend to the lower hills or plains and take the name of Barwála they are almost entirely Musalmán, except in Síálkot where a considerable number of them are still Hindus. In fact their difference of religion seems to correspond very largely with the difference in name; and indeed a portion of the Hindu Barwálas of Síálkot consists of 1,455 persons of that district who returned themselves as Ratál, and whom I classed as Barwála and not as Batwál because they were sub-montane and not montane in their habitat. The Ratáls would seem to be almost if not quite identical with the Barwálas or Batwáls, and are very largely employed as agricultural labourers on the footing of a true village menial. Bráhmans are said to officiate at the weddings of the Batwál; but if so I suspect it must be an outcast class of Bráhmans. The Barwálas claim Rájpút origin, a claim probably suggested, if any suggestion be needed, by their clans being called after Rájpút tribes, such as Manhás and Janjúa.

653. The Meg (Caste No. 57).—The Meg or as he is called in Ráwalpindi Meng, is the Chamár of the tract immediately below the Jammu hills. But he appears to be of a slightly better standing than the Chamár; and this superiority is doubtless owing to the fact that the Meg is a weaver as well as a worker in leather, for we have already seen that weaving stands in the social scale a degree higher than shoe-making[1]. Like the Chamárs of the plains the Megs work as coolies, and like all hill menials they work much in the fields. General Cunningham is inclined to identify them with the Mechioi of Arrian, and has an interesting note on them at page 11 *f*, Volume II of his Archæological Reports, in which he describes them as an inferior caste of cultivators who inhabited the banks of the upper Satluj at the time of Alexander's invasion, and probably gave their name to the town of Makhowál. They seem at present to be almost confined to the upper valleys of the Rávi and Chanáb, and their stronghold is the sub-montane portion of Síálkot lying between these two rivers. They are practically all Hindus.

654. The Dumna (Caste No. 41).—The Dúmna, called also Domra, and even Dúm in Chamba, is the Chúhra of the hills proper, and is also found in large numbers in the sub-montane districts of Hushyárpur and Gurdáspur. Like the Chúhra of the plains he is something more than a scavenger; but whereas the Chúhra works chiefly in grass, the Dúmna adds to this occupation the trade of working in bamboo, a material not available to the Chúhra. He makes sieves, winnowing pans, fans, matting, grass rope and string, and generally all the vessels, baskets, screens, furniture, and other articles which are ordinarily made of bamboo. When he confines himself to this sort of work and gives up scavengering, he appears to be called Bhanjra, at any rate in the lower hills, and occasionally Sariál; and I have included 261 Bhanjras and 31 Sariáls in my figures. In the Jálandhar division Bhanjras were not returned separately from Dúmnas. The Dúmna appears hardly ever to become Musalmán or Sikh, and is classed as Hindu, though being an outcast he is not allowed to draw water from wells used by the ordinary Hindu population.

The Dúmna is often called Dúm in other parts of India, as in Chamba; and is regarded by Hindus as the type of uncleanness. Yet he seems once to have enjoyed as a separate aboriginal race some power and importance. Further information regarding him will be found in Sherring (I, 400) and Elliott (I, 84). He is of course quite distinct from the Dúm-Mírási whom I have classed as Mírási.

655. The Barara (Caste No. 137).—The Barára or Barar is the basket-maker and bamboo worker of the higher hills, though he has spread into the sub-montane districts. He is not a scavenger by occupation, though he is said to worship Lál Beg the Chúhra deity. He is fond of hunting, which fact, combined with his occupation, would almost seem to point to a gipsy origin. He is also called Nirgálu, because he works in the Nargáli or hill-bamboo. The name is probably that of an occupation rather than of a true caste, and appears to be hardly distinguishable from Bhanjra. In Kúlu the Barára is said to be generally

[1] In Bíkáner and Sirsa a man who is pleased with a Chamár calls him Megwál, just as he calls him Dherh if he is angry with him. The Chamárs of the Bágar say they are descended from Meg Rikh, who was created by Nárain.

Koli by caste. He is an outcast, like all workers in grass or reeds, and only 66 are returned as Musalmáns.

656. The Sarera (Caste No. 97).—In my tables I found two castes returned, Sarera and Sarára; the former in the Amritsar, Lahore, and Ráwalpindi divisons, and the latter in the Jálandhar division and the Hazára district. It appeared on inquiry that the Hazára people were probably, though not certainly, distinct; while the others were certainly one and the same, and were sometimes called by the one name and sometimes by the other. I therefore entered them as Sarera, reserving Sarára for the Hazára people. The Sareras are returned only from Kángra and its neighbourhood. In Kángra they are for the most part general labourers; and they specially scutch cotton like the Penja or Dhunia of the plains, and are also said to make stone mortars. But they are likewise largely employed in field-labour. They are outcasts of much the same status as Chamárs, and almost all of them are classed as Hindu.

657. The Koli and Dagi (Chanal, Hali and Sepi) (Castes Nos. 66 and 50)[1].—These two words, together with a third name Chanál, are used almost indifferently to describe the lower class of menials of the highest hills. The Koli of the plains has already been described in section 611, and my figures for Koli include him also; but he is easily distinguishable by his locality, the figures for the Dehli and Hissár divisions and for Ambála referring to him and not to the Koli of the hills. The former is probably nothing more than a Chamár tribe immigrant from Hindústán; the latter, of Kolian origin. The two would appear, from Mr. Anderson's remarks quoted in section 650, to meet in the Siwáliks. General Cunningham believes that the hills of the Panjáb were once occupied by a true Kolian race belonging to the same group as the Kols of Central India and Behar, and that the present Kolis are very probably their representatives. He points out that *dá* the Kolian for water is still used for many of the smaller streams of the Simla hills, and that there is a line of tribes of Kolian origin extending from Jabbalpur at least as far as Allahabad, all of which use many identical words in their vocabularies, and have a common tradition of a hereditary connection with working in iron. The name of Kúlu, however, he identifies with Kulinda, and thinks that it has nothing in common with Kol. Unfortunately Kola is the ordinary name for any inhabitant of Kúlu; and though it is a distinct word from Koli and with a distinct meaning, yet its plural Kole cannot be discriminated from Koli when written in the Persian character; and it is just possible that our figures may include some few persons who are Kole, but not Koli.

The names Koli, Dági, and Chanál seem to be used to denote almost *all* the low castes in the hills. In the median ranges, such as those of Kángra proper, the Koli and Chanál are of higher status than the Dági, and not very much lower than the Kanet and Ghirath or lowest cultivating castes; and perhaps the Koli may be said to occupy a somewhat superior position to, and the Chanál very much the same position as the Chamár in the plains, while the Dági corresponds more nearly with the Chúhra. In Kúlu the three words seem to be used almost indifferently, and to include not only the lowest castes, but also members of those castes who have adopted the pursuits of respectable artisans. The very interesting quotations from Messrs. Lyall and Anderson in sections 650, 651 give full details on the subject. Even in Kángra the distinction appears doubtful. Mr. Lyall quotes a tradition which assigns a common origin, from the marriage of a demi-god to the daughter of a Kúlu demon, to the Kanets and Dágis of Kúlu, the latter having become separate owing to their ancestor, who married a Tibetan woman, having taken to eating the flesh of the Yák, which, as a sort of ox, is sacred to Hindus; and he thinks that the story may point to a mixed Mughal and Hindu descent for both castes. Again he writes: "The Koli class is pretty numerous in Rájgiri on "the north-east side of parganah Hamírpur; like the Kanet it belongs to the country to the east of Kángra "proper. I believe this class is treated as outcast by other Hindus in Rájgiri, though not so in Biláspur "and other countries to the east. The class has several times attempted to get the Katoch Rája to remove "the ban, but the negotiations have fallen through because the bribe offered was not sufficient. Among "outcasts the Chamárs are, as usual, the most numerous." Of parganah Kángra he writes: "The Dágis "have been entered as second-class Gaddis, but they properly belong to a different nationality, and bear "the same relation to the Kanets of Bangáhal that the Sepis, Bádis, and Hális (also classed as second-class "Gaddis) do to the first-class Gaddis." So that it would appear that Dágis are more common in Kángra proper, and Kolis to the east of the valley; and that the latter are outcast while the former claim kinship with the Kanet. It will be observed that, while Chamárs are returned in great numbers from Kángra and the Hill States, Chúhras seem to be included under Dági or Koli, probably the former. The word Dági is sometimes said to be derived from *dágh*, a stain or blemish; but it is hardly likely that in the hills, of all parts of the Panjáb, a word of Persian origin should be in common use as the name of a caste, and Mr. Anderson's derivation quoted in section 650 is far more probable. At the same time the word is undoubtedly used as a term of opprobrium. Chanál is perhaps the modern form of Chandála, the outcast of the hills, so often mentioned in the Rájatarangini and elsewhere.

658. The Koli and Dági are found in great numbers throughout the hills proper, and in no other part of the Province. Unfortunately the Kolis of the Native States were omitted when Table VIII A was being printed. They will be found at the end of the table for those States, while the total for the Province in the British territory tables is corrected in the *errata*. They are almost without exception classed as Hindu. I have included under the head Dági those returned as Dági, Chanál, Háli or Sepi. The 461 Dágis of the Ambála division returned themselves as Chanál. In the Jálandhar division 12,981 are returned as Dági-Koli, 4,687 as Dági-Chanál, 48 as Dági-Barhái, and 1,188 as Sepi. The Dágis of the Hill States are all returned as Chanál, except 3,228 shown as Dági in Mandi and 550 in Biláspur, and the Hális of Chamba. The Hális are all returned from Chamba, where they number 16,228. Major Marshall, the Superintendent of that State, informs me that Háli is the name given in Chamba to Dági or Chanál; and that the Hális are a low caste, much above the Dúmna and perhaps a little above the Chamár, who do all sorts of menial work and are very largely employed in the fields. They will not intermarry with the Chamár.

[1] For the figures for the Kolis of the Native States, see the *end* of Table VIII A in Appendix B.

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

The Sepi, the same gentleman informs me, is a superior kind of Háli. The word is used in Amritsar and the neighbouring districts for any village menial who assists in agriculture, just as Háli means nothing more than ploughman in the plains. Mr. Lyall classes both Sepis and Hális with Dágis. The main sub-divisions returned by the Kolis are given in the margin. The Dágis show no large divisions. The Hushyárpur Kolis are said to be divided into two sections, Andarla and Báharla, of which the former ranks higher and the latter lower than the Chamár[1].

KOLI DIVISIONS.			
1. Barhái	4,064	3. Chauhán	11,616
2. Basehru	5,018	4. Dági	3,990

659. The Rehar (Caste No. 176).—The Rehar or Rihára appears to be very closely allied to the Dúmna. He is found only in the hills. Like the Dúmna he works in bamboo, but like the Hesi he travels about as a strolling minstrel. He is said to make the trinkets worn by the Gaddi women, and to furnish the music at Gaddi weddings. He is much dreaded as a sorcerer. He is an outcast.

660. The Dosali (Caste No. 178).—The Dosáli is a hill caste of superior standing to the Chamár, who makes the cups and platters of leaves which are used at Hindu weddings. The word is perhaps more the name of an occupation than of a caste, and is derived from *dúsa*, the small piece of straw with which he pins the leaves together; but the Dosáli is said not to marry out of his caste. Probably many of them have been returned as Kolis. They are a very low caste, but not outcast; indeed if they were, articles made by them would hardly be used for eating from.

661. The Hadi (Caste No. 185).—This is also a hill caste, and returned from Kángra only. They would appear to be general labourers, to make bricks, carry earth, vegetables, &c., for hire, and to be something like the Kumhár of the plains. But I have no detailed information regarding them.

662. The Ghai (Caste No. 151).—I am in absolute uncertainty regarding this caste, even as to whether it is a caste at all. It was represented to me as a separate caste called Ghási or Ghái, who are the grass-cutters of the hills. But the derivation sounds suspicious. I can obtain no trustworthy information about the caste, and I never heard of grass-cutting as a hereditary occupation. I am not at all sure that the word is not simply Khas or Khasia, the great branch of the Kanets, and probably the representatives of the ancient Khas who once inhabited Kashmír and the western portion of the lower Himálayas; and that it has not been written with a *g* instead of a *k* by an ignorant enumerator. Mr. Anderson tells me that the word Ghái is used in Kángra for a grass-cutter.

PURBIA MENIALS.

663. The Purbia Menials.—The group for which the figures are given in Abstract No. 107 on the opposite page have little in common in their place of origin, but much as they exist in the Panjáb. They are all immigrants from the North-West Provinces, who have for the most part come into the Panjáb with our troops. Some of them belong to castes which are properly agricultural; but these men have as a rule settled down to menial occupations or taken to service, and they are almost confined to the Panjáb cantonments. They are almost all Hindus. They will not need any lengthy description, for they are essentially foreigners in the Panjáb.

The Kori (Caste No. 99) is a great tribe of Chamárs whose head-quarters are in Oudh and the neighbouring country; and it is probably identical with the Koli of the eastern districts of the plains who have already been described. The Kori Chamár seldom works in leather, rather confining himself to weaving and general labour. In the Panjáb cantonments the latter is his occupation. He is a coolie and grass-cutter, and not unfrequently takes service in the latter capacity or as a groom.

The Kurmi (Caste No. 119) or Kumbhi is a great caste of cultivators very widely distributed over the eastern parts of Hindústán and the Deccan. "A good caste is the Kunbin. With hoe in hand she "weeds the field together with her husband." But in the cantonments of the Panjáb they are generally occupied, like other Púrbis, in cutting grass, weaving, and serving as grooms; and they are even said to keep pigs. They are of course a very low caste; lower far in social standing than our indigenous agricultural castes.

The Jaiswara (Caste No. 127).—Many of the north-western castes include a tribe of this name; more especially the menial and outcast classes, though there are also Jaiswára Rájpúts and Banyas. The name is supposed to be derived from Jais, a large manufacturing town in Oudh. But the Jaiswáras of the Panjáb cantonments probably belong to the Chamár tribe of that name. They are generally found in attendance upon horses, and a considerable proportion of our grooms and grass-cutters are Jaiswáras. They also frequently take service as bearers.

The Pasi (Caste No. 156).—This caste is closely allied with the Khatíks, who indeed are said by some to be nothing more than a Pási tribe. They are said to be the professional watchman and thief of the North-West Provinces, which is not the only part of India where the two occupations go together. It is said that their name is derived from *pása*, a noose; and that their original occupation is that of climbing the toddy palm by means of a noose and making toddy. They are a very low caste, and great keepers of pigs; and in the cantonments of the Province they are often employed in collecting and selling cowdung as fuel.

The Purbi (Caste No. 146).—This word means nothing more than an "east country man," from *púrab*, the east, and is used generically in the Panjáb for all the menial immigrants from the North-West Provinces who compose the group now under discussion.

[1] Mr. Anderson notes on this, that in Kúlu Dágis, Kolis, Chamárs, and in short all outcasts, are commonly described by the people as *báhar ke* (outsiders), as opposed to *andar ke* (insiders), which latter term includes Kanets and the better castes. The words simply imply that the former class must remain outside the place where food is cooked and water kept, while the latter may go inside. It is very probable that the terms Andarla and Báharla express the relation in which the respective sections of Kolis stand to each other in this respect; and it may be that the two names are applied to the Chamár and Kolian section respectively, which, as we have seen above, meet on the Hushyárpur and Kángra borders.

Part VI.—The Vagrant, Menial, and Artisan Castes.

Abstract No. 107, *showing the* Purbia Menials.

	PURBIA MENIALS.										
	FIGURES.					PROPORTION PER 1,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.					
	99	119	127	156	146	99	119	127	156		
	Kori.	Kurmi.	Jaiswára.	Pási.	Púrbi.	Kori.	Kurmi.	Jaiswára.	Pasi.	TOTAL.	
Dehli	145	233	...	20	...	...	...	...	...	...	Dehli
Karnal	817	161	...	221	...	1	...	...	...	1	Karnal
Ambala	3,404	508	741	356	73	3	1	1	...	5	Ambala
Simla	540	112	257	11	...	13	3	6	...	22	Simla
Jalandhar	...	486	107	17	117	...	1	...	...	1	Jalandhar
Amritsar	127	407	...	...	433	...	...	...	...	...	Amritsar
Gurdáspur	54	1	76	...	111	...	...	...	...	...	Gurdáspur
Siálkot	...	...	...	99	23	...	...	...	...	...	Siálkot
Lahore	1,462	136	...	198	93	2	...	...	...	2	Lahore
Gujránwala	42	28	...	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	Gujránwala
Firozpur	662	362	...	90	...	1	1	...	...	2	Firozpur
Rawalpindi	1,475	623	1,174	194	39	2	1	1	...	4	Rawalpindi
Jahlam	...	345	102	...	35	...	1	...	...	1	Jahlam
Shahpur	2	...	24	...	128	...	...	...	...	...	Shahpur
Multan	578	33	226	...	55	1	...	...	...	1	Multan
Derah Ismail Khan	49	...	36	8	156	...	...	...	...	...	Derah Ismail Khan
Derah Ghazi Khan	77	31	107	11	60	...	...	...	...	...	Derah Ghazi Khan
Bannu	101	3	17	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	Bannu
Peshawar	666	3	169	87	10	1	...	...	...	1	Peshawar
British Territory	10,522	3,675	3,419	1,349	1,668	1	...	...	...	1	**British Territory**
Patiala	71	181	20	29	41	...	...	...	...	...	Patiala
Nabha	...	40	2	134	10	...	...	...	1	1	Nabha
Kapurthala	75	23	27	...	55	...	...	...	...	...	Kapurthala
Total East. Plains	157	285	51	165	109	...	...	...	...	...	Total East. Plains
Bahawalpur	...	...	...	...	250	...	...	...	...	...	Bahawalpur
Total Hill States	60	57	21	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	Total Hill States
British Territory	10,522	3,675	3,419	1,349	1,668	1	...	...	...	1	**British Territory**
Native States	217	342	72	193	359	...	...	...	...	...	**Native States**
Province	10,739	4,017	3,491	1,542	2,027	...	...	...	...	...	**Province**

CHAPTER VII.

AGE, SEX, AND CIVIL CONDITION.

PART I.—THE AGES OF THE PEOPLE.

664. Introductory.—The statistics for age are given separately for each religion in Table VII, Appendices A and B, while Supplementary Table M, Appendix C, gives the distribution by age of every 10,000 of all religions in each district for males, females, and persons separately. The subject of age, sex, and civil condition—for the three are so intimately connected that they really form but one subject—is one which I have left almost to the last, and which I shall have to discuss very briefly. But this is the less to be regretted, partly because the statistics are of the very slightest administrative importance, partly because the matter is one which has been dealt with in great detail elsewhere, and still more because I think that the figures afford an exceedingly unsatisfactory basis upon which to build any general conclusions. And this I think, not so much because age statistics in India are notoriously inexact, as because I believe that the age statistics of this present Census in particular are wholly abnormal. Mr. Wilson writes: "The age "given is of course only a very rough approximation. An old man would give his age as '60 or 70,' and "when told that he had been entered at 50, would say '50 it is, let it stand!' Very few knew their age "within 5 or 10 years." This being the case—and I think the experience of all Panjáb officers would affirm the general truth of the remark—it might be argued that the age tables are simple waste paper. But I do not think so. It is extraordinary how largely errors due to mere chance tend to neutralise one another if the numbers concerned are sufficiently large: and here we are dealing with many millions. Quetelet has shown that the heights of soldiers in the French army, and many other as apparently irregular statistics, follow a regular law if a large number are taken; and where no special causes are at work to induce misstatement, I believe that our age tables afford us on the whole a very fairly accurate representation of the general distribution by age of the Panjáb population at the time of the Census; though the more we descend to details and the smaller the numbers we deal with, the less reliance can be placed on the figures. It is indeed probable that such special causes were at work in certain cases; and I shall presently attempt to indicate their nature and effect. But the general agreement of the figures given for the 32 separate districts in Supplementary Table M of Appendix C is far greater than could possibly be the case were the statistics wholly or even to a great extent worthless. Still, even if the age of every soul living in the Panjáb at the time of the Census had been exactly ascertained and the figures tabulated with absolute accuracy, I believe that the results would have been very far from representing the normal distribution by age of the population of the Province; and I shall give my reasons for so thinking in the few paragraphs presently following. There is however one point to which I must refer before proceeding to the discussion of the figures. So far as I know there are no considerations of such weight that they can be supposed to have materially affected the figures, that should induce the wilful misstatement of the age of a male. Such considerations do however exist in the case of females; and I shall therefore take the male ages as my standard, and discussing them first, compare the female ages with them afterwards, or as occasion may arise. I shall not attempt to institute any comparison between the present figures and those of last Census. In 1868 the schedules did not show ages in detail, but only distinguished children, youths, and adults; and the figures were admittedly imperfect and untrustworthy.

665. Causes of error in the figures.—Before taking the actual numbers into consideration, I will point out some general causes of error which will partly explain the peculiarities of the figures, and to which I shall have to refer more or less frequently during their discussion. The Government of India, for reasons which were not explained, decided that everybody's age was to be counted from his *last* birthday, and that a child of one and a half years old was to be recorded as one year old. This is wholly opposed to the custom of the country, which is to count such a child as two years old; and I have little doubt that the instructions were as a rule neglected, and that such children were very generally entered as of two years of age. If this had been consistently done throughout it would not have very materially affected the higher ages. But the rule forced us to record the age of children of under one year in months, and accordingly the enumerators were told to enter such ages in words not figures, with the word 'months' after the entry; and their attention being thus specially directed to the point, they very generally followed the instructions. Thus while children of between one and two years were probably often shown as two years old, children of under one year old were generally shown correctly; and this unduly reduced the number shown as one year old. Again errors probably occurred in abstracting the figures owing to the confusion between months and years; but this would only reduce the numbers under one year and increase in nearly equal proportions all entries from one to eleven years of age. Thus so far I have only shown that some children who should have been entered as one year old were probably entered as two years old.

Another cause of error, which only Mr. Wilson would appear to have detected, was the period that elapsed between the preliminary record and the final Census. That period may be taken at an average as 5¼ weeks, or a tenth of a year. Now during that interval one-tenth of the annual births must be supposed to have occurred; or perhaps more, as the cold weather is the season for births; similarly one-tenth of the annual deaths occurred, or somewhat less, as the cold weather is healthy; and finally about one-tenth of the numbers recorded in the preliminary record as being under any year of age, attained that year and passed into the next. Now when the preliminary record was corrected on the night of the Census those who had died in the interval were struck out; those who had been born in the interval were added to the numbers under one year old; but it may safely be asserted that not a single entry of age was altered because the living had grown older since the preliminary record was made. Thus what we did was this. We struck out of the numbers recorded for each annual period of age all that had died during a tenth of a year; but we did not add to those numbers the people who had passed into nor deduct from them the people who had passed out of that period during the same interval. Now, the population being practically stationary, the excess of the numbers passing into over those passing

Part I.—The Ages of the People.

out of any annual period of age during any year, must be exactly equal to the number of deaths which annually take place in that period of age. In a word, we cut out the deaths for a tenth of a year, but did not allow for the progress of age which would have filled up the vacancies caused by those deaths. Thus the result is that our numbers for each intermediate annual period of age are too small by one-tenth of the annual mortality proper to that period. This error is generally small, though largest in the earlier years of infancy when mortality is greatest. But in the first year of life the error is very considerable. Here we *did* add all those who passed into the period by birth, and we cut out all the deaths; but we did not deduct those who passed out of it by progress of age during a tenth of a year. Now the population being taken as stationary, the number of children who annually pass out of the first into the second year of life is the same as the number of children of between one and two years of age at any time. Thus our figures for under one year are too large by one-tenth of the whole number of children between one and two years of age; that is to say, our figures for the first year are too large by 6 per cent. even if we take our recorded figures for the second year of life, which have just been shown to be far too small, as accurate; and the excess is really probably something like 8 or 9 per cent. Similar considerations will show that, since all persons passing out of the last period of life by progress of age, that is to say dying, were duly struck out, our figures for that period are too large by one-tenth of the number of persons between 60 and 61 years of age; and this correction again will be comparatively large[1].

666. Another cause of error is the tendency of people who are uncertain about their exact age to state it in round numbers. A man who is somewhere about 50 years of age will say he is 50 years old, and not 49 or 51. If he does not think he is quite 50 much he will say 45, but seldom 44 or 46; and there is a far greater tendency to say 30, 40, 50, than 35, 45, or 55. Now the periods into which our ages are divided run thus—40, 41, 42, 43, 44—45, 46, 47, 48, 49—50, 51, 52, 53, 54, and so on; and the numbers shown for from 40 to 45 will, owing to the tendency just noted, be unduly raised at the expense of the numbers for from 45 to 50, and so on throughout. The same tendency has been noticed in England, where the following figures were obtained for ages at burial:—

Age.	Numbers.	Age.	Numbers.	Age.	Numbers.
49	8,940	59	9,899	69	12,913
50	12,443	60	16,135	70	20,974
51	7,607	61	9,860	71	12,538

Age period.	Total males.
10—15	1,484,679
15—20	1,098,197
20—25	1,052,349
25—30	1,047,147
30—35	1,042,673
35—40	625,820
40—45	801,047
45—50	424,975
50—55	607,607
55—60	208,664

The totals for the Province given in the margin illustrate the effect of this tendency. The numbers for each successive period should not only be smaller than those for the preceding one, but should also be smaller in something like a constant proportion. In the earlier periods where the age is better known this is to some extent the case, the exception being the period of 25—30 which is apparently too large instead of too small, a fact which may I think be accounted for by 25 years being a common age for a young man to give. But directly we reach higher ages where there is greater uncertainty, the numbers for the periods in even tens are enormously increased at the expense of those in even fives. The error can be almost eliminated by taking decades instead of lustrums; and, since the greatest error is, to return to our old example, at the even tens, the most accurate results will be obtained by taking our periods at 35 to 45, 45 to 55, and so on. But this breaks the continuity at the beginning and end of the series, and moreover Table VI has been arranged by groups running from 30 to 40, 40 to 50, and so forth. I shall therefore, when using ten-yearly periods, follow this latter arrangement.

I have consulted many judicial officers of experience as to whether there is in their opinion any tendency to exaggerate or to understate their age among the natives, or whether they think that the mind is impartial in its inaccuracy. The weight of opinion seems to be to the effect that the aged have a very marked tendency to exaggerate their age; that middle aged females have some slight tendency, though not nearly so marked as among Europeans, to understate their age; and that there is no other tendency observable.

Thus we arrive at the following probable or certain errors:—

(1). The numbers for between one and two years of age are probably too small owing to many children over one year of age being recorded as two years old, whereas children of under one year of age were not nearly so often recorded as one year old.

(2). The numbers for under one year of age are too large by some 6 to 8 per cent. owing to the interval between the preliminary record and the final Census.

(3). The numbers for 60 and upwards are a good deal too small owing to the same cause.

(4). The numbers for all intermediate periods are slightly too small owing to the same cause.

(5). The numbers for such periods as 40 to 45 are much too large, and those for such periods as 45 to 50 much too small owing to the preference for round numbers, and this especially in the higher periods of age. The period of 25 to 30 is probably an exception. The error is nearly eliminated by taking ten-yearly periods.

(6). In the more advanced ages the age is probably greatly exaggerated; while in the median periods for women the numbers are probably too small, and in the next earlier periods correspondingly too large.

[1] An argument of this sort which is perfectly clear to the writer so often appears confused and dubious to the reader, that it is perhaps worth while to put the above reasoning into symbols

Let A_n = the number of persons of *n* years of age at any time;

a_n = the annual death-rate for that period of age.

Then, since the persons of any year of age are the survivors from the preceding year—

$$A_n = A_{n-1}(1-a_{n-1})$$

or, $A_{n-1} - A_n = A_{n-1}\,a_{n-1}$

and $A_n(1-a_n)$ = the number of persons who pass from *n* to $\overline{n+1}$ years of age during any year by progress of age.

Now, for the period of *n* years of age, the *gain* owing to the absence of adjustment at the final Census of the ages entered at the preliminary record, or one-tenth of a year earlier, is equal to the number of people who have passed from *n* to $\overline{n+1}$ years of age during that period, and who ought to have been cut out. The *loss* is equal to the number of people who have passed from $\overline{n-1}$ to *n* years of age during that period, and who ought to have been brought in,

or, gain $= \frac{1}{10}[A_n(1-a_n)]$

$$\text{loss} = \tfrac{1}{10}[A_{n-1}(1-a_{n-1})]$$

$$\therefore \text{net loss} = \tfrac{1}{10}[A_{n-1}(1-a_{n-1}) - A_n(1-a_n)]$$

$$= \tfrac{1}{10}[(A_{n-1}-A_n) - A_{n-1}\,a_{n-1} + A_n\,a_n]$$

$$= \frac{A_n\,a_n}{10}$$

or, one-tenth of the mortality of the *n*th year of age.

For the first age-period, A_0, there is no loss, and the gain is—

$$\frac{A_0(1-a_0)}{10} = \frac{A_1}{10}$$

or, a tenth of the number of children between one and two years of age.

For the last age-period there is no gain, and the loss is—

$$\frac{A_{59}(1-a_{59})}{10} = \frac{A_{60}}{10}$$

or, a tenth of the number of people between 60 and 61 years of age.

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667. The first five years of life.—The total number of males returned for each of the first five years of life are shown in the margin, and the figures for the second lustrum are added for comparison with their total. The figures are very extraordinary. The children of each year of life can only be the survivors from among those of the next-lower year; even supposing there to have been no deaths they can only equal and never exceed them; and since children die every year at all ages, the number of children of any year of age must, supposing the birth and death-rates to remain constant, always be less than the number in the next earlier year. But our figures, after the first year, steadily increase instead of decreasing, and the number shown as between 5 and 10 years of age is actually greater than that under 5 years old. One would expect the statistics for the first few years of life to be far more accurate than those for the later periods, for there can hardly be any mistake about the age of a very young child. The small number shown as between one and two years of age is doubtless partly due to cause (1) stated at the end of section 666, while the excess of the numbers for the second lustrum over those for the first may be due in part to five being taken as a good round number of years to give a child of about that age. But these considerations account for but a very small part of the difficulty. Are then the figures wholly inaccurate? The facts render such a conclusion impossible. We have in the Panjáb 31 districts and 15 States of which each contains more than 50,000 souls; and in every single one of these 46 units, and even in many of the minor States where the smallness of the figures render them less trustworthy, exactly the same phænomenon is to be observed, though not always to the same extent. The figures for each religion share it; the figures for Bengal and the North-west Provinces and I believe for Bombay exhibit the same peculiarity; and it is unquestionable that the figures, extraordinary as they seem, do represent the facts, at least in broad outline. It is obvious that a wave of infecundity has during the last few years swept over at least Northern India, and that the five years between 1876 and 1880 have seen a far smaller number of births than took place between 1871 and 1875. I have already, in section 130, given the facts regarding the health of the Province and the state of the crops for each year between 1868 and 1881; and I have in section 131 and again in sections 189, 190 drawn attention to the violent fluctuations which characterise the vital statistics of an Indian population. The intimate connection between a high death-rate and a low birth-rate, and the extraordinary effect which disease, and still more distress, has in checking the natural fecundity of the population, have been dwelt upon year after year by the Sanitary Commissioner, who gave detailed statistics on the subject in his Report for 1879; and the marvellous recuperative power exhibited by the people of India, and the manner in which as improving seasons restore plenty to the villages, the birth-rate rises, the population increases, and the gaps caused by years of death are more than filled up, have been subjects of frequent observation. There can be no doubt whatever that the late Census was taken at the end, as that of 1868 was taken at the beginning of one of those periods of depression when the procreative energy of the people is at its lowest; and that it is to this cause that we must refer the phænomenon under examination. The figures of Abstract No. 108 below show the proportion per 10,000 males of all ages recorded in each district for each of the first five years of life, their total, and the corresponding figures for the next lustrum; and side by side with these figures they give the recorded death-rates per 1,000 for each year from 1876 to 1881 expressed as percentages on the average rate since 1868.

Age period.	Total males.
0—1	385,334
1—2	221,222
2—3	257,217
3—4	311,793
4—5	337,814
0—5	1,513,380
5—10	1,691,707

Abstract No. 108, *showing* Age Figures and Death-rates *from* 1875 to 1881 *for* Districts.

	Proportion per 10,000 Males of all ages returned for each of the following ages.							Death-rates of the Province in percentages of the average since 1868 for the following years.							
	0—	1—	2—	3—	4—	0—5.	5—10.	1880.	1879.	1878.	1877.	1876.	1875.	Average.	
Dehli	286	146	139	191	227	989	1,215	97	203	157	74	69	86	100	Dehli
Gurgaon	308	131	101	170	226	936	1,360	79	279	234	66	69	93	100	Gurgaon
Karnal	307	142	145	214	256	1,064	1,305	141	219	163	78	78	78	100	Karnal
Hissar	328	205	181	247	273	1,234	1,247	105	221	132	63	63	95	100	Hissar
Rohtak	312	165	150	226	268	1,121	1,263	113	279	154	75	71	92	100	Rohtak
Sirsa	388	231	225	289	290	1,423	1,282	100	182	123	73	82	105	100	Sirsa
Ambala	300	137	166	215	263	1,081	1,288	125	175	121	67	113	92	100	Ambala
Ludhiana	338	176	189	228	256	1,187	1,330	96	126	167	81	104	96	100	Ludhiana
Simla	150	91	113	127	149	630	715	141	176	124	88	106	129	100	Simla
Jalandhar	335	132	168	189	192	1,016	1,355	76	103	218	73	176	97	100	Jalandhar
Hushyarpur	299	135	194	236	233	1,097	1,360	90	123	123	71	161	126	100	Hushyarpur
Kangra	226	185	209	242	251	1,113	1,333	142	133	92	83	104	108	100	Kangra
Amritsar	334	180	217	244	222	1,197	1,251	91	134	141	81	128	116	100	Amritsar
Gurdaspur	324	154	193	226	235	1,132	1,347	100	125	104	75	125	150	100	Gurdaspur
Sialkot	371	191	206	245	255	1,268	1,387	85	85	85	63	148	104	100	Sialkot
Lahore	361	206	231	251	243	1,292	1,256	100	132	148	87	113	100	100	Lahore
Gujranwala	348	187	222	253	252	1,262	1,388	117	148	148	104	187	100	100	Gujranwala
Firozpur	396	233	219	241	250	1,339	1,361	109	124	205	76	114	86	100	Firozpur
Rawalpindi	250	139	229	294	345	1,257	1,486	123	258	142	81	73	77	100	Rawalpindi
Jahlam	303	180	275	319	344	1,421	1,529	108	165	112	77	73	85	100	Jahlam
Gujrat	358	204	242	275	327	1,406	1,555	150	155	145	90	110	90	100	Gujrat
Shahpur	336	203	272	323	340	1,474	1,493	119	112	115	85	88	92	100	Shahpur
Multan	314	199	263	304	305	1,385	1,459	109	87	122	109	130	122	100	Multan
Jhang	359	216	307	336	356	1,574	1,600	127	87	80	87	107	120	100	Jhang
Montgomery	349	231	305	328	317	1,530	1,490	87	91	130	91	100	135	100	Montgomery
Muzaffargarh	369	163	252	299	329	1,412	1,594	132	109	141	109	109	82	100	Muzaffargarh
Derah Ismail Khan	272	221	268	331	346	1,438	1,556	124	105	129	95	90	76	100	Derah Ismail Khan
Derah Ghazi Khan	343	184	263	328	363	1,481	1,609	129	100	129	100	121	93	100	Derah Ghazi Khan
Bannu	288	203	262	374	370	1,497	1,738	150	128	117	100	106	67	100	Bannu
Peshawar	222	171	238	278	314	1,223	1,445	120	160	173	73	93	87	100	Peshawar
Hazara	283	168	244	297	375	1,367	1,693	94	141	147	76	100	94	100	Hazara
Kohat	236	172	269	369	356	1,402	1,600	150	167	92	67	83	75	100	Kohat
British Territory	**317**	**175**	**221**	**257**	**277**	**1,238**	**1,394**	**108**	**152**	**144**	**80**	**112**	**100**	**100**	**British Territory**

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668. The figures speak for themselves. The death-rates we know to be inaccurate, especially in the west of the Panjáb. But we know that they are never in excess of the truth, and that though a slight annual increase is probably due to improved registration, yet that increase has been for many years very small, and that the *relative* figures comparing one year with another in the same district are probably very fairly accurate. If we were to take the male death-rates only, the results would be still more striking. The death-rates however are not the only test; distress from want is even more potent in checking births than is actual disease. The trouble began in 1875 with a singularly unhealthy season, and in that year were begotten the children who were returned in February 1881 as between 4 and 5 years of age. The next year was still more unhealthy, especially in the hills and in the sub-montane, central, and Jamna districts; and in that year the children between 4 and 5 were born and those between 3 and 4 begotten. In 1877 and 1878 there was something like famine in the east of the Panjáb, combined with terrible fever and disease; and in 1879 and 1880 the crops in the west were bad, while the health, in 1879 at least, was even worse than in 1878, and the epidemic of fever spread to the Salt-range districts. It was these years of famine, when the children returned at the Census as between 2 and 4 were born and those between 1 and 3 were begotten, that did the evil work; and an examination of the figures given above will show how far more they told upon the population of the eastern districts, where distress was most severe, than upon that of the western portion of the Province. The figures for Gurgáon, Karnál, Rohtak, and Ambála are simply terrible. The table in the margin conveniently summarises the results. The figures in the body of this small table show the number of males recorded for each of the first five years of life, taking those under one year as 100 in each division. But the most significant figures are the years given at the top of the table, above the age periods. Those years are the years in which the children shown below each were begotten. In the Dehli and Hissár divisions the figures for 1877 are smallest, and it was there that the famine was worst and its results would be most immediately felt. In the central divisions the figures below 1878 are smallest, and there it took two years of distress to produce the greatest effects. In the western divisions the figures below 1875 and 1876 are high, and those of 1877 as high as they would naturally be after deducting the infant deaths for three full years, while those for 1878 and 1879 are low; and there the distress began in 1878 and was followed by disease in 1879. It must be remembered that when the Dehli figures show that for every 78 male children of between 4 and 5 years of age there are only 42 of between 2 and 3, it does not merely mean that children were born in those proportions in 1876 and 1878 respectively, but that the children born in 1876 were so numerous compared with those born in 1878, that whereas two years sufficed to reduce the latter to 42, four years of life and death only reduced the former to 78; and so throughout. It will now be understood why I say that, even if we had absolutely accurate age statistics for the population of the Panjáb as it stood on the Census night, they would be very far from affording us a fair representation of the normal distribution by age of the people. In fact I do not believe that any single Census *can* give us such a representation. A Census taken in 1871 would have presented the same features as the present one. The Census taken in 1868 would, had it given ages in detail, have erred in exactly the opposite direction, and have shown an abnormally large proportion of very young children. In fact it did show so large a proportion of children that the figures were suspected of being wholly incorrect. The mortality in times of distress is so great and the decrease of fecundity so marked, that it is only by the most extraordinary fecundity when more favourable conditions recur that the population of the Panjáb can increase at all; and thus the children come in waves, and not in a steady flow. By adding together the figures of successive enumerations made under varying conditions and at different phases of the wave, we may neutralise the inequalities and obtain a standard set of age figures about which the population is ever oscillating. But no one set can be anything but exceptional; and the set we have obtained at the present Census is perhaps unusually so. Thus we must dismiss the figures for the first five years of life as wholly abnormal, and remember that their total is very far smaller than it would be under ordinary circumstances, and especially so in the eastern districts.

Division.	1879.	1878.	1877.	1876.	1875.
	0—1	1—2	2—3	3—4	4—5
Dehli	100	46	42	64	78
Hissar	100	58	53	74	82
Ambala	100	48	56	71	83
Jalandhar	100	52	66	77	78
Amritsar	100	51	59	69	69
Lahore	100	57	61	67	67
Rawalpindi	100	58	82	98	111
Multan	100	59	82	92	95
Derajat	100	68	88	114	119
Peshawar	100	69	101	122	139
British Territory	**100**	**55**	**67**	**81**	**88**
Native States	**100**	**69**	**67**	**81**	**91**
Province	**100**	**57**	**67**	**81**	**88**

669. Panjab ages compared with European standards.—Abstract No. 109 on the next page shows the male age figures for France, Italy, Greece, England, and the Panjáb side by side:—

The first group, arranged by five-yearly periods, is as already explained untrustworthy, the figures for England, and probably for the other countries also except perhaps Greece, having been corrected so as to remove errors due to carelessness and ignorance, while we have no trustworthy data of births and deaths by which to correct the Panjáb returns in a similar manner. The first thing that strikes us on examining the figures is that the character of the last five years in the Panjáb has brought down the proportion of children under five years old far below the English figures, though it is still higher than in any of the other countries, Greece however almost rivalling it. Notwithstanding this, the greater longevity of the English than of the Panjáb population, and the larger proportion of children and smaller proportion of elderly people that distinguish the latter, are very strongly marked. Since all the figures are proportional, those for the higher ages are unduly raised in the Panjáb by the abnormally small number of births during the last five years, while the corresponding figures for England are much lower than they would be if no emigration took place. Notwithstanding this, and the tendency to exaggerate old age which has been corrected in the English but not in the Panjáb figures, England shows one-third as large again a proportion of people over 55 years as does the Panjáb, while her numbers between 5 and 15 years of age are more than 12 per cent. smaller than ours. The age of 10 divides the two populations in almost identical proportions, there being as nearly as possible 26 per cent. below and 74 per cent. above that age in each country. The turning point appears to be about the age of 35, up to which point we have larger, and after it smaller numbers than England. But the numbers between 15 and 25 are curiously smaller than they should be in the Panjáb. This is probably partly owing to the tendency of young men to return 25 as their age which has

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already been noticed, but it is probably also due in part to the effects of the famine of 1858-60. With France any comparison is impossible, the extraordinary longevity and infecundity of the French people placing them at the very opposite pole to those of the Panjáb; and the population of Italy would appear to occupy a curiously intermediate position between those of France and England in the matter of distribution by age. The Greek people approach far more nearly than any other to those of the Panjáb, the figures following each other even in many of the abnormal variations. But even here we seem to have a slightly larger proportion of young and smaller of old people. Thus the characteristics of the Panjáb population as judged by European standards would appear to be, a large proportion of births and a high mortality. The further discussion of these points I shall reserve till I have examined the figures by locality and religion.

Abstract No. 109, *showing* Ages in Europe and the Panjab.

PROPORTIONS PER 10,000 OF ALL AGES.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Group.	Age period.	At ages shown in column 2.				
		France.	Italy.	Greece.	England.	Panjab.
I	0—	991	1,166	1,226	1,372	1,228
	5—	880	1,101	1,266	1,207	1,374
	10—	886	1,016	1,226	1,091	1,206
	15—	866	873	972	977	893
	20—	847	868	672	892	855
	25—	710	763	744	788	850
	30—	713	711	957	684	847
	35—	691	619	754	595	508
	40—	649	614	626	523	650
	45—	602	519	487	466	345
	50—	543	520	260	397	493
	55—	474	333	288	320	169
	60—	1,148	897	522	688	582
II	0—	991	1,166	1,226	1,372	1,228
	5—	1,766	2,117	2 492	2,298	2,580
	15—	1.713	1,741	1,644	1,869	1,748
	25—	1,423	1,474	1,701	1,472	1,697
	35—	1,340	1,233	1,380	1,118	1,158
	45—	1,145	1,039	747	863	838
	55—	1,622	1,230	810	1,008	751
III	0—	1,871	2,267	2,492	2,579	2,602
	10—	1,752	1,889	2,198	2,068	2,099
	20—	1,557	1,631	1,416	1,680	1,705
	30—	1,404	1,330	1,711	1,279	1,355
	40—	1,251	1,133	1,113	989	995
	50—	1,017	853	548	717	662
	60—	1,148	897	522	688	582
IV	0—	2,757	3,283	3,718	3,670	3,808
	15—	3,136	3,215	3,345	3,341	3,445
	35—	2,485	2,272	2,127	1,981	1,996
	55—	1,622	1,230	810	1,008	751
V	0—	991	1,166	1,226	1,372	1,228
	5—	3,479	3,858	4,136	4,167	4,328
	25—	2,763	2,707	3,081	2,590	2,855
	45—	1,619	1,372	1,035	1,183	1,007
	60—	1,148	897	522	688	582
VI	0—	1,871	2,267	2,492	2,579	2,602
	10—	3,309	3,520	3,614	3,748	3,804
	30—	2,655	2,463	2,824	2,268	2,350
	50—	2,165	1,750	1,070	1,405	1,244
VII	0—	3,623	4,156	4,690	4,647	4,701
	20—	2,961	2,961	3,127	2,959	3,060
	40—	2,268	1,986	1,661	1,706	1,657
	60—	1,148	897	522	688	582

8	9	10	11	12	13
Age period.	At and above ages shown in column 8.				
	France.	Italy.	Greece.	England.	Panjab.
0—	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000
5—	9,009	8,834	8,774	8,628	8,772
10—	8,129	7,733	7,508	7,421	7,398
15—	7,243	6,717	6,282	6,330	6,192
20—	6,377	5,844	5,310	5,353	5,299
25—	5,530	4,976	4,638	4,461	4,444
30—	4,820	4,213	3,894	3,673	3,594
35—	4,107	3,502	2,937	2,989	2,747
40—	3,416	2,883	2,183	2,394	2,239
45—	2,767	2,269	1,557	1,871	1,589
50—	2,165	1,750	1,070	1,405	1,244
55—	1,622	1,230	810	1,008	751
60—	1,148	897	522	688	582
	At and below ages shown in column 8.				
0—	...	...	...	...	...
5—	991	1,166	1,226	1,372	1,228
10—	1,871	2,267	2,492	2,579	2,602
15—	2,757	3,283	3,718	3,670	3,808
20—	3,623	4,156	4,690	4,647	4,701
25—	4,470	5,024	5,362	5,539	5,556
30—	5,180	5,787	6,106	6,327	6,406
35—	5,893	6,498	7,063	7,011	7,253
40—	6,584	7,117	7,817	7,606	7,761
45—	7,233	7,731	8,443	8,129	8,411
50—	7,835	8,250	8,930	8,595	8,756
55—	8,378	8,770	9,190	8,992	9,249
60—	8,852	9,103	9,478	9,312	9,418

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670. Age statistics for different parts of the Province.—Abstract No. 110 below gives the male age figures for each division in the Province, while the district figures will be found in Supplementary Table M of Appendix C.

Abstract No. 110, *showing* Distribution by Age of every 10,000 Males *for* Divisions.

Group.	PROPORTION PER 10,000 MALES OF ALL AGES.													
	Ages.	Province.	Native States.	British Territory	Dehli.	Hissar.	Ambala.	Jalandhar.	Amritsar.	Lahore.	Rawalpindi.	Multan.	Derajat.	Peshawar.
I	0—	313	291	317	300	333	309	289	345	368	305	344	300	245
	1—	179	199	175	140	193	149	149	176	209	177	204	204	170
	2—	209	194	212	128	177	173	190	206	225	250	281	265	245
	3—	253	236	257	192	246	217	222	239	248	299	316	342	299
	4—	274	263	277	236	274	257	225	238	248	339	325	359	341
II	0—	1,228	1,183	1,238	996	1,223	1,105	1,075	1,204	1,298	1,370	1,470	1,470	1,300
	5—	1,374	1,278	1,396	1,293	1,261	1,286	1,350	1,330	1,324	1,516	1,525	1,626	1,552
	10—	1,206	1,145	1,218	1,310	1,185	1,220	1,304	1,325	1,238	1,159	1,096	1,046	1,130
	15—	893	910	888	995	956	980	953	908	929	801	738	705	827
	20—	855	889	848	989	1,008	959	833	777	845	772	731	741	899
	25—	850	862	848	962	866	912	885	836	816	791	774	775	858
	30—	847	851	846	854	808	821	823	831	782	844	848	9[illegible]9	1,019
	35—	508	521	505	499	492	490	597	527	496	502	472	470	430
	40—	650	678	644	653	620	669	622	670	603	593	685	706	676
	45—	345	368	340	337	367	356	379	351	362	334	324	299	228
	50—	493	530	485	501	515	495	464	487	474	471	526	502	437
	55—	169	190	165	156	193	173	174	172	204	169	133	139	95
	60—	582	595	579	455	506	534	541	582	629	678	678	582	549
III	0—	1,228	1,183	1,238	996	1,223	1,105	1,075	1,204	1,298	1,370	1,470	1,470	1,300
	5—	2,580	2,423	2,614	2,603	2,446	2,506	2,654	2,655	2,562	2,675	2,621	2,672	2,682
	15—	1,748	1,799	1,736	1,984	1,964	1,939	1,786	1,685	1,774	1,573	1,469	1,446	1,726
	25—	1,697	1,713	1,694	1,816	1,674	1,733	1,708	1,667	1,598	1,635	1,622	1,714	1,877
	35—	1,158	1,199	1,149	1,152	1,112	1,159	1,219	1,197	1,099	1,095	1,157	1,176	1,106
	45—	838	898	825	838	882	851	843	838	836	805	850	801	665
	55—	751	785	744	611	699	707	715	754	833	847	811	721	644
IV	0—	2,602	2,461	2,634	2,289	2,484	2,391	2,425	2,534	2,622	2,886	2,995	3,096	2,852
	10—	2,099	2,055	2,106	2,305	2,141	2,200	2,257	2,233	2,167	1,960	1,834	1,751	1,957
	20—	1,705	1,751	1,696	1,951	1,874	1,871	1,718	1,613	1,661	1,563	1,505	1,516	1,757
	30—	1,355	1,372	1,351	1,353	1,300	1,311	1,420	1,358	1,278	1,346	1,320	1,409	1,449
	40—	995	1,046	984	990	987	1,025	1,001	1,021	965	927	1,009	1,005	904
	50—	662	720	650	657	708	668	638	659	678	640	659	641	532
	60—	582	595	579	455	506	534	541	582	629	678	678	582	549
V	0—	3,808	3,606	3,852	3,599	3,669	3,611	3,729	3,859	3,860	4,045	4,091	4,142	3,982
	15—	3,445	3,512	3,430	3,800	3,638	3,672	3,494	3,352	3,372	3,208	3,091	3,160	3,603
	35—	1,996	2,097	1,974	1,990	1,994	2,010	2,062	2,035	1,935	1,900	2,007	1,977	1,771
	55—	751	785	744	611	699	707	715	754	833	847	811	721	644
VI	0—	1,228	1,183	1,238	996	1,223	1,105	1,075	1,204	1,298	1,370	1,470	1,470	1,300
	5—	4,328	4,222	4,350	4,587	4,410	4,445	4,440	4,340	4,336	4,248	4,090	4,118	4,408
	25—	2,855	2,912	2,843	2,968	2,786	2,892	2,927	2,864	2,697	2,730	2,779	2,890	2,983
	45—	1,008	1,088	990	994	1,075	1,024	1,017	1,010	1,040	974	983	940	760
	60—	582	595	579	455	506	534	541	582	629	678	678	582	549
VII	0—	2,602	2,461	2,634	2,289	2,484	2,391	2,425	2,534	2,622	2,886	2,995	3,096	2,852
	10—	3,804	3,806	3,802	4,256	4,015	4,071	3,975	3,846	3,828	3,523	3,339	3,267	3,714
	30—	2,350	2,418	2,335	2,343	2,287	2,336	2,421	2,379	2,243	2,273	2,329	2,414	2,353
	50—	1,244	1,315	1,229	1,112	1,214	1,202	1,179	1,241	1,307	1,318	1,337	1,223	1,081
VIII	0—	4,701	4,516	4,740	4,594	4,625	4,591	4,682	4,767	4,789	4,846	4,829	4,847	4,809
	20—	3,060	3,123	3,047	3,304	3,174	3,182	3,138	2,971	2,939	2,909	2,825	2,925	3,206
	40—	1,657	1,766	1,634	1,647	1,695	1,693	1,639	1,680	1,643	1,567	1,668	1,646	1,436
	60—	582	595	579	455	506	534	541	582	629	678	678	582	549

Passing over the first five years, which have already been discussed, we notice that children between 5 and 10 are more numerous in the central than in the eastern, and in the western than in the central divisions, the highest proportion being in the Deraját. Adding to these children under 5, the disproportion becomes so enormous that it renders it difficult to compare the remaining figures. When 31 per cent. are under 10 years of age in the Deraját and only 23 per cent. in the Dehli division, all the percentages for the remaining ages of the former division should have 12 per cent. added on to them before they can properly be compared with those of the latter. Notwithstanding this, the percentage of old people follows exactly the same order, being greatest in the western and smallest in the eastern divisions, and between the two in the central divisions. Both the oldest and the youngest following the same rule, it is not to be wondered at that in the intermediate figures the order is reversed by mere force of the properties of numbers. Yet a distinction is to be observed. From 15 to 25 or 30 the eastern divisions show the largest and the

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western the smallest numbers, but after 25, and still more markedly after 30, the western divisions come first, notwithstanding the way they have to make up owing to their excessive number of children. The central divisions occupy an intermediate position almost throughout the table[1].

671. Turning to districts and taking the figures for ten-yearly periods, which I do not give in any table, as they can be worked out for the whole Province by one clerk in an hour by adding together pairs of columns from Supplementary Table M, we notice the very large numbers both of children under 10 and of old men over 50 in Hissár, Sirsa, and Lúdhiána among the eastern, and in Siálkot and Gújránwála among the central districts, and the large number of children in Fírozpur; while among the western districts the children and old men are in defect in Montgomery, still more in Muzaffargarh, and most of all in Multán. The manner in which the number of young children and old men vary together throughout both districts and divisions is *most* marked, and seems to show that the two are affected by similar climatic influences. The figures for Peshávar, Ráwalpindi, Jahlam, and Derah Ismáil are distorted by the large number of immigrants of middle age; while no doubt a similar cause affects the figures for all the districts which contain large cantonments. Turning to the Native States we find the same broad features, though here the populations are often too small for the figures to be worth much. The number of children is greatest in Farídkot and Baháwalpur, and extraordinarily small in the Hill States excepting the high mountain tracts of Chamba and Bashahr; while the proportion of old people is very high in the central States of the Eastern Plains and extraordinarily high in the Hills.

Summing up, we may say that in the great Western Plains the people are both more fecund and longer lived than in the eastern districts, and therefore must increase with far greater rapidity; while the central districts occupy an intermediate position. Of the western districts those which have the most plentiful canal irrigation are most unfavourable both to fecundity and to long life; while in the centre and east of the Panjáb the districts and states which consist of open unirrigated plains are most favourable to longevity, though they share with their neighbours that liability to periodical famine which is such an effective check upon increase of population. In the Hills the birth-rates seem exceedingly low except in the highest parts; but on the other hand the population is exceedingly long lived. These conclusions must be taken for what they are worth. The figures upon which they are based are known to be utterly inaccurate in detail. But the numbers dealt with are large, the results coincide with the known facts regarding increase of population, and above all the figures show a most extraordinary regularity when carefully examined. As they stand in the tables they seem a mass of irregularity. But if ten-yearly periods be taken instead of five-yearly, and the figures examined item by item as I have examined them, not only will it be found that the apparent discrepancies can almost always be accounted for, but that the figures present the same characteristics in districts in which the conditions of life are similar, and this to a degree which has surprised me. I sat down to the examination of the age statistics feeling that my time would be wasted. I rise from it with the highest respect for them. Of course they are inaccurate. So are the Census figures of all countries. In England they do not even publish in any detail the age figures as recorded, but doctor them, sometimes to the extent of five per cent., before using or printing them[2]. And our figures are infinitely more inaccurate than theirs. But, taken in large numbers, I believe that they are a very fair and useful approximation to the actual facts.

672. Age statistics for different religions.—The age statistics for the different religions will be found in Table VII. The results may be summarised thus :—

Abstract No. III, *showing* **Age Statistics** *for the* **Males** *of* **each Religion.**

	Religion.	0—	10—	20—	30—	40—	50—	60—	All ages.
Province.	Hindu	2,409	2,157	1,819	1,385	1,025	672	533	10,000
	Sikh	2,398	2,098	1,724	1,316	1,031	772	661	10,000
	Jain	2,267	2,134	1,952	1,331	1,143	734	439	10,000
	Buddhist	1,889	1,567	1,515	1,955	1,165	919	990	10,000
	Musalmán	2,799	2,056	1,594	1,333	966	640	612	10,000
Dehli Division.	Hindu	2,262	2,303	1,976	1,354	1,003	655	447	10,000
	Musalmán	2,387	2,350	1,867	1,308	947	662	479	10,000
Hissar Division.	Hindu	2,415	2,152	1,903	1,319	1,011	717	483	10,000
	Musalmán	2,687	2,099	1,781	1,244	916	683	590	10,000
Amritsar Division.	Hindu	2,523	2,200	1,672	1,401	1,032	636	536	10,000
	Sikh	2,332	2,039	1,581	1,373	1,106	825	744	10,000
	Musalmán	2,592	2,305	1,573	1,326	995	634	575	10,000
Multan Division.	Hindu	2,735	1,887	1,702	1,378	1,046	676	576	10,000
	Musalmán	3,065	1,824	1,448	1,304	1,000	656	703	10,000

[1] I am sorry that I did not take as my illustrative figures, the proportions that the percentages of the total population of each age which are included in any district, bear to the percentage of total population of all ages which is included in that district. Such figures would have given a far more useful representation of the age-distribution of the population; for though the proportions between the figures for different districts within the same age-period would remain the same as they are now, yet the figures for the several age-periods would not be, as they now are, additively dependent upon one another. Unfortunately the difficulty of comparison which the disproportion in the numbers of young children creates did not occur to me till I came to examine the figures; and it was then too late to prepare another set.

[2] See Census Report of England and Wales, 1871, Vol. IV, p. 46, and xi.

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The first group of figures are the figures for the Province as a whole. But they alone can tell us little, for vital statistics are so largely influenced by climatic conditions and the religions of the Province are so locally distributed, that it is impossible from these totals only to say how far the discrepancies observable are due to physical and how far to social causes. Our only hope of thus discriminating between the two classes of agents at work lies in taking parts of the Province where the members of the several religions exist under as diverse conditions as possible, and enquiring how far the discrepancies are persistent. I have chosen Dehli where most of the Musalmáns live in towns, Hissár the most Hindu of our divisions but where the Musalmáns are largely villagers, Amritsar where the three religions are more evenly balanced than in any other division, and Multán almost exclusively Musalmán with its Hindu population wholly confined to the towns. The proportion of children is smallest among Buddhists; but this is apparently due to the extraordinary longevity of the hill population which has already been remarked, the proportion of persons of over 50 years of age being more than half as large again among Buddhists as among either Hindus or Musalmáns. The Jains have the next smallest proportion of children, and a smaller proportion of old men than any other religion. But this is chiefly due to their being found almost entirely in the east and chiefly in the Dehli division; for their numbers do not compare so unfavourably with the Hindus of Dehli and Hissár. The small difference there is, is perhaps due to the unhealthy life led by the mercantile classes to which almost all the Jains belong. They are found only in cities and large villages, and sit in their shops from dawn till sunset. On the other hand they seldom suffer from want. Perhaps the fact that the Jain Bhábras are not allowed by tribal custom to take a second wife, even though the first should prove barren, may have some small effect upon the figures. After the Jains come the Sikhs, with a slightly lower percentage of children than the Hindus and a much lower one than the Musalmáns, but with a very much larger proportion of old men than either. But to compare them fairly we must take the figures for the Amritsar division, for climatic conditions will affect the totals for the Sikhs, Hindus, and Musalmáns, who are chiefly found in the centre, east, and west of the Province respectively. In Amritsar the difference between Hindus and Sikhs is even still more marked, though that between Sikhs and Musalmáns is less than in the totals. But the smaller proportion of children among Sikhs is chiefly due to the larger proportion of aged. Of the population of the Amritsar division under 50 years of age, 27·7 is less than 10 years old among Sikhs, 28·6 among Hindus, and 29·5 among Musalmáns; and the figures become respectively 31·9, 32·3, and 33·3, if only the population below 40 years old be taken. Thus the birth-rate of Sikhs appears to be slightly lower but the longevity markedly greater than among either of the two great religions. This is hardly to be wondered at. The Hindu population includes almost all the mercantile classes whose unhealthy life has just been described, and most of the outcasts, many of whom live a hand-to-mouth existence of the most unhealthy nature; while the Musalmáns include a considerable proportion of artisans who lead a purely sedentary life, and in the city of Amritsar itself comprise the Kashmíri shawl-weavers, perhaps the poorest community in the Panjáb. The Sikhs on the other hand are the picked peasantry of the Province, almost wholly agriculturists, and as a class exceedingly well-to-do. Their physique is notoriously fine, and their longevity is, I think, to be ascribed to these facts rather than to any social or religious differences.

673. There remain to be compared the Hindus and Musalmáns. In the figures for the Province the Hindus are far behind their rivals, both in respect of fecundity and also, though not nearly so markedly, of longevity. But this, as already explained, proves nothing. In the Dehli and Hissár divisions the same differences occur, but far less markedly; in the Amritsar division the figures for the two religions correspond almost exactly, though the slight difference is still in favour of the Musalmáns; while in the Multán division the figures for Musalmáns are very markedly more favourable in regard of both fecundity and longevity than those for Hindus. Now I have already remarked that the Hindu population includes almost all the mercantile classes who, though free from want, lead a wholly sedentary life. There are very few of these classes among the Musalmáns. Again the great majority of those vagrant and gipsy tribes who live almost like the jackals they feed on, wandering about from place to place with no shelter against the sun or rain beyond such rude grass huts as they can make in an hour or two, living almost by chance, and often exposed to dire distress, are classed as Hindus. So too are all the outcast menials, who eat carrion and the flesh of diseased animals, and are generally, excepting perhaps the Chamár, extremely poor. The number of such persons included among Musalmáns is comparatively quite insignificant. In Amritsar, the only division where the two religions meet on an equality, there is practically no difference between the two sets of figures; and on the whole I am inclined to think that the considerations I have just enumerated have far more to do with the differences which the figures disclose, than have any distinctive customs whether social or religious. The Musalmáns of the Dehli division consist very largely of the well-to-do classes; in Hissár, too, this is very much the case, though perhaps not so markedly as in Dehli. The Multán figures are the most difficult to explain; and I should be inclined to attribute the difference to the fact that Hindus marry on the whole at an earlier age than Musalmáns. This is true also of the east and centre of the Province; but there the marriage in both cases takes place so early that cohabitation does not immediately follow upon it, and is probably not deferred to a later age among Musalmáns than among Hindus; while in Multán a Hindu girl will marry at 15 and a Musalmán at 20, and both will go to live with their husbands at once. But this is a mere suggestion.

Thus we may conclude from our figures that on the whole there is but little evidence of differences of religion having any great effect upon the vital statistics; that the Sikhs, the picked men of the Province, combine great longevity with normal fecundity; that the Buddhists owe their long lives to the mountain life they lead, and the Jains their short life to their sedentary habits; while the inferiority of the Hindu to the Musalmán is largely due to the unfavourable conditions of life in the mercantile and outcast sections and the lower strata of the Hindu population, though perhaps the earlier age at which they marry has some effect upon the figures.

674. Female age statistics.—I believe that the age figures for females are far less accurate than those for males; for here deliberate misstatement comes into play, and as its tendency is wholly in one direction no largeness of numbers will neutralise the error. Several officers note the difficulty experienced in inducing the people to state the exact ages of their females, *especially of the younger women;* and this difficulty was apparently experienced in all parts of the Province. But it was not confined to the younger women only; there

was a strong objection in many places to giving any information at all about any woman whatever. Abstract No. 112 below shows side by side the distribution of males and females of all ages by decades for the whole Province, for each religion, and for the divisions already selected as typical with the addition of Peshâwar[1].

Abstract No. 112, *showing* **Male and Female Age Figures compared.**

Proportion per 10,000 of all ages in each age period.

		0—	10—	20—	30—	40—	50—	60—	All ages.
Province.	Males	2,604	2,099	1,704	1,354	995	662	582	10,000
	Females	2,746	1,907	1,790	1,358	1,013	614	572	10,000
Hindus.	Males	2,409	2,157	1,819	1,385	1,025	672	533	10,000
	Females	2,576	1,947	1,868	1,379	1,034	633	563	10,000
Sikhs.	Males	2,398	2,098	1,723	1,315	1,031	772	661	10,000
	Females	2,490	1,874	1,864	1,359	1,079	708	626	10,000
Musalmáns.	Males	2,799	2,056	1,594	1,333	966	640	612	10,000
	Females	2,916	1,880	1,720	1,342	986	585	571	10,000
Dehli Division.	Males	2,290	2,304	1,951	1,353	990	657	455	10,000
	Females	2,349	2,064	1,981	1,373	1,054	669	510	10,000
Hissár Division.	Males	2,485	2,140	1,874	1,300	987	708	506	10,000
	Females	2,655	1,943	1,878	1,316	1,004	645	559	10,000
Amritsar Division.	Males	2,534	2,233	1,613	1,358	1,021	659	582	10,000
	Females	2,623	2,011	1,787	1,374	1,029	610	566	10,000
Multán Division.	Males	2,996	1,833	1,505	1,320	1,009	659	678	10,000
	Females	3,247	1,676	1,644	1,304	980	544	605	10,000
Peshâwar Division.	Males	2,853	1,956	1,757	1,449	904	532	549	10,000
	Females	3,125	1,758	1,789	1,387	925	509	507	10,000

The first point worthy of note is the smaller longevity of women in comparison with men. For the Province the number of women of over 50 years old per 10,000 of all ages is only 1,186, while the corresponding figure for males is 1,244. This disproportion is observable in every religion, and in all the selected divisions except Dehli; but it is very slight in the Hissár division and among Hindus generally. The general result is hardly to be wondered at. Women in this country lead a life either of unceasing toil or of unwholesome seclusion; and added to this, they marry without exception, and receive no skilled care in the perils of childbirth. On the other hand the men, though they too commonly lead a laborious life, are exposed to none of those special perils which render male so much worse than female life in English statistics. The dangers of mines and machineries, of crowded streets, of ships and railways, and of a thousand other incidents of civilisation which imperil men rather than women in the west, are unknown to the males of the Panjáb, and in almost all points of difference between the sexes in this country the woman has the worst of it. Why the difference should be so much smaller among Hindus than among the other religions, and in the east than in the west, it is very difficult to say. If it were due to any social custom such as that of early marriage, which indeed one would expect to produce precisely the opposite result, the Sikh figures would probably show the same features. I can only suggest that the difference may be due to the effects of the late distress, which was really severe only in the eastern or Hindu portions of the Province, and most severe in the Dehli division. We should expect the aged to die first in seasons of scarcity; and we know that the effect of privation is far more fatal with males than with females. In the distress of 1877-78 the number of deaths per mille among adults admitted to the poor-houses of the North-West Provinces was 82·0 among males and only 43·1 among females; and Surgeon-General Townsend tells me that the disproportion was even far more marked in those months during which distress was most severe.

675. Turning to the other end of the scale, we find that the proportion of females under 10

[1] It is perhaps worth while saying that wherever districts and divisions have been selected as typical, the selection has been made before the figures had been examined, so that it has been influenced by no bias, either conscious or unconscious.

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years of age is *always* larger, the proportion between 10 and 20 years old *always* smaller, and that between 20 and 30 *always* larger than that of males. Taking longer periods, we find that the proportion of women under 20 years old is always smaller than that of men, except in the Multán and Peshâwar divisions where it is larger; and that under 30 years old the figures for females are almost identical with those for males, being very slightly in excess of those for males in all cases except in the Dehli and Hissár divisions, where they are smaller. This last difference is not larger than would be due to the greater longevity of females in Dehli and Hissár and their smaller longevity in the other divisions; and we may take it that the proportion of females and males under 30 is practically identical. But within that period their distribution varies immensely. The figures of Abstract No. 113 below show this distribution more clearly. Here the total number under 30 years of age is taken as 1,000 in each case.

Abstract No. 113, *showing* **Distribution by Age** *of* **Males and Females under 30 years old.**

Age period.	Province.		Hindu.		Sikh.		Musalman.		Multan–Musalmans.		Age Period.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	
0— 5	192	213	176	193	180	208	206	227	237	261	0— 5
5—10	215	213	201	205	196	192	228	221	247	239	5—10
10—15	189	164	190	166	186	165	188	161	173	147	10—15
15—20	139	132	148	138	151	136	131	127	114	107	15—20
20—25	133	142	144	150	142	151	123	135	111	121	20—25
25—30	132	136	141	143	136	148	125	129	118	125	25—30
Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	Total
0— 5	192	213	176	198	189	208	205	227	237	261	0— 5
0—10	407	426	377	403	385	400	433	448	484	500	0—10
0—15	596	590	567	569	571	565	621	609	657	647	0—15
0—20	735	722	715	707	722	701	752	736	771	754	0—20
0—25	868	864	859	857	864	852	875	871	882	875	0—25
0—30	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	0—30

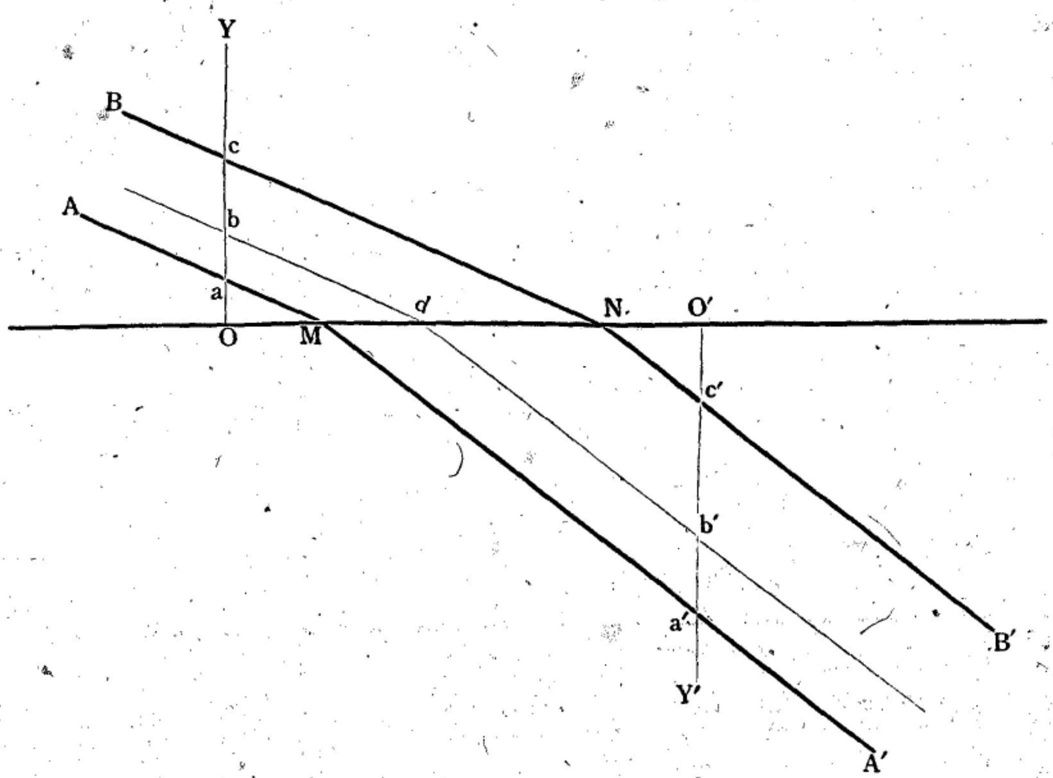
The thick lines show the points at which the figures for males begin and cease to exceed those for females. It will be observed that in the groups from 10 to 15 and from 15 to 20 years of age the females are everywhere fewer than the males, while in all religions except the Hindu they are also fewer in the group between 5 and 10 years old. Now this is the nubile age for women in the Panjáb, that is to say, the age at which parents and husbands object most strongly to give the age of their girls; and there can be no doubt whatever that the female figures for these ages are under the truth. The important question is, have the women been omitted altogether from enumeration, or have their ages merely been wrongly returned? Now the fact that the proportion of females under 30 years of age is slightly in excess of that of males is in itself a strong argument that they have not been omitted. In the Province as a whole the proportion per 10,000 of all ages is 6,443 for females and 6,401 for males. And when in addition to this we find that the proportions in the *earlier* ages are far larger for females than for males, although we know that male births exceed female, it seems to me almost proved that the girls have been enumerated, and that the only error is in the return of their age. Why the Hindus alone should show more girls than boys proportionally between 5 and 10 years of age, I do not know; but the difference in all cases is exceedingly slight, the prejudice under discussion only beginning to operate at about 8 or 9 years of age. It is noticeable that the age must have been overstated in some cases; but this again is natural, as it is chiefly during the earlier years of womanhood that there is an objection to discuss the age of females. Thus we may draw the following conclusions from our female age statistics; that women are distinctly shorter lived than men; and that the age of females between 10 and 20 years of age is understated in very many, and overstated in some few instances. These points are brought out still more strongly by the figures of Abstract No. 119 given at page 367.

676. The effects of early marriage.—It has been suggested that the custom of early marriage so prevalent in India accounts for the large proportion of children; and at the Census of 1868 Mr. Elsmie brought forward arguments and figured illustrations to show that the earlier the customary period of marriage, the larger must be the proportion of children, *other things being equal*. These arguments, together with a remark of a similar tendency by Mr. J. W. Smyth, were endorsed and published in the Report. Now if the conclusion thus arrived at were true, we should expect to find a much larger proportion of children among Hindus than among Musalmáns and in the eastern than in the western districts, marriages being notoriously earlier in the former than in the latter cases. But it has already been shown that the actual facts are precisely the reverse, children being most numerous among Musalmáns and in the western districts; and though I have given my reasons for thinking that no difference in social customs has very much to do with the disproportion, yet I have also been driven to suggest that the early marriages among Hindus decrease rather than increase the proportion of children. This suggestion however is based upon injury to the mother and consequent increase of female mortality, and is apart from Mr. Elmslie's argument, which I now proceed to discuss.

The custom of early marriage can only affect the infant population in two ways. It may increase the number of children born to each married woman; and this point will be discussed presently in section 678. Again, supposing the *number* of children to be unaffected, it almost certainly results in those children being born *earlier* than they would be where mothers marry later in life. That is to say, of two women born on the same day who marry, one at 20 and the other at 30 years of age, the children of the former will on the average be born before those of the latter. It is to this fact, and not to any difference

in the number of children produced by each mother, that Mr. Elsmie attributed the effect of early marriage upon the proportion of children to total proportion. Now it seems to me that, *given that the average number of children borne by each woman and the rates of mortality are identical,* the stage in the life of the mother at which those children are born, whether early or late, will not affect the proportion of children to adults. I speak with great diffidence. These actuarial matters cannot be discussed with any certainty without training of a very special nature; for in no other class of questions unless it be perhaps in questions of political economy is the path of error so broad and easy, or what seems obviously true so certain to be false. It appears to me, however, that Mr. Elsmie's illustration was incomplete. What he did was to put two sets of women, with the necessary complement of husbands, on two desert islands, and then take their Census before even the first generation had had time to die, and compare the results. If he had waited till his populations had, as an engineer would say, "got into train," his conclusions would I think have been different.

677. A stream of population in train may be considered as composed of a series of successive generations, each enjoying the same average length of life supposing mortality to be constant, and the number of people in each bearing a constant ratio to the number in that which immediately preceded it supposing fecundity to be constant. If the children are born at an early stage in the life of the parental generation, the generations will succeed each other at shorter intervals, and the number of generations alive at the same moment will be greater; if at a later stage, the interval between two successive generations will be greater, and the number of contemporary generations smaller. But supposing birth and death *rates* to be constant, the proportion of children to adults will not vary. I will illustrate the argument by the following diagram:—



Here A M N B, A′ M N B′ are two streams of population in full train. All horizontal lines represent generations and all vertical lines represent moments of time, so that a vertical line cuts all the generations alive on any given day at the respective stages of their lives at which they have arrived on that day. In A M N B the children are born late in the lives of their mothers, and the generations succeed each other less quickly than in A′ M N B′ where the children are born early; consequently the former stream of population is inclined at a greater angle to the vertical than the latter. Now let M N, the life of a generation, be divided in *d*, so that Md is the life of a child and d N the adult life of those who survive childhood; and take the Census of each of the populations at any times represented by the vertical lines O Y and O′ Y′. Then *ab*, *bc* will represent the number of generations of children and adults respectively which are enumerated in the one population, and *a′b′*, *b′c′* will do so in the other. But the proportion between these two lines in each case is the same as that of M d to d N, and is quite independent of the inclination of the stream of population to the vertical. Now if both the populations are

increasing or decreasing at the same rate, or are stationary, the numbers in each generation will bear a constant ratio to those in the one preceding; that is to say, the numbers at successive points on *a c* and *a' c'* respectively will increase or decrease in the same ratio. Thus the number of children enumerated, represented by *a b* and *a' b'*, will bear the same proportion in both cases to the total number enumerated, represented by *a c* and *a' c'*. If indeed the one population is increasing faster than the other, the proportion of children to adults will be larger in the former than in the latter, because the numbers in each of the generations included in *a b* will be more in excess of the numbers of each of the generations included in *b c*. So if the average life of the adult be shortened in the one case, while that of the child remains the same, the proportion of children will be increased, for the ratio of *a b* to *b c* will become larger; while if the average life of the child be reduced, the opposite result will follow. But the former of these last two relations depends upon the density of the horizontal lines, that is of the generations, at different points along any vertical line, that is at any moment of time; the latter, upon the ratio of M d to d N, that is of the life of the child to the life of the generation. Both therefore are governed wholly by the relation between the total population, the birth-rates, and the death-rates; and are entirely independent of the inclination of the stream of population to the vertical, that is to say, of the stage in the life of the mother, whether late or early, at which the children are born [1].

678. Causes of the high proportion of children to adults.—Thus the ratio of children to adults depends upon the rate of increase of population and upon the average life of the generation, infant mortality being constant. And the rate of increase depends upon the proportion of annual births to total population, infant death-rates being constant. Thus the ratio of children to adults depends upon—

(1) the number of children annually born in a given population;
(2) the rate of infant mortality;
(3) the average life of the generation.

In other words you can increase the proportion of children to total population in three ways, by producing children in greater numbers, by reducing infant mortality, or by killing off your adults at an earlier age. Now to which of these three conditions is the high proportion of children in the Panjáb due? There can be little doubt that the Panjáb population is less long lived than that of England [2]. It would indeed be strange if it were not so. The peasant of our villages leads a life of unceasing labour, even if that labour be not so severe as that of the English workman. He inhabits a mud hovel in the middle of a crowded village surrounded by festering dunghills and stagnant pools, the water of which latter is not seldom his only drink. His food is poor, and he has to make up by quantity what it lacks in quality. His life is monotonous almost beyond conception. He is born, sickens, and dies almost like a beast of the field, with only such rude care as his neighbour's ignorance can afford. Below him is the outcast, the conditions of whose existence have already been described. Above him is the sedentary merchant, or the too often profligate gentleman. The healthy life of the English middle classes is almost unrepresented in the Panjáb. Whether mortality among children bears a higher or a lower proportion to that among adults in the Panjáb than in England I cannot say; nor are there any statistics on the subject which can be accepted as trustworthy. The climate appears more favourable to infant life if properly cared for than that of England; but native children grow up in the kennel, and take their chance of life and death. I doubt whether the rates of infant mortality are not even higher in proportion to those of adult mortality in the Panjáb than in England. But as to one cause of the excessive proportion of children there can be no doubt whatever; and that is the large number of births. That this is not due to marriage taking place at an early period of life, supposing the number of children borne by each mother to be constant, I think I have already shown. Thus the only causes to which the excess of births can be due are, either greater average fecundity on the part of the individual wife, or a larger proportion of married women.

Primâ facie it would appear that the custom of early marriage must increase the number of children borne by each wife. I am informed on the best authority that the child-bearing period of female life is much the same in the Panjáb as in England, the difference in climate having far less effect than is commonly supposed. But of this potential period of child-bearing, only that portion is effective for the production of children which is passed in the married state. Thus of two women, one of whom marries at 20 and the other at 30 years of age, the former has ten years longer than the latter in which to produce offspring, and, *other things being equal*, should apparently give birth to a larger number of children. Let us now examine the facts. The children shown as under one year of age in our returns are 750,457: and though the birth-rate of 1880 was probably below the average, yet the numbers returned are in excess of the births by some 6 to 8 per cent. because of the interval between the preliminary record and the final Census, so that the numbers may be taken as a fair average. Now there are 2,903,003 married women between the ages of 20 and 40; so that we have 25·8 children born for every 100 married women between these two ages, while the corresponding figure for England is 35·87; and if we take lower ages the comparison will be still more unfavourable for the Panjáb. There can be little doubt that early marriage, by forcing the girl into premature puberty, or at least into child-bearing before she is fully developed, not only reduces the number of wives who survive to become mothers, but lessens their reproductive powers. For the Multán division, where early marriage is unknown, the number of children per 100 wives between 20 and 40 years old is 31·5; and though the difference is perhaps partly due to a more healthy climate, yet it

[1] The above argument is based upon the assumption that the date of marriage is constant in each of the two populations. It is evident from the figure that if, at the moment of time M, the custom changes from late to early marriage, the proportion of children to total population will continually increase during the interval of time M d, will reach its maximum at the moment of time *d*, and will then continually decrease again, till at the moment of time N, when the last of the late-marrying generations has entirely died out, it becomes the same as it was before the change.

[2] Colonel Minchin, as Commissioner of Hissár, quotes an instance of "an old man in Sirsa who died in 1881, and who had been kept prisoner for two years by George Thomas as a hostage in 1801. He was said to be 110 years old, and declared he was of mature age in the terrible famine of 1783. He showed me with great pride his third set of natural teeth, which were like those of a full-grown man of twenty-five."

is also I believe largely a result of marriage at a more reasonable age. We must look then to the proportion of married women to explain the large excess of children; and here we arrive at what is, to my mind, the great cause of the peculiarity under discussion, and that is the custom, not of *early* but of *universal* marriage. In England in 1871 there were 3,504,351 women between the ages of 20 and 40, of whom 1,423,360 or 41 per cent. were unmarried; while 48 per cent., of the women over 15 years old were unmarried. In the Panjáb the corresponding proportions are 11 and 26 per cent., widows being of course reckoned as unmarried in all cases. As it is, even with this universal marriage, the fecundity of each married woman is so small and the mortality so high that the population of the Panjáb scarcely increases faster than that of England; and were the same proportion of the women to remain unmarried here as there, it is probable that population would actually decrease.

679. Average life, rates of mortality, expectation, and probable age.—The average length of life, the rates of mortality at different periods of life, and the expectation of life at each age are all capable of being deduced from the figures of Table VII. But they are merely the arithmetical results of those figures, and put the facts which I have discussed in a new shape only, without adding aught to them. I have examined the rates of mortality and find that they suggest nothing new, merely confirming the remarks made in the preceding paragraphs. The average length and expectation of life I have not had calculated, as the process is laborious. The fact is that these statistics, though exceedingly valuable for actuarial purposes, are of little other use; and it would be absurd to attempt to base upon figures so irregular and abnormal as I have shown our age figures to be, any sort of actuarial calculations. Even in England these statistics are based upon the registration of births and deaths and not upon the Census statistics; indeed the Census figures for age as recorded are *corrected* by those statistics before they are published. The probable distribution of the population by age, however, would certainly have been useful, and would not have been difficult to arrive at; and if I could have met with a man able to plot curves accurately and neatly I should have undertaken the examination of the figures. But the time allowed is too short for me either to teach a man or to make the plots myself, and I leave the subject untouched. A set of the most probable age curves can easily be worked out in the Sanitary Commissioner's Office from the figures of Table VII; and I think that the examination of those figures which has been made in the present chapter may afford useful hints for their treatment.

PART II.—THE CIVIL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

680. Introductory.—The statistics regarding civil condition will be found in Tables V and VI of Appendices A and B, the former giving total figures for town and village populations separately, while the latter shows the civil condition of the followers of each religion classed according to age. The statistics for civil condition are, I suspect, fairly accurate. So far as they depend upon age the actual figures necessarily share the inaccuracies and variations of the record of age which have already been discussed; but these can be to a great extent eliminated by considering the proportions of single, married, and widowed within each age period, and it is in this form only that I shall examine the figures. It is true that it is in many parts of the Province and among many sections of the community considered shameful to have a nubile daughter unmarried; but I suspect that this difficulty has been overcome by understating the age of girls in this position, a practice which we have already seen reason to believe is not uncommon, rather than by returning them falsely as married. I doubt much whether a native would consider it right to do this, though he would have no hesitation whatever in understating his daughter's age. But this is one of those questions of native feeling upon which the opinion of most Englishmen is worth so little. Before proceeding to the discussion of the actual figures I shall briefly sketch some of the principal conditions and customs which rule marriage relations in the Panjáb.

681. Marriage distinct from cohabitation.—The primary and most essential difference between marriage in the Panjáb and in England is, that in the latter the ceremony is always immediately followed by cohabitation, while throughout a large portion of the former consummation does not take place till some years after marriage. When the parties have arrived at puberty before the ceremony they usually proceed at once to consummation. But wherever infant marriage is the custom, the bride and bridegroom do not come together till a second ceremony called *mukláwa* has been performed, till when the bride lives as a virgin in her father's house. This second ceremony is separated from the actual wedding by an interval of 3, 5, 7, 9, or 11 years, and the girl's parents fix the time for it[1]. Thus it often happens that the earlier in life the marriage takes place, the later cohabitation begins. For instance, in the eastern districts Jats generally marry at from 5 to 7 years of age, and Rájpúts at 15 or 16, or even older; but the Rájpút couple begins at once to cohabit, whereas the parents of the Jat girl often find her so useful at home as she grows up that some pressure has to be put upon them to induce them to give her up to her husband, and the result is that for practical purposes she really begins married life later than the Rájpút bride. Even after the consummation or *mukláwa* the bride stays only a few weeks with her husband, after which she returns to her parents for six months or a year; and it is not till after that time that she goes to live permanently in her new home[2]. Thus the marriage ceremony, so far as regards its immediate effect upon the manner of life of the couple, is a very different thing in many parts of the Panjáb from what it is in Europe. Indeed it is in those parts, as Mr. Wilson points out, rather a ceremony of inviolable betrothal than an actual marriage in the sense in which we understand the term; and for all purposes of vital and most purposes of social statistics, the *mukláwa* and not the wedding is the really important point. Mr. Wilson suggests that girls might, at a future Census, be returned as married only if they have actually gone to live with their husbands; and if trustworthy statistics could be obtained I believe that the results would be more valuable than those for the actual ceremony of marriage. But I doubt whether an attempt to distinguish would not result in confusion, whereas it is easy to get accurate figures for married and unmarried. At the present Census the enumerators were specially warned to enter as married those whose wedding had taken place, whether or no they had gone to live with their husbands.

682. Restrictions upon intermarriage.—The restrictions upon intermarriage in the Panjáb are of three kinds, according as they are based upon a religious, a tribal, or a social sanction. The religious restrictions are comparatively lax. Among Hindus a man may not marry a woman of the same patronymic (*gotra*) as his father or mother, or who is descended from paternal ancestors within six degrees; while among Musalmáns only the sister, niece, and aunt are excluded in addition to those in the direct line of descent. In both cases foster-kinship is as great a bar as blood relationship. But throughout the whole of the eastern Panjáb, excepting perhaps the colonies of foreign Musalmáns such as Saiyads, Mughals, and the like who may have settled there, and the educated class of Mahomedan converts who are almost wholly confined to the towns, tribal restrictions of a far more rigorous nature have taken the place of these religious rules; and the great mass of Mahomedan converts, Gújars, Rájpúts, and the like, are as much bound by them as are their Hindu brethren. These tribal restrictions are based upon the two laws of exogamy and endogamy. The caste, or sometimes the section of the caste, is endogamous; that is to say a Jat must marry a Jat and a Gújar a Gújar, or a Sársút Bráhman must marry a Sársút and a Gaur Bráhman a Gaur. Secondly the tribe is exogamous; that is to say a Mán Jat must not marry a Mán Jat, but a Jat of some other tribe. But the restrictions go further than this. A man must not only not marry into his father's, that is to say his own tribe; but his mother's and his father's mother's tribe among most, and his mother's mother's also among some castes, are likewise forbidden to him. Moreover, as I have already stated in discussing migration (section 136), a man may not marry a woman of his own village or of any village which marches with it, and should as a rule take a wife from some little distance from his home. Moreover in the east of the Panjáb exchange of betrothal is thought disgraceful, and if desired is effected by a triangular exchange, A betrothing with B, B with C, and C with A. In

[1] Mr. Douie tells me that 11 months is also a permissible interval.

[2] I here describe the custom of the eastern districts, the only part of the Province of which I have any personal experience. But the custom is probably much the same throughout those parts of the Panjáb in which early marriage is the rule. Of course in the south-western districts, where both sexes marry as adults or almost so, cohabitation begins at once.

Part II.—The Civil Condition of the People.

the west on the contrary among all classes, in the hills and sub-montane districts apparently among all but the highest classes, and among the Jats almost everywhere except in the Jamna districts, the betrothal by exchange is the commonest form.

683. The third class of restrictions are based upon social position and pride of rank; and beyond the nominal limitations imposed by the law of Islám, they may be said to be the only restrictions observed by the Musalmáns of the Western Panjáb. But unfortunately many of the Hindus of the central and sub-montane districts, and especially the higher classes of Khatris and of Hill Rájpúts and Bráhmans, have superimposed these social restrictions upon the tribal restrictions just described. The social rules which govern intermarriage are not binding so far as to make a marriage void and its offspring illegitimate, as would be the cause if it were contracted in opposition to the tribal rules; but they have at their back the whole weight of public opinion and of that hereditary pride of descent which is so strong among the higher classes in India, and an infringement of them would reduce the family who had committed it to a lower level in the social scale. They also may be referred to two laws, which I shall call the laws of isogamy and of hypergamy[1]. By isogamy or the law of equal marriage, I mean the rule which arranges the local tribes in a scale of social standing, and forbids the parent to give his daughter to a man of any tribe which stands lower than his own. By hypergamy or the law of superior marriage, I mean the rule which compels him to wed his daughter with a member of a tribe which shall be actually superior in rank to his own. In both cases a man usually does not scruple to take his wife or at any rate his second wife from a tribe of inferior standing. The law of hypergamy is, I believe, almost confined to the Khatris and Hill Rájpúts and Bráhmans, all of whom are also endogamous as regards the caste. The law of isogamy, while it necessarily governs the marriages of the very highest classes of these three castes, since there is none higher into which to wed, is professed at least by all the dominant Musalmán tribes or races of the western Panjáb. A Saiyad always says that he marries his daughters to none but Saiyads or perhaps Qureshi Arabs; a Biloch or Pathán, that he will give his girls to none but his equals in social rank. There is no doubt whatever that, especially among the poorer classes, this rule is by no means always observed. Mr. O'Brien found that the papers of the present Census in Muzaffargarh conclusively proved that Jats not unfrequently had Biloch or even Saiyad women to wife. But there is equally no doubt that the feeling is a very strong one, among the better families so strong as seldom if ever to be violated; and that it is present to all as a standard of which only necessity compels them to fall short.

The tribal customs of exogamy and endogamy seldom lead to any serious difficulty in procuring a wife. Occasionally a small colony of emigrants far removed from members of their own caste may experience some trouble in finding suitable matches for their sons or daughters, but such occasions are rare. The social customs of isogamy and hypergamy on the other hand are among the most fertile causes of distress or even ruin; and in old days, if not now, led to female infanticide on a large scale. The poorer classes of those castes who are bound by the rule of isogamy overstrain their resources in the effort to purchase a suitable alliance for their daughters; while this is still more the case with the hypergamous castes. But the custom seems to a certain extent breaking down; and there have been in several districts organised movements with a view to alter the rule, and to generally reduce the expense of female marriage. Mr. Coldstream writes from Hushyárpur:—

"Among all classes of natives the expense of marrying a daughter is as a general rule excessive, with regard to the means of "the father. The expensiveness of marriages is one of the commonest causes of the ruin of families in the district. It seriously "affects all classes, and often leads to the loss of landed property: for the paternal acres are sold or heavily mortgaged to pay the debt "incurred to defray the expenses of a daughter's marriage.

"The tribes do not always lie still under these social fetters. With increasing intelligence, a more equal distribution of wealth, "and the growth of free institutions, social revolutions in respect of these old rules, and agitations for the purpose of changing and "modifying them are not unknown. For 12 years past certain classes of Khatris of the Bari and Rechna Doabs have been agitating to "extend the principle of isogamy, and to free themselves from the rule of contracting hypergamous alliances for their daughters."

684. Inducements to and restrictions upon marriage.—The pious Hindu believes that if his daughter grow up to puberty in his house unmarried, several generations of his descendants will most certainly be damned. Perhaps but a small portion of the Hindus of the Panjáb are pious; but the feeling that it is a shameful thing for a daughter not to be married at the customary age prevails no less strongly among them, and this is the case in all religions and among all classes, though perhaps more strongly among Hindus and in the east than among Musalmáns and in the west. The case of a son is different, as whether he shall marry or not is simply a question of personal preference or of ability to procure a wife. If he remains single no social stigma attaches to the parents, though where early marriage prevails they would probably feel that they had not fully done their duty by a son whom they allowed to grow up without a wife. As a rule however a wife is a costly luxury. She has to be bought, and paid highly for; and thus it is to their daughters that poor parents look to enable them to marry their sons by an exchange of betrothals. Among the highest classes, indeed, and in the Jamna districts the reverse is the case, not only where a husband of a higher grade has to be bought, but also generally, because it is not customary to take money for a daughter, and the expense of a daughter's marriage is fixed by custom at something a good deal larger than the parents can afford. I shall return to this subject in discussing the question of infanticide. Again, the practice of polygamy renders marriage of girls possible under circumstances where it would be impossible to marry boys. Though a girl be blind or deformed, money will procure her a husband, for he will marry another wife also. But a boy similarly unfortunate would probably be unable to procure a wife at all, or at any rate would find the greatest difficulty in doing so. There can be no doubt whatever that the question, not only whether a wife can be supported, but whether the expense of the children that will probably follow would endanger the ancestral acres, is often present to the mind of a father when he is debating whether he shall marry his son, and that it often decides him not

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Coldstream for these two words. Hypergamy indeed would appear rather to mean "too much marriage" than "marriage in a higher rank;" but the highest classical authority in India prefers it to anoterogamy, the only alternative which suggests itself.

Part II.—The Civil Condition of the People.

to do so. In the case of a daughter however, prudential reasons cannot stand against the dread of social disgrace. If she can be married without ruin well and good; if not she must still be married.

685. Widow marriage.—It is well known that the modern Hindu law forbids the remarriage of widows. But this law is observed only among certain castes or tribes who pride themselves upon their social standing; and one of the commonest distinctions between two tribes, both of undoubted Rájpút origin, but one of whom has "lost caste" and sunk in the social scale, is that the one does and the other does not practise widow-marriage. Nor do the Musalmáns of the western Panjáb, who although of Hindu origin do not marry by the *phera* or circumambulation of the sacred fire, forbid as a rule the remarriage of widows; while the foreign Musalmáns such as Saiyads and Patháns have no prohibition against it. At the same time it is remarked by district officers from several distant parts of the Province, that a prejudice is gaining ground among the higher classes of Mahomedans akin to that which exists among the higher castes of Hindus, and that among them also the remarriage of a widow is becoming less and less common; and Mr. Frizelle writes of Sháhpur that the remarrige of widows is almost unknown in the district, even among the commonest classes, and that the custom simply does not exist as a custom, at any rate among the Musalmáns. In the east and centre of the Panjáb however, or east of the Chanáb, the custom is universal among all but the highest castes, that is to say among the Jats and all on the same or a lower level; though as a woman can under no circumstances perform *phera* twice over, the ceremony employed is a less formal one known under the name of *karewa*. And it assumes among them two very distinct forms. The first, and probably the original form is nothing more or less than the Jewish Levirate, by which the younger brother takes the widow of the elder and raises up seed to his brother. In some cases the child so begotten actually succeeds to the property of the deceased brother as his son. But the custom has been extended so as to permit of a man marrying by *karewa* a widow of another caste whom he could not have married as a virgin by *phera*. This practice, however, is generally reprobated, even though the widow should be of a higher caste than the man.

686. Civil condition in Europe and the Panjab.—The proportions of total population of all ages who are respectively single, married, and widowed in the Panjáb are exceedingly misleading, as the figures are affected far more by fluctuations in the proportion of children than by any diversity in marriage customs. It will be sufficient therefore so far as the general question is concerned to give the following figures, which are interesting as bringing out very forcibly the contrast between marriage customs in Europe and in the Panjáb:—

Territory.	Proportions per 10,000 of all conditions.									Territory.
	Males.			Females.			Persons.			
	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	
France	5,333	4,130	537	4,826	4,083	1,091	5,078	4,107	815	France
Italy	6,061	3,530	409	5,496	3,588	916	5,780	3,559	661	Italy
Greece	6,455	3,257	288	5,431	3,470	1,099	5,961	3,359	680	Greece
England	6,129	3,511	360	5,859	3,387	754	5,986	3,452	562	England
Panjab	**5,217**	**4,166**	**617**	**3,565**	**4,989**	**1,446**	**4,460**	**4,544**	**996**	**Panjab**
Dehli Division	4,477	4,692	831	2,951	5,365	1,684	3,765	5,006	1,228	Dehli Division
Multan Division	5,900	3,578	522	4,331	4,359	1,310	5,184	3,934	880	Multan Division
Hindus	4,993	4,301	701	3,153	5,193	1,654	4,158	4,706	1,134	Hindus
Musalmans	5,407	4,049	541	3,928	4,779	1,292	4,722	4,387	889	Musalmans

I select the Dehli and Multán divisions, because in them the married bear the largest and smallest proportions respectively to the total population. It will be observed that although the proportion of young infants is greater in the Panjáb than in the countries of Europe, a far smaller proportion of the male population is single in the former than in the latter; although in Multán, where the proportion of infants is largest, the figures approach more nearly the European standard, and actually exceed those of France where the proportion of infants is abnormally low. The proportion of widowers on the contrary is higher in the Panjáb than in Europe; as is also the proportion of husbands, though the difference is not strikingly great. Among females, however, the disproportion is far more strongly marked. Even in France only 41 per cent. of the female population are wives, and in England only 34 per cent.; while the corresponding figures for the Multán and Dehli divisions are 44 and 54, the average for the Province being 50 per cent. Nor are the figures for widows less remarkable, the proportion of widows being nearly double that which obtains in England. The custom of universal marriage among females decreases the proportion of single throughout, while that custom combined with the custom of early marriage increases the proportion of widows and widowers.

687. Civil condition in various parts of the Province.—I now turn to a comparison by separate age-periods; the only comparison which is not affected by fluctuations in age statistics due to diversity of physical conditions. Abstract No. 114 on the next page gives the proportions of single, married, and widowed in each age-period for each division, for males and females separately.

It may fairly be assumed that all general causes, such as tendency to state age in round numbers, error due to the interval between preliminary and final enumeration, and the like, have affected the sexes equally in each age-period, and they may therefore be neglected. But the understatement of women's ages already discussed affects our figures largely; and it is much to be regretted that our tables give us no details of civil condition within the first 10 years of life. Within that period however the effect of the misstatement of women's ages will probably not be very large.

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Abstract No. 114, *showing* Civil Condition by Sex and Age *for* Divisions.

		0—10.			10—15.			15—20.			20—25.			25—30.			30—40.			40—50.			50—60.			60—		
		Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.
MALES.	British Territory	9,931	67	2	8,907	1,064	28	6,653	3,233	114	4,265	5,444	290	2,718	6,845	437	1,412	7,898	689	909	7,860	1,231	758	7,282	1,960	671	6,032	3,297
	Native States	9,901	96	2	8,805	1,162	33	6,665	3,214	121	4,309	5,401	290	2,725	6,820	455	1,610	7,659	731	1,089	7,602	1,308	893	7,049	2,058	720	5,890	3,390
	Province	9,926	72	2	8,890	1,081	29	6,655	3,230	115	4,282	5,436	281	2,627	6,933	440	1,447	7,857	656	942	7,813	1,245	783	7,239	1,978	679	6,007	3,314
	Dehli	9,859	137	4	7,933	1,996	70	5,022	4,727	251	2,840	6,631	529	1,637	7,644	719	956	8,026	1,018	625	7,633	1,742	510	6,817	2,672	432	5,406	4,162
	Hissar	9,879	117	3	8,329	1,621	49	6,141	3,709	149	3,891	5,769	340	2,391	7,099	510	1,398	7,802	800	934	7,618	1,448	777	6,910	2,313	666	5,573	3,761
	Ambala	9,878	120	2	8,364	1,604	32	5,758	4,118	123	3,610	6,074	316	2,239	7,265	494	1,413	7,765	821	1,071	7,439	1,490	962	6,730	2,308	821	5,479	3,698
	Jalandhar	9,831	165	4	8,285	1,671	44	6,015	3,851	134	3,902	5,798	300	2,409	7,096	495	1,429	7,769	802	1,044	7,607	1,349	930	6,995	2,075	815	5,792	3,393
	Amritsar	9,935	61	4	9,041	934	25	6,558	3,335	107	3,822	5,899	279	2,298	7,261	441	1,295	8,005	700	949	7,792	1,259	858	7,097	2,044	745	5,766	3,489
	Lahore	9,969	31	...	9,276	713	11	6,973	2,949	78	4,254	5,525	220	2,502	7,143	354	1,371	8,053	575	973	7,949	1,077	843	7,309	1,847	801	5,877	3,321
	Rawalpindi	9,974	25	...	9,438	552	10	7,598	2,339	62	5,132	4,693	175	3,007	6,691	302	1,309	8,191	499	671	8,442	887	507	8,017	1,475	431	6,711	2,858
	Multan	9,992	8	...	9,694	300	6	8,220	1,737	43	5,890	3,969	141	3,759	5,960	280	1,992	7,470	538	1,187	7,790	1,023	972	7,397	1,631	950	5,992	3,058
	Derajat	9,987	12	...	9,619	369	11	7,798	2,144	57	5,334	4,488	178	3,325	6,354	321	1,668	7,785	547	823	8,162	1,015	527	7,903	1,570	454	6,750	2,796
	Peshawar	9,989	11	...	9,679	307	13	8,130	1,794	76	5,656	4,131	213	3,507	6,141	352	1,579	7,853	568	724	8,337	939	430	8,151	1,419	361	7,150	2,489
FEMALES.	British Territory	9,780	215	4	6,562	3,378	59	1,751	8,034	215	333	9,232	435	124	9,160	716	76	8,434	1,490	58	6,638	3,304	51	4,569	5,379	52	2,141	7,807
	Native States	9,662	333	5	5,870	4,054	75	1,263	8,501	236	227	9,318	455	100	9,159	740	65	8,429	1,506	45	6,552	3,403	37	4,459	5,504	31	2,079	7,889
	Province	9,761	234	4	6,451	3,487	62	1,671	8,111	218	314	9,247	439	120	9,160	720	74	8,433	1,493	56	6,623	3,321	49	4,549	5,402	49	2,130	7,821
	Dehli	9,645	349	6	5,169	4,735	96	791	8,911	298	98	9,333	569	45	9,058	897	31	8,099	1,870	24	6,064	3,912	27	3,851	6,121	28	1,692	8,280
	Hissar	9,683	313	4	5,616	4,321	63	1,167	8,617	215	156	9,399	445	51	9,222	727	31	8,433	1,536	22	6,607	3,370	16	4,384	5,600	20	1,957	8,023
	Ambala	9,623	370	6	5,533	4,393	74	1,128	8,632	240	201	9,319	479	84	9,133	783	68	8,260	1,672	50	6,390	3,560	50	4,267	5,682	43	2,080	7,877
	Jalandhar	9,455	536	8	4,930	4,959	110	867	8,809	324	138	9,267	593	50	8,970	980	34	7,995	1,971	26	5,966	4,008	28	3,800	6,172	28	1,541	8,431
	Amritsar	9,741	250	9	6,325	3,619	56	1,431	8,368	201	232	9,363	405	103	9,187	710	70	8,476	1,453	48	6,715	3,237	48	4,701	5,251	53	2,159	7,788
	Lahore	9,898	101	1	7,483	2,486	31	2,035	7,817	147	270	9,399	331	95	9,356	548	59	8,737	1,203	51	7,102	2,846	46	5,045	4,909	51	2,349	7,599
	Rawalpindi	9,904	94	2	7,835	2,131	34	3,023	6,817	160	665	8,971	364	208	9,248	544	111	8,748	1,141	96	7,259	2,645	68	5,390	4,541	64	2,512	7,424
	Multan	9,962	37	1	8,348	1,631	21	2,766	7,099	134	575	9,101	324	194	9,215	590	109	8,585	1,305	77	6,817	3,106	79	4,747	5,174	80	2,219	7,701
	Derajat	9,954	45	1	8,047	1,927	26	2,690	7,167	143	609	9,081	309	256	9,212	532	151	8,685	1,164	105	7,014	2,880	95	5,068	4,837	84	2,643	7,273
	Peshawar	9,955	44	1	8,014	1,940	46	2,830	6,962	208	727	8,844	429	291	9,013	695	151	8,425	1,424	123	6,492	3,385	101	4,551	5,348	90	2,406	7,504

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688. I will examine the male figures first. Perhaps the most striking point about them is the considerable proportion of men who never marry at all. Of the whole male population between 30 and 40 years of age no less than 14·5 per cent. are single, and in the Deraját the proportion rises to 20 per cent. After that age the proportion of single men steadily declines in every division, period by period, up to the end of life; and unless it be assumed that some men marry for the first time after 40, 50, and even 60 years old, this shows either that among males a married life is better than a single after the age of 40 (I use the word "better" in its actuarial sense), or that old men are ashamed of their bachelorhood and have returned themselves as husbands or as widowers. It is almost certain that the fact that so considerable a proportion of the male population abstains altogether from marriage is due to prudential considerations. I shall presently show that the proportion is smaller in the towns, where people are generally speaking better off than in the villages. Many of the district officers speak of the effect of considerations of economy in determining whether a man shall remain single or not; and in the west of the Province, and apparently in the hills and sub-montane tracts, and among many classes in all but the Jamna districts, where a wife can be obtained only either by an exchange betrothal or on payment of a considerable sum of money, it is often no easy matter for a poor man to procure one, especially as all the women are married young and the parents are unwilling to give a young girl to wife to an old man.

The next point is the steady advance in the average age of male marriage as we pass from the eastern to the western portions of the Province. In the eastern half, marriage within the first ten years of life seems to be commonest in the Jálandhar and Dehli divisions. In any case the proportion of husbands at this period of life is merely nominal. In the west of the Province it may almost be said to be *nil*. The next five years of life sees some 15 to 20 per cent. of the males of the eastern Panjáb married, while in the centre only 7 to 9 and in the west only 3 to 5 marry before the age of fifteen. In the next period, from 15 to 20, nearly half the males are married in the east, not one-third in the centre, and not one-fifth in the west. Between the ages of 20 and 25 the proportion of married males rises rapidly throughout the Province, and even in the west some 40 to 47 per cent. of the whole are married; while within the next five years of life two-thirds of the western and three-quarters of the eastern males are either married or widowed. After that age the figures for single men become more irregular, though the same differences between east and west may still be observed. The figures for widowers naturally follow those for single men in reverse order, since the earlier a man marries and the more of them marry, the more numerous must be the widowers.

689. I now turn to the figures for females. The same general features, the same advance from east to west in the usual age of marriage is to be noticed in them, but in a far more marked degree. The marriages among females of under 10 years of age are considerable in number in the eastern divisions. Between 10 and 15 years of age nearly half the women are married in the east, whereas four-fifths of the men are still single; while even in the west about a fifth of the girls have found husbands. By the time they are 20 years old 92 per cent. of the girls are married or widowed in the east and 70 per cent. in the west; while after 25, and still more after 30 years of age, the proportion of single women is quite nominal in the east and very small in the west. After 30 years of age there is not one woman in 200 single in the Dehli division, and not 3 in 100 in the Peshâwar division. Female marriage is earlier and more general in the hills than in the plains, whether the comparison be made in the east or in the west of the Province; and it is perhaps earliest of all in the Kángra district. Generally speaking it is earliest among the highest castes; for instance, the Bráhmans and Khatris of Multán marry their girls far younger than do the Aroras. But the Rájpúts form an exception to this rule in both the hills and the plains, and Mr. Kensington explains the peculiarity by pointing out that "the more strictly the women are "secluded, the less necessity is there supposed to be for early marriage." I believe however that the early marriages of Bráhmans, Banyas, and other strict Hindus are originally due to religious ideas of duty, rather than to any question of the chastity of the woman. The misstatement of girls' ages of course affects these figures; and the proportion of married females is probably somewhat too small in the period between 10 and 15, and to a less extent in that between 15 and 20. But even taking the figures as they stand, I doubt whether they adequately represent the prevalence of early marriage in the east of the Panjáb. I doubt very much whether as many as half of the girls between 10 and 15 years of age are really unmarried in the Dehli division; and I cannot help thinking that in some cases very young girls who have not yet gone to live with their husbands must have been shown as single, although the marriage ceremony has actually been performed. But this is only an impression, and is worth little. The Deputy Commissioner of Muzaffargarh, indeed, believes that the figures represent the statistics of betrothal rather than those of marriage; and the Commissioner of Multán endorses the opinion. But I do not believe that as many as 28 per cent. of the girls of the Multán division between 15 and 20 years of age remain unbetrothed, and I do not think the objection taken is well founded. Generally speaking, we may say from a comparison of the figures for the sexes that men marry some 5 to 8 years later than women, and that the proportion of widows is consequently uniformly larger than that of widowers; a fact which is also due to the circumstance that there is nowhere either rule or prejudice against the remarriage of widowers, as there is against that of widows. But during the years of early and middle life the disproportion is far smaller in the east and centre than in the west of the Panjáb; and this is due to the prevalence in the former tract of *karewa* or widow-marriage. Except in the western districts and among the higher castes, a young widow marries again almost more certainly than a young widower. To quote an example: in the Dehli division between the ages of 20 and 25 the figure for widowers is 529 and for widows 569. In the Peshâwar division the corresponding figures are 352 and 695. In more advanced life the proportion of widows is far greater in all parts than that of widowers; probably because, as husbands are in demand rather than wives, an old man can get a young wife and therefore will not marry an old one. The proportion of women who die unwed is extraordinarily small. Even in the Derajât only 2½ per cent. of the women between 25 and 30, and 1½ of those between 30 and 40 are single;

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while the corresponding figures for males in the same division are 33 and 17 per cent. In the east of the Panjáb it may be said that practically speaking *all* the women marry.

690. The comparatively late age at which both sexes, and especially women, marry in the Multán and Deraját divisions, has already been noticed. In parts of the Multán division adult marriage, that is to say marriage after both parties have arrived at their full sexual vigour, and not at mere puberty, is the rule; a youth is not allowed to wear a turban or marry a wife until he has stolen a buffalo and thus proved his ability to support her; and there is a proverb to the effect that "marriage without consent is death," a sentiment which would be simply meaningless in the east of the Panjáb. Mr. Perkins, Commissioner of Multán, writes on this subject:—

"I will not detain you as to the social statistics further than to draw prominent attention to the gratifying fact that the "custom of early nuptials of children is widely discouraged in this part of the world. Even among Hindus it seems to be much "less the rule than elsewhere, while among Moslems it is evidently quite the exception. There can I suppose be no doubt that "this is the reason for the exceptionally fine strength of the dwellers here. Both sexes come together at a period of life when "they are physically mature, and the resulting progeny are strong as might be expected. Moreover, the generally wild free-"ness of their life tends to call out their athletic strength, and to discourage the unwholesome passions engendered in towns, and "the influence of these matters on the children's physique cannot but be beneficial. It seems to lead to a considerable number "of illicit amours, but as this is a subject foreign to our present purpose I will not pursue it."

At the same time adult marriage is not an unmixed good, as is shown by our criminal statistics. Apparently the nubile girl is better content to live with a husband chosen by her parents in her infancy than with no husband at all, and often remedies this latter state by taking to herself a lover; while the power of choice allowed to the virgin is often retained and exercised by the wife, and grievous scandals are the result.

691. Civil condition in the several religions.—Abstract No. 115 on the opposite page gives similar figures for the various religions to those which have just been given for divisions, adding details for typical divisions as before:—

The figures present the same general features as do those just discussed, if for east we read Hindu, for centre Sikh, and for west Musalmán. But these figures enable us, by comparing the statistics for the same religion in different parts of the Province, to decide how far local custom and how far difference of religion is responsible for the peculiarities observed. It will be seen that while early marriage, especially among females, is far more prevalent, and marriage of females far more nearly universal among Hindus than among Musalmáns, and that in every part of the Province, yet the Hindus of the west marry later and less generally and the Musalmáns of the east earlier and more generally than do their brethren at the opposite end of the Panjáb. But a very curious feature marks the male figures. While the proportion of single among the Hindus is invariably smaller than among the Musalmáns in the early ages, it becomes larger in the Amritsar division after 15 years, in the Peshāwar division after 25 years, and in the Dehli, Hissár, and Multán divisions after 30 years; and when it once has become larger it invariably continues so throughout the succeeding periods of life. This seems to point to the conclusion that when once a Hindu male has reached middle age unmarried, he is much less likely to marry than is a Musalmán under similar conditions; and the explanation of this circumstance may perhaps be found in the fact that Hindu girls are so generally married at a very early age, that middle aged men find far greater difficulty in procuring a wife than is the case among Musalmáns whose women remain longer single. The Sikh males appear to marry later and less generally than do the Hindus if the Province be taken as a whole, and up to the age of 25 to preserve an intermediate position between the two religions; but after that age the proportion of single males remains larger than among Hindus, and as Sikh girls marry later than Hindu girls, this fact throws some doubt upon the explanation just put forward. Perhaps the comparatively large number of the ascetic and monastic orders of celibates among Hindus and Sikhs has some effect in raising the proportion of single men in the later stages of life, as compared with Musalmáns. In the earlier periods the earlier marriage of those who intended to marry at all would conceal the difference. Moreover, I believe that many of the ascetics do marry as children, but abandon their wives when they adopt a religious life, and thenceforth count themselves as unmarried. In the Amritsar division the same point is observable after 30 years of age; but up to that period Sikh males marry more generally than do Hindus, a fact perhaps due to the generally prosperous condition of the Sikh peasantry of the Central Panjáb. The proportion of widowers increases as a matter of course as the age of marriage is earlier. The late age at which Buddhist males marry, the comparatively large proportion of them who remain single, and the small number of widowers are very noticeable. The first fact is probably due to the later maturity which generally marks inhabitants of cold countries; the second to the fact that all the younger sons go to monasteries where they live as celibates; the last to the exceeding ease with which a wife is obtainable in the high hills, cohabitation being almost equivalent with marriage[1].

692. Turning to the female figures, we find female marriage much earlier and much more general among Hindus than among Musalmáns and, for the same religion, in the east than the west; so much so in fact, that the Hindu girls of the south-west marry later than do the Musalmán girls of the east. The Sikh girls marry much later in life, but also much more generally than do the Hindus. The number of widows among Sikhs is also very much smaller than among either Hindus and Musalmáns, probably because such a very large proportion of the Sikhs are Jats, with whose widows remarriage is a universal custom. The Buddhist girls marry as much later than those of other religions as do the Buddhist boys; and as among the men and from the same cause, the proportion of women who remain single is comparatively large, many of the women entering nunneries and there living celibate lives. So the proportion of widows is, except at the later ages, very markedly smaller than among other religions; for as the Buddhist women do most of the field-work, a young widow is not compelled to retain her weeds for longer than she chooses. Marriage among Jains is somewhat earlier and more general than among Hindus, and especially in the case of males. The Jains are one of the most wealthy classes of the community. The proportion of both widows and widowers is very large, for not only is widow-marriage unknown, but the Bhábra Jains are not allowed to marry a second wife under any circumstances whatever.

[1] Moreover, the fact that the Buddhist father is superseded by his son as head of the household on the marriage of the latter, inclines him to put off the marriage as long as he can.

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Abstract No. 115, *showing* **Civil Condition** *by* **Sex and Age** *for* **Religions.**

Sex	Division	Religion	0—10.			10—15.			15—20.			20—25.			25—30.			30—40.			40—50.			50—60.			60—		
			Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.
MALES.		All Religions	9,926	72	2	8,890	1,081	29	6,655	3,230	115	4,282	5,436	281	2,627	6,933	440	1,447	7,857	696	942	7,813	1,245	783	7,239	1,978	679	6,007	3,314
		Hindu	9,883	114	3	8,464	1,493	43	6,057	3,789	154	3,867	5,781	351	2,473	7,002	524	1,536	7,649	814	1,122	7,429	1,449	979	6,774	2,246	870	5,584	3,546
		Sikh	9,923	75	2	8,733	1,243	24	6,363	3,541	96	4,163	5,595	241	2,686	6,905	408	1,719	7,602	679	1,326	7,464	1,210	1,162	6,846	1,992	996	5,460	3,543
		Jain	9,898	101	...	7,680	2,207	23	4,362	5,390	248	2,747	6,665	507	2,241	6,958	801	1,402	7,269	1,329	1,293	6,505	2,202	1,055	5,575	3,369	1,073	3,941	4,985
		Buddhist	10000	...	...	9,839	80	80	7,712	2,034	254	4,667	5,000	333	3,509	6,053	438	2,219	7,517	264	1,833	7,889	278	1,619	7,535	846	2,157	5,294	2,549
		Musalmán	9,956	43	1	9,261	720	19	7,251	2,666	83	4,626	5,149	225	2,678	6,949	373	1,305	8,094	601	719	8,207	1,074	544	7,713	1,743	490	6,402	3,108
	Dehli Division	Hindu	9,837	159	4	7,586	2,333	81	4,558	5,163	279	2,614	6,817	569	1,579	7,651	770	987	7,921	1,092	681	7,440	1,879	572	6,551	2,877	487	5,131	4,382
		Musalmán	9,917	78	5	8,856	1,099	43	6,428	3,402	170	3,437	6,149	413	1,701	7,718	581	801	8,400	799	438	8,255	1,307	316	7,610	2,074	276	6,164	3,559
	Hissár Division	Hindu	9,854	142	4	8,038	1,904	58	5,719	4,107	174	3,583	6,035	382	2,266	7,165	569	1,415	7,710	875	1,001	7,420	1,579	832	6,660	2,507	702	5,296	4,002
		Musalmán	9,950	48	1	9,267	711	21	7,617	2,320	62	5,004	4,806	190	2,793	6,903	304	1,316	8,137	547	674	8,348	977	567	7,791	1,642	552	6,337	3,111
	Amritsar Division	Hindu	9,934	60	6	9,064	906	30	6,700	3,185	115	4,203	5,506	291	2,647	6,897	456	1,608	7,656	736	1,281	7,368	1,350	1,191	6,696	2,113	1,100	5,389	3,510
		Sikh	9,944	54	2	9,003	982	15	6,463	3,431	106	3,991	5,733	275	2,589	6,993	418	1,822	7,461	717	1,452	7,227	1,321	1,335	6,534	2,131	1,187	5,114	3,699
		Musalmán	9,933	63	4	9,035	941	24	6,490	3,409	101	3,474	6,251	275	1,940	7,622	438	943	8,385	672	594	8,224	1,182	499	7,527	1,974	398	6,190	3,412
	Multán Division	Hindu	9,989	11	...	9,415	577	7	7,393	2,538	69	5,226	4,590	184	3,591	6,056	353	2,226	7,131	643	1,624	7,156	1,220	1,468	6,612	1,920	1,347	5,243	3,410
		Musalmán	9,992	7	...	9,757	238	5	8,429	1,534	36	6,038	3,830	132	3,786	5,949	264	1,938	7,547	515	1,087	7,934	979	854	7,580	1,566	877	6,135	2,988
	Peshávar Division	Hindu	9,978	22	...	9,476	501	22	7,603	2,273	124	5,377	4,350	273	3,550	5,919	531	2,025	7,117	858	1,278	7,385	1,336	969	7,056	1,975	1,074	5,605	3,320
		Musalmán	9,989	10	...	9,691	296	13	8,197	1,732	71	5,553	4,236	211	3,337	6,328	334	1,487	7,974	539	658	8,440	902	380	8,251	1,369	314	7,250	2,436
FEMALES.		All Religions	9,761	234	4	6,451	3,487	62	1,671	8,111	218	314	9,247	439	120	9,160	720	74	8,433	1,493	56	6,623	3,321	49	4,549	5,402	49	2,130	7,821
		Hindu	9,627	367	6	5,344	4,563	91	876	8,830	294	129	9,316	555	57	9,038	905	39	8,141	1,819	27	6,166	3,806	24	4,037	5,939	25	1,804	8,171
		Sikh	9,777	220	3	6,274	3,673	53	1,286	8,538	176	153	9,498	349	63	9,352	585	37	8,742	1,221	27	7,147	2,826	19	5,111	4,870	18	2,436	7,546
		Jain	9,869	128	2	5,849	4,062	89	802	8,879	319	113	9,170	717	64	8,782	1,154	70	7,629	2,300	48	5,881	4,071	29	3,565	6,406	45	1,794	8,161
		Buddhist	9,940	60	...	9,516	484	...	7,212	2,692	96	3,920	5,840	240	2,177	7,551	272	1,077	7,916	1,007	591	7,340	2,069	741	5,494	3,765	379	3,128	6,493
		Musalmán	9,852	146	2	7,340	2,620	40	2,379	7,457	162	492	9,155	353	179	9,237	584	106	8,626	1,268	83	6,918	2,999	73	4,891	5,036	71	2,335	7,594
	Dehli Division	Hindu	9,623	370	6	4,589	5,305	105	483	9,203	314	55	9,364	581	23	9,072	904	15	8,081	1,903	10	6,034	3,956	9	3,871	6,118	10	1,727	8,263
		Musalmán	9,693	301	6	6,596	3,332	72	1,651	8,099	249	218	9,250	532	102	9,021	877	71	8,154	1,775	61	6,135	3,804	70	3,797	6,133	72	1,614	8,314
	Hissár Division	Hindu	9,632	363	4	5,002	4,928	69	717	9,057	225	86	9,458	456	32	9,231	736	21	8,421	1,558	11	6,577	3,410	8	4,334	5,657	12	1,969	8,018
		Musalmán	9,810	186	4	7,414	2,539	47	2,541	7,274	185	392	9,191	417	110	9,169	721	64	8,448	1,488	50	6,676	3,274	42	4,498	5,460	44	1,871	8,084
	Amritsar Division	Hindu	9,716	274	9	6,047	3,871	82	1,239	8,470	291	187	9,259	554	92	8,926	981	59	8,078	1,862	41	6,117	3,840	48	4,139	5,812	41	1,800	8,158
		Sikh	9,817	178	4	6,515	3,445	40	1,179	8,068	153	152	9,520	327	73	9,347	579	52	8,836	1,112	38	7,344	2,618	22	5,261	4,717	25	2,306	7,669
		Musalmán	9,741	249	10	6,445	3,511	44	1,587	8,256	156	275	9,397	328	116	9,325	559	80	8,653	1,267	55	6,941	3,004	54	4,906	5,040	68	2,342	7,590
	Multán Division	Hindu	9,939	59	1	7,632	2,333	34	1,648	8,127	225	172	9,310	518	59	8,933	1,008	40	7,895	2,065	19	5,802	4,178	21	3,715	6,264	34	1,597	8,369
		Musalmán	9,967	33	...	8,500	1,481	18	3,028	6,859	113	676	9,047	277	227	9,279	494	126	8,739	1,134	91	7,048	2,861	92	4,996	4,911	89	2,350	7,561
	Peshávar	Hindu	9,907	91	2	6,403	3,455	142	1,255	8,358	387	322	8,855	823	79	8,588	1,333	61	7,640	2,299	43	5,228	4,728	47	3,564	6,389	39	1,600	8,361
		Musalmán	9,957	42	1	8,091	1,867	42	2,912	6,891	197	748	8,844	407	304	9,035	661	155	8,463	1,381	127	6,553	3,320	104	4,602	5,293	92	2,448	7,459

Part II.—The Civil Condition of the People.

693. Civil condition of the sexes compared.—Abstract No. 116 on the opposite page brings out in an exceedingly striking manner the difference between the civil condition of men and women respectively. In it is shown the proportion of females to every thousand males who are single, married, or widowed in each age-period. Thus if there were 2,000 married men and only 1,000 married women between the ages of 10 and 15, the entry in the Abstract would be 500, or 50 females for every 100 males.

Of course these figures, unlike those we have just been discussing, are affected by the general proportion of the sexes in each age-period, and, the number of women being always smaller than that of men, are always somewhat lower than they would be were the sexes present in equal numbers; while the variation due to this cause is greatest where the proportion of females is smallest. But after making all possible allowances on this account the figures are exceedingly striking. The extraordinary excess of females married at the earlier ages, the equally extraordinary excess of males married at the later ages, and the great excess of widowed females at all ages are brought out in the greatest prominence. The figures represent no new facts, and are only a different and somewhat less accurate representation of the facts we have already discussed; and there is no occasion to dwell on them. I give them as a most effective summary of the difference between the civil condition of males and females respectively.

694. Civil condition in towns and villages.—Abstract No. 117 on page 364 shows the distribution of every 1,000 persons of all ages and of each sex according as they are single, married, or widowed, for each division in the Province, giving separate figures for towns and villages:—

The variations observable between the figures for the several divisions are chiefly due to the variations in distribution by age already discussed: for instance, the fact that in the villages of the Dehli division only 29·8 per cent. of the females are single, while in the Multán division the corresponding percentage is 44·1, is chiefly though not wholly due to the fact that children of too young an age to be married form a much larger proportion of the total population in the latter than they do in the former. The age of marriage has already been discussed; and I shall here confine myself to the difference between the figures for towns and villages respectively in one and the same division. It will be noticed that a much smaller proportion of the males are single and a much larger proportion married in the towns than in the villages. This is almost certainly due in great part to the fact that the urban classes are, taking them altogether, better off and more generally able to afford marriage than are the peasantry; and it is probably also due to some extent to the fact that migration from villages to towns is more common than from towns to villages, and that the migrants are generally married adult males who often leave their wives and children behind them. This same migration also probably explains the fact that the proportion of widowers is slightly but uniformly larger in towns than in villages, and most markedly so in the divisions where the towns have gained most largely by immigration; for the adult immigrants raise the percentage of the higher ages at which widowhood is most common.

695. Among females the proportion of married is almost always less in the villages than in the towns, but the difference is always small in comparison with that which exists in the case of males, and is greatest in the western divisions. The comparative smallness of the difference in the east is probably partly due to the far stronger feeling against daughters remaining unmarried than against sons being left in similar case, especially in the Hindu portion of the Province; and partly no doubt to the excess movement of adult males to towns leaving their wives in the villages, which has already been alluded to. But there is another, and probably a more potent cause. It will be noticed that the disproportion between the figures for single persons in towns and villages respectively is almost identical in each division for the two sexes. Therefore the disproportion between the figures for married and widowed taken together must be also identical, since the sum of single, married, and widowed is constant. But the disproportion in the married figures is less among the females than among the males; therefore the disproportion in the widowed figures must be greater among the females than among the males. Thus the disproportion between the figures for towns and villages is greater among widowed and smaller among married for females than for males, the excess in both cases being on the side of the town population. This can only be accounted for by the women of the villages being transferred from the widowed to the married status, in other words by *karewa*, which is far more commonly practised among the peasantry than among the stricter Hindus who are found in the towns.

696. Polygamy.—By law and custom alike a Musalmán may marry four and a Hindu two wives. But as a fact the privilege is very rarely taken advantage of by Hindus, and not often by Musalmáns excepting the more wealthy section of the community, unless the first wife proves barren or bears daughters only. The unanimity of district officers on this point is very general, the usual remark being that the people are too poor to afford a second wife. There is indeed one well-marked exception, and that is the Peshávar division and in a less degree the Salt-range Tract, in both of which polygamy is said to be an almost general rule among Musalmáns. But I shall presently show that this estimate is exaggerated. And generally, in all parts of the Province, the practice is more common with Mahomedans than with Hindus. In the higher hills indeed, where marriage is a form which is hardly thought necessary and women are valuable as labourers, it is common to have several wives or concubines; but the state of the conjugal relations in this part of the Province will be described in the next section under the head of Polyandry. Thus throughout the plains of the Panjáb polygamy may be said to be practically confined to the rich. By polygamy, however, I here mean the marrying of two wives selected for that purpose. The natural process of devolution by which the widow descends to the younger brother which constitutes the primary form of *karewa* is, as already stated, almost universal amongst all but the highest castes throughout the east and centre of the Panjáb; and this naturally leads to a man having two wives in a very great number of instances. Abstract No. 118 on page 364 shows the number of married women per 1,000 married men for divisions, religions, towns, and villages.

Part II.—The Civil Condition of the People.

Abstract No. 116, *comparing the* Civil Condition of the Sexes at different Ages *for* Religions and Divisions.

Divisions, &c.	Females per 1,000 males of the same civil condition in each period of age.																													
	Single.										Married.										Widowed.									
	0—	10—	15—	20—	25—	30—	40—	50—	60—	Total.	0—	10—	15—	20—	25—	30—	40—	50—	60—	Total.	0—	10—	15—	20—	25—	30—	40—	50—	60—	Total.
Dehli	876	491	128	31	24	29	36	48	63	574	2,281	1,790	1,537	1,279	1,020	893	738	502	306	998	1,359	1,034	8,035	977	1,074	1,626	2,088	2,036	1,946	1,768
Hissár	895	519	149	35	18	19	20	16	28	565	2,435	205	1,817	1,427	1,079	934	753	494	331	1,033	1,100	1,000	1,131	1,145	1,184	1,651	2,022	1,885	2,013	1,810
Ambála	837	471	146	46	30	40	39	41	43	526	2,659	1,949	1,567	1,259	1,017	879	728	498	312	970	2,587	1,649	1,452	1,245	1,280	1,683	2,027	1,935	1,748	1,782
Jálandhar	872	449	125	34	19	20	22	25	31	533	2,935	2,235	1,980	1,540	1,163	888	676	448	237	1,049	2,009	1,862	2,096	1,906	1,825	2,121	2,562	2,455	2,213	2,275
Amritsar	862	511	178	60	41	47	44	44	59	566	3,621	2,833	2,040	1,533	1,160	909	737	521	309	1,038	1,870	1,637	1,533	1,397	1,477	1,784	2,198	2,019	1,841	1,900
Lahore	875	598	233	56	33	36	44	39	46	592	2,853	2,584	2,116	1,509	1,131	899	744	501	297	992	2,400	2,054	1,505	1,332	1,336	1,731	2,199	1,930	1,699	1,813
Ráwalpindi	906	646	352	119	62	73	129	108	119	656	3,364	3,008	2,575	1,751	1,246	923	773	543	299	1,007	3,778	2,500	2,232	1,908	1,620	1,975	2,682	2,487	2,077	2,222
Multán	896	637	269	90	46	45	53	55	62	609	4,135	3,969	3,265	2,111	1,377	940	705	438	274	1,009	1,857	2,789	2,467	2,110	1,874	1,984	2,446	2,167	1,862	2,066
Deraját	869	579	279	109	69	77	111	138	159	619	3,126	3,609	2,705	1,931	1,287	947	746	492	337	1,009	2,400	1,603	1,976	1,659	1,471	1,808	2,463	2,363	2,239	2,185
Peshávar	894	562	283	113	65	75	142	184	188	601	3,616	4,281	3,161	1,891	1,148	841	652	437	255	966	2,500	2,385	2,236	1,779	1,545	1,964	3,018	2,948	2,281	2,407
British Territory	878	545	215	71	42	46	55	53	65	585	2,851	2,347	2,029	1,545	1,150	905	728	493	293	1,010	1,882	1,551	1,544	1,418	1,431	1,831	2,312	2,155	1,955	1,987
Native States	862	486	144	46	32	34	34	31	36	531	3,060	2,543	2,007	1,407	1,148	823	725	481	296	1,015	1,742	1,639	1,473	1,360	1,391	1,727	2,182	2,034	1,952	1,919
Province	875	535	202	66	40	43	51	48	59	576	2,896	2,381	2,026	1,536	1,148	908	727	491	294	1,011	1,856	1,567	1,531	1,408	1,424	1,812	2,289	2,132	1,955	1,975
Hindu	870	456	113	29	19	21	20	19	25	527	2,876	2,236	1,822	1,397	1,093	884	698	468	285	1,007	1,870	1,558	1,489	1,371	1,462	1,856	2,210	2,077	2,032	1,968
Sikh	783	488	140	30	20	17	16	11	13	483	2,335	2,006	1,664	1,390	1,135	909	766	524	324	975	1,383	1,491	1,827	1,185	1,202	1,421	1,869	1,715	1,546	1,595
Jain	910	583	161	36	24	45	33	23	47	591	1,173	1,354	1,443	1,223	1,054	939	788	530	506	1,006	...	3,000	1,127	1,085	1,202	1,547	1,612	1,577	1,821	1,570
Buddhist	1,147	959	824	875	800	463	364	522	242	887	...	6,000	1,167	1,217	1,609	1,009	1,042	832	815	1,058	...	...	333	750	800	3,625	8,400	5,083	3,513	3,597
Musalmán	892	595	278	102	60	71	102	107	117	628	3,078	2,731	2,375	1,711	1,108	927	744	502	294	1,021	1,922	1,592	1,663	1,507	1,419	1,834	2,465	2,285	1,971	2,059
Christian	987	1,034	663	30	15	30	46	406	118	228	1,143	893	3,757	2,680	1,218	638	428	355	381	856	...	...	1,500	1,174	771	790	1,054	1,571	1,839	1,154

Part II.—The Civil Condition of the People.

Abstract No. 117 *showing* Civil Condition *in* Towns and Villages *for* Divisions.

Divisions, &c.	Males. Single. Towns.	Males. Single. Villages.	Males. Married. Towns.	Males. Married. Villages.	Males. Widowed. Towns.	Males. Widowed. Villages.	Females. Single. Towns.	Females. Single. Villages.	Females. Married. Towns.	Females. Married. Villages.	Females. Widowed. Towns.	Females. Widowed. Villages.	Divisions, &c.
Dehli	421	454	493	463	86	82	280	298	527	539	192	163	Delhi
Hissar	466	505	462	425	71	70	302	335	526	520	172	144	Hissar
Ambala	455	496	468	435	77	69	303	321	525	526	171	152	Ambala
Jalandhar	463	503	451	434	86	63	276	308	536	524	188	169	Jalandhar
Amritsar	473	524	448	415	77	61	304	351	524	511	172	138	Amritsar
Lahore	478	545	450	400	72	54	321	395	516	486	162	118	Lahore
Rawalpindi	497	557	443	395	58	47	349	421	494	459	156	120	Rawalpindi
Multan	542	595	398	354	61	52	358	441	472	432	170	127	Multan
Derajat	522	573	415	380	63	47	356	423	469	457	175	120	Derajat
Peshawar	525	586	418	373	58	41	362	432	472	446	166	123	Peshawar
Total British Territory	474	531	448	410	72	59	313	369	513	493	174	138	**Total British Territory**
Total Native States	470	515	448	419	81	65	302	331	514	518	184	151	**Total Native States**
Total Province	475	529	449	411	74	60	312	363	513	497	175	140	**Total Province**

Abstract No. 118, *showing* proportions of Wives to Husbands *for* Religions and Divisions.

NUMBER OF MARRIED FEMALES PER 1,000 MARRIED MALES.

	Dehli.	Hissar.	Ambala.	Jalandhar.	Amritsar.	Lahore.	Rawalpindi.	Multan.	Derajat.	Peshawar.	Total British Territory.	Total Native States.	Total Province.	
Hindu	990	1,033	961	1,069	1,054	961	914	985	919	546	1,004	1,017	1,007	Hindu
Sikh	...	...	...	...	977	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	975	Sikh
Jain	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,006	Jain
Buddhist	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,057	Buddhist
Musalman	1,026	1,037	987	1,034	1,042	1,004	1,023	1,019	1,026	1,012	1,021	1,009	1,020	Musalman
Zoroastrian	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	491	Zoroastrian
Christian	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	856	Christian
All religions	998	1,033	969	1,049	1,038	992	1,006	1,008	1,008	966	1,010	1,015	1,011	**All religions**
Villages	1,003	1,033	991	1,055	1,052	1,013	1,031	1,012	1,029	1,021	1,027	1,021	1,025	Villages
Towns	975	1,030	853	1,000	952	890	818	980	853	699	912	972	920	Towns

The number of wives to each husband is uniformly larger in the villages than in the towns. But this is not because polygamy is more common in villages than in towns; indeed the reverse is notoriously the case in parts where *karewa* is not customary, the richer classes of the cities marrying more than one wife far oftener than the poorer inhabitants of the villages. The reason of there being more wives in proportion to husbands in the villages than in the towns, is that many of the husbands are away from home on service or in trade in the cities and cantonments, leaving their wives in the villages. Thus in Hissár where there are no cantonments the inequality is much reduced, while in Peshávar and Ráwalpindi where large cantonments, rapid growth of towns, and special demands for labour at the time of Census combined to attract a large immigrant population, the disproportion is at its highest. A portion of the inequality however is undoubtedly due to *karewa* in those parts where *karewa* is practised, for widow-marriage is allowed chiefly among the peasantry and not at all among the mercantile classes of the cities; and this is probably the cause of the excess in the Hissár division.

Taking villages and towns together, the high proportion of wives in the Jálandhar division is probably due to the emigration from Hushyárpur which has taken place of late years, and the polygamous habits of the hill people. In the Amritsar division it is again probably due to both polygamy in and emigration from Siálkot and Gurdáspur, as the proportion in the Amritsar district is very moderate. But, as in Hissár, it is probably caused in part by the large Jat population who universally practise *karewa.* Districts from which emigration is taking place naturally show more wives than husbands, as the men move first and send for their wives only when they have made for themselves a permanent home. On the other hand, districts like Sirsa which are being stocked by immigration show a large proportion of husbands, not only because the married male immigrants leave their wives behind them, but still more because their sons generally marry out of the district in the neighbourhood of their homes, and their wives are often absent at their parents' houses, especially in time of drought.

697. Turning to religion we find that polygamy is far more common among Musalmáns than among

Part II.—The Civil Condition of the People.

Hindus, except in the Jálandhar and Amritsar divisions which have already been discussed. The small proportion of wives among the Hindus of the Peshâwar division shows how largely the Hindu population consists of temporary immigrants. The proportion of wives to husbands among the Sikhs is curiously small. They are notoriously well off, they practise *karewa* more generally than do the members of any other religion, and I can only explain the figures by supposing that some of the Hindu women who have married Sikh husbands have been returned as Hindus. Yet this seems extremely unlikely, as all that a Hindu woman does on becoming a Sikh is to tie up her hair in a somewhat different fashion. If, as I myself believe and shall explain in the next paragraph, the Jats practise polyandry, this might perhaps account for the figures, as the great mass of the Sikhs are Jats. But even then all but the eldest brothers would probably return themselves as single. The large proportion of wives among the small Buddhist population is said to be due rather to the husbands being away on journeys or working elsewhere and leaving the aged females behind them, than to any general habit of polygamy. The small number of wives among Christians and Zoroastrians is of course owing to their sojourn here being only temporary.

The districts that show more married men than married women among the village population are Karnál, Sirsa, Ambála, Simla, Lahore, Multán, and Kohát; while in all these, and also in Dehli, Fírozpur, Ráwalpindi, Derah Gházi Khán, and Peshâwar the number is larger among total population. In no case are the husbands in excess in the villages and not in the towns of any district.

On the whole polygamy is shown by the figures to be very rare. Indeed I am almost driven to suggest that widows who have been remarried by *karewa* must sometimes have been shown as widows, though it appears very unlikely that this should be so. It seems improbable that in the Hissár division for instance, only 3 out of every 100 married men should have taken a second wife if cases of *karewa* are included as well as those of polygamy proper. If, indeed, my belief in Jat polyandry is well founded, the smallness of the figures would be explained, for the younger brother would be nominally unmarried when the widow came to him. Or it may be that my suspicions expressed in section 689 are well founded, and that the figures are to be explained by the fact that very young girls who have not yet gone to live with their husbands have in some cases been returned as single, although the marriage ceremony has actually been performed. In the whole Province our figures show that there are 101 wives for every 100 husbands. But, as pointed out by Mr. Frizelle, this does not mean that so many as one in every 100 husbands take a second wife; for those who are well enough off to take a second often take a third and a fourth also, and thus the number of men who marry more than one wife is smaller than the excess of wives over husbands.

698. Polyandry.—Polyandry as an open and recognised institution is only found in parts of the Kúlu sub-division. The whole relations of the sexes in conjugal matters are so peculiar in that part of the country, and doubtless in the Hill States adjoining it, that I quote at length in the next paragraph Mr. Anderson's description of them. But polyandry proper is almost confined to Láhul and Seoráj, and in the latter the custom seems to be dying out. Mr. Lyall writes of it:—

"Polyandry in Seoráj is in reality a mere custom of community of wives among brothers who have a community of other "goods. In one house you may find three brothers with one wife, in the next three brothers with four wives, all alike in common; "in the next house there may be an only son with three wives to himself. It is a matter of means and of land; a large farm requires "several women to look after it. Where there is only one wife to several brothers, it will generally be found that some of the brothers "are absent for part of the year working as labourers. In Láhul polyandry, or the taking to wife of one woman by several brothers, "is a recognised institution, and is very general; the object is to prevent the division of estates. I remember a case which came before "me, in which one of two brothers living in polyandry much wished to separately marry a girl by whom he had had an illegitimate "child; but the wife objected strongly, claiming both brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the household, "and she eventually prevailed.

"In Spiti polyandry is not recognised, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones become monks; but there is "not the least aversion to the idea of two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and I believe it often happens in an unrecog"nised way, particularly among the landless classes who send no sons into the monasteries."

Now it is my own private opinion, and the opinion of several other officers who have mixed much with the people, that exactly what Mr. Lyall describes in the sentences quoted above prevails to a very considerable extent among the Jats of the Eastern Plains, or at least among those of the Jamna zone. A family of brothers lives in community of goods; the eldest alone marries a wife and all cohabit with her; the eldest dies, the next brother becomes the head of the house and the nominal husband; but throughout the woman lives with all the brothers as their wife. It may be, as Mr. Lyall says, that a solitary man may have two wives to himself, a pair of brothers a wife each, and a pair of brothers a wife between them; but where, as is not uncommonly the case among tribes in which the Levirate or primary form of *karewa* is the rule, the eldest only of two or more brothers living together is married, I believe that it is the rule and not the exception for the wife to cohabit with all the brothers. The practice is not openly recognised or admitted to the general public; but the suggestion of it is often denied with a laugh. Mr. Delmerick, who has great knowledge of native custom, writes:

"In the Ambála sub-montane tract from the Jamna to the Satluj polyandry is very extensively practised. Indeed a sister-in"law is looked upon as common property, not only by uterine brothers, but by all *bháis*, including first cousins. This is the case "among all castes of Hindus, including outcasts such as Chamárs. It is also a partially recognised custom among the Hindu Jats "and Gújars in the plains. Among them it is easier for a man to get a wife if he have brothers because she cannot then remain "a widow, and they say she then becomes a *sada sohágan*, a perpetually married woman."

I can give no proof of the prevalence of the custom; and though I have noticed several peculiarities in the Census figures which seem to support my contention, they are so slight that I base no argument upon them. But the question deserves further enquiry.

699. Relations between the sexes in Kulu and Lahul.—Mr. Anderson's description of the relations existing between the sexes in Kúlu and Láhul is as follows:—

"Polyandry is common among all classes in Seoráj except the Bráhmans of Nirmand; but people are ashamed of it and the "custom is disappearing. It exists also in part of Wazíri Rupi. The woman is considered the wife of the eldest brother and all "the children are considered his children. This was the rule recorded at settlement, but it is not now the recognised custom. In a "recent case, the evidence showed that the woman is allowed to state who the father is, and the succession is in accordance with her "allegations. She is careful to ascribe the paternity of a son to the bread earner of the family, or whoever happens to be the richest

Part II.—The Civil Condition of the People.

"among the brothers. This is common in Láhul also. Cases are not unknown where several brothers have two wives in common, "and curious questions arise as to the succession. The change from community of wives to separation is going on, and polyandry "will disappear, though at present it probably exists to a greater extent than is admitted.

"The relations between the sexes in Kúlu are of the very lowest order, and the principal work of the Courts, both civil and "criminal, consists in deciding cases arising out of the low state of morality. Cohabitation is considered equal to marriage, and the "sons of a woman who has been received into a house and treated as a wife succeed equally with the legitimate children. Marriage "by any form is rather the exception than the rule. A widow, whether she was a wife by marriage or only by reputation, is allowed "to keep possession of her deceased husband's estate so long as she lives in his house, however immoral her character may be.

"Polygamy is common in Kúlu proper, as a land-owner as soon as he finds that he cannot till all his land with those already in "his house looks out for another wife, and it is common for him to have to buy the consent of his first wife. He probably had made "an agreement with her not to take another wife. It is very common for wives to be living in their parents' homes, not with their "husbands; but they will, even when there, have some share of their husbands' land to cultivate and to enjoy. In Kúlu generally "the women have the upper hand of the men, but they do most of the field work except ploughing.

"There is not much restriction on marriage within the same caste. A man will marry his *mámu-ki-beti*, daughter of his "maternal uncle, or his *phúphi-ki-beti*, the daughter of his paternal aunt, but not his *massi-ki-beti*, daughter of his maternal aunt. "The reason for this does not appear evident. It does not depend on the *got*, nor on considerations of common milk as among "Musalmáns. So far as I could ascertain, *got* is very rarely considered except among Bráhmans. Many, indeed most, had no idea of "their *gots*. They were ready however to adopt a *got* without considering what effect it might have.

"Early marriages are not common in Kúlu, as women are valued only as they are useful for labour in the fields. They are in "a way bought and sold, the price being fixed by the age. Women however in the end choose their own husbands, for they will "live only where they please, and as it is only a matter of rupees the exchange is soon made. Where a man cannot afford to pay for "his future wife, he often agrees to work for her living in her father's house.

"Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhul; but it is dying out. This probably arises from an improve"ment in the condition of the people, which has also produced greater division of families. The custom of polyandry is now consi"dered shameful and is not willingly admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder brother's wife, not "theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last ten years. The male population has now many new ways of earning a living, "and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing, and with them the custom itself. It is not customary "to marry young, women being generally between 15 and 20 years of age (*vide* Cunningham's *Ladák*, page 289). Even the better "classes have as a rule only one wife, unless she should have no son. Women are not married in Láhul merely to till their hus"bands' lands. It is very common to engage labourers for that purpose."

I should explain that the *got* of which Mr. Anderson speaks is the Brahminical *gotra*, and not the clan. The fact that the daughter of the maternal aunt is forbidden as a wife, while the daughters of the paternal aunt and maternal uncle may be married, is very interesting, and is obviously a survival from the custom of tracing kinship through the woman only, which would naturally possess greatest vitality in a country where polyandry was the rule. So in the plains the people are beginning to add the mother's mother's clan to those into which it is forbidden to marry, or even to substitute it for the father's mother's clan; and this is apparently a last stage in the change from relationship through women to relationship through men. The Deputy Commissioner of Kángra notices "a very ancient custom by which the bridegroom elect com"monly binds himself to earn his wife by working for his bride's family for sometimes as long as 9 or 10 "years," and the same custom is noticed in the extract just quoted from Mr. Anderson. I presume, however, that it obtains only in the higher hills, as it appears that infant marriage is universal in Kángra proper.

PART III.—THE PROPORTIONS OF THE SEXES.

700. Sex statistics in the Panjab.—Figures showing the sex statistics for each religion and all religions in each district and state, for urban, rural, and total population separately, will be found in Table IV of Appendices A and B. The proportion of the sexes has always been a burning question in India; partly because the great excess of males has puzzled statisticians, but still more because of the greater or less prevalence of the custom of female infanticide against which Government has set its face. The general result of our inquiry is that in the Panjáb taken as a whole there are 5,425 males and 4,575 females among every 10,000 of the population, figures which become 5,421 and 4,579 if immigrants be excluded. It is this large excess of males, in face of the fact that in Europe the females are slightly in excess, that has to be accounted for. So far as the excess is real, and not due to defective enumeration, it may be due to any or all of three causes, excess of male births, female infanticide, or greater female mortality. These points will be discussed presently. But I wish in the first place to draw attention to two minor causes which operate, though not perhaps very largely, to make the comparison between the Panjáb and European countries more unfavourable than it otherwise would be. The first of these causes is the effect of migration upon the proportion of the sexes. From all the great European countries an incessant stream of emigration is pouring into America and Australasia, and carrying with it the surplus male population. In New South Wales there are 548 males among every 1,000 persons; in Queensland 584; while in all parts of North America the proportion never falls below 506. Adding all the English-speaking countries of the world together, we find that the males exceed the females in the proportion of about 503 to 497. In the Panjáb on the other hand the effect of migration is precisely the reverse, the incoming males being more numerous than the females. In the second place I have shown in Chapter III, sections 179, 180, that as enumeration becomes more and more correct the proportion of females to males tends to increase. Now I have already given it as my opinion that no such omission or concealment of females took place at the present Census as would materially affect the total numbers: my examination of the age figures tended to confirm this impression; and I still believe my opinion to be correct. But there cannot be the least doubt that some omissions have taken place and that the omissions have been more numerous in the case of females than in that of males Even at this Census we did not attain perfection; and I have not the slightest doubt that in 1891 the proportion of females to males enumerated will be higher than in 1881, as it was in 1881 than in 1868, and in 1868 than in 1855. Thus a part of the disproportion of the sexes is apparent rather than real. These two reasons however will account for but a very small fraction of the disproportion observable in the figures, and I shall proceed to discuss the more effective causes already indicated.

701. Proportion of the sexes at different ages.—Abstract No. 119 below gives the number of females for every 1,000 males in each period of age for divisions and religions:—

Abstract No. 119, *showing the* **Proportion of the Sexes** *at* **each Age** *for* **Divisions and Religions.**

Divisions, &c.	Females per 1000 males.																		
	0—	1—	2—	3—	4—	0—5	5—	10—	15—	20—	25—	30—	35—	40—	45—	50—	55—	60—	All Ages.
Dehli	939	935	927	985	903	937	862	755	815	909	861	911	842	998	797	936	736	978	872
Hissar	952	985	948	1,003	913	958	869	770	782	876	831	906	794	970	696	838	619	944	854
Ambala	926	897	951	942	879	918	809	712	748	821	809	831	818	885	778	805	731	821	810
Jalandhar	944	979	954	972	913	950	871	753	866	963	920	899	814	919	770	857	739	890	872
Amritsar	959	936	925	948	895	935	828	731	813	966	917	886	908	881	805	801	745	825	849
Lahore	936	896	931	938	921	926	837	740	798	887	863	840	809	850	802	730	717	742	824
Rawalpindi	975	980	991	962	927	964	865	778	884	916	901	863	866	920	861	812	794	799	872
Multan	960	974	975	955	927	957	843	731	799	921	891	841	776	853	705	697	625	739	829
Derajat	969	1,013	1,031	958	901	967	784	692	805	956	888	875	797	910	767	779	722	861	845
Peshawar	927	987	1,051	998	952	981	826	679	814	883	782	824	689	888	688	801	693	756	819
British Territory	**950**	**954**	**966**	**963**	**914**	**948**	**842**	**739**	**817**	**911**	**873**	**868**	**813**	**905**	**779**	**806**	**723**	**826**	**846**
Native States	**935**	**935**	**953**	**952**	**884**	**930**	**839**	**729**	**757**	**868**	**851**	**873**	**782**	**910**	**715**	**805**	**651**	**839**	**828**
Province	**948**	**951**	**964**	**961**	**912**	**945**	**842**	**738**	**805**	**903**	**870**	**869**	**807**	**906**	**768**	**805**	**709**	**828**	**843**
Hindu	941	951	952	974	899	941	852	732	782	867	847	859	785	895	743	821	685	882	834
Sikh	864	847	803	834	831	839	752	679	690	819	838	820	748	856	712	731	630	726	765
Jain	870	1,014	1,030	880	960	936	892	766	876	889	835	896	891	933	780	873	729	1,112	878
Buddhist	1,093	1,391	1,143	1,529	1,160	1,255	1,043	992	881	1,042	1,289	779	1,223	1,071	1,203	1,069	1,317	1,379	1,100
Musalman	967	967	993	968	924	962	846	751	849	962	905	887	840	923	802	804	749	807	864
Christian	841	1,030	955	1,052	928	953	1,031	1,031	896	135	159	258	298	384	412	474	802	869	337

The mis-statement of female age which has been already discussed is brought out very markedly by these figures. There is no inducement to return wrong ages in the case of males, as there is in that of females; and the sudden decrease of the proportion of females to males after the age of 5, repeated in still greater intensity after the age of 10, and still continuing in a modified degree between the ages of 15 and 20, marks the extent to which female age has been wrongly returned. The comparatively high proportion in the earlier ages is doubtless caused by under-statement of age, while the large proportion between 20 and 25 is

Part III.—The Proportions of the Sexes.

probably partly due to over-statement. It is noticeable that the same feature characterises the figures throughout the religions and divisions of the Province, but that the decrease begins earlier and continues longer among Sikhs and is later and smaller among Buddhists than in the case of any other religion, while it is markedly smaller among Musalmáns than among Hindus. Turning to the later years of life we note how much more generally inaccurate the return of female seems to have been than that of male age, at any rate in respect of giving round decades instead of the intermediate lustrums; for to no other cause can be attributed the fact that the proportion of females to males is invariably smaller at the five-yearly than at the ten-yearly periods. We see moreover how much worse female life is than male life, the proportion in the later years of life, in which there is practically no inducement to mis-statement, being invariably small, far smaller than in the earliest years; and we notice also that this is most largely the case with Hindus, less so with Sikhs and Musalmáns, and least of all with Buddhists and Jains; perhaps because among the first early marriage is general and poverty common, while Sikhs and Jains are usually well off and Musalmáns and Buddhists marry later in life. The female mortality during the ages of child-bearing, which the doctors tell us is enormous, is to a great extent obscured by the mis-statement of female age; but not wholly so. During the first ten years of life there can be no inducement to return wrong ages, after 20 there is little, and after 25 less or none. Thus the normal proportion of females in early infancy may be taken at about 950, while between 20 and 25 years of age it drops to 911, between 25 and 30 to 873, and between 30 and 35 to 868. This sudden decrease is especially noticeable among the early-marrying Hindus, and takes place later among Musalmáns, while among Sikhs it is very slight, as the figures in the margin show. But the figures for female age, at any rate after the first four years of life, are so vitiated by intentional and unintentional mis-statement, and the figures for Buddhists and Jains are so small, that no detailed conclusions or comparisons can be based upon them, and all that they can be taken to establish is general tendencies indicated by uniform increase or decrease in one and the same direction. So far they have supported the conclusions already arrived at in the part of this chapter devoted to age; but the only light they have thrown on the general question of the proportion of the sexes is, that they have emphasized and brought out more strikingly than before the much smaller longevity of females than of males, and the excessive mortality among women during the period of child-bearing. These facts, however, have a bearing on that question the importance of which can hardly be overrated.

Religion.	Females per 1,000 males.			
	0—2	20—25	25—30	30—35
Sikh	855	819	838	820
Hindu	945	867	847	859
Musalmán	967	962	905	887
Jain	990	889	835	876
Buddhist	1,250	1,042	1,289	779

702. Proportion of the sexes at birth and in infancy.—I now turn to the consideration of the proportion of the sexes at birth, and I repeat in Abstract No. 120 below for convenience of reference, the figures already given for the first five years of life, adding the next lustrum also for the sake of comparison.

Abstract No. 120, *showing the* **Proportion of the Sexes** *in the* **first five years of life** *for* **Divisions and Religions.**

Divisions, &c.	Females per 1,000 Males.							Divisions, &c.
	0— 1879.	1— 1878.	2— 1877.	3— 1876.	4— 1875.	0—5 1875-9.	5—10 1870-4.	
Dehli	939	935	927	985	903	937	862	Dehli
Hissar	952	985	948	1,003	913	958	869	Hissar
Ambala	926	897	951	942	879	918	809	Ambala.
Jalandhar	944	979	954	972	913	950	871	Jalandhar
Amritsar	959	936	925	948	895	935	828	Amritsar
Lahore	936	896	931	938	921	926	837	Lahore
Rawalpindi	975	980	991	962	927	964	865	Rawalpindi
Multan	960	974	975	955	927	957	843	Multan
Derajat	969	1,013	1,031	958	901	967	784	Derajat
Peshawar	927	987	1,051	998	952	981	826	Peshawar
British Territory	**950**	**954**	**966**	**963**	**914**	**948**	**842**	**British Territory**
Native States	**935**	**935**	**953**	**952**	**884**	**930**	**839**	**Native States**
Province	**948**	**951**	**964**	**961**	**912**	**945**	**842**	**Province**
Hindu	941	951	952	974	899	941	852	Hindu
Sikh	864	847	803	834	831	839	752	Sikh
Jain	870	1,014	1,030	880	960	936	892	Jain
Buddhist	1,093	1,391	1,143	1,529	1,160	1,255	1,043	Buddhist
Musalman	967	967	993	968	924	962	846	Musalman
Christian	841	1,030	955	1,052	928	953	1,031	Christian

These five years are for our present purpose by far the most important. In the first place the figures are certainly far more accurate than those for the later ages, partly because the age of an infant is more exactly known than that of an adult, but still more because there is comparatively little inducement to

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mis-statement, though perhaps the figures for the third and fourth years may be slightly raised by under-statement of female age. The error due to the interval between preliminary and final enumeration affects both sexes equally, and does not appear at all in these figures. But there is another respect in which the figures are of special importance. I have already pointed out that the excess of males in the Panjáb must be due to some or all of three causes, a smaller proportion of female births, female infanticide, and excessive female mortality. Now the Inspector-General of Police in the North-West Provinces, where special attention has been paid to the subject of infanticide, writes to me: "It is generally held that infanticide "is not practised after the age of one year, that is that death is not actively accomplished; but female "children are allowed to perish of inanition and inattention up to the age of three years." Thus if this opinion be well founded,—and it is based upon very extensive inquiry and experience,—it follows that any decrease in the proportion of females after the first three years of life is due to natural causes.

There is a preliminary point which I must notice before I proceed to the discussion of the figures. Our statistics even for the first year of age do not represent the proportion of female *births* to male births, but only the proportion of females to males under the age of one year, including not only newborn infants but babies of 11 months or more. Now in European countries at least the mortality in the earlier years of infancy is far greater for males than for females, being in England for the first five years of age 66·5 for males and 56·5 for females, and the mortality during the first year of life being nearly 19 per cent. greater for males than for females. We should therefore expect to find the proportion of females steadily rise during the first few years of life if the same rule obtains in the Panjáb; and as a fact, taking the Province as a whole we find that it is so, the proportion for the first three years being 950, 954, and 966, though I shall presently show that other causes may affect the figures. Thus if only natural causes have been at work, our proportion of females derived from the figures for infants of under one year of age is probably larger than the proportion of female *births*, as the mortality within the year has reduced the number of males more largely than the number of females. The difference can scarcely be great, and will perhaps hardly affect the comparison of our Panjáb figures with European birth-rates, which are the only foreign figures I can obtain; but so far as it goes the comparison will be slightly more favourable to us than it should be.

703. I now turn to the figures for divisions. I have added in Abstract No. 120 at the head of each column the year in which the children to which the figures in that column refer were begotten or conceived. Now a very striking peculiarity is to be observed in the figures. As I have just observed, the proportion of females should increase, and *does* increase slightly on the whole from year to year. Yet the figures in the east of the Province are smallest under the year 1877, the drop from 1876 to 1877 being exceedingly large and sudden; and they are larger under 1878 than under 1877, and in the Dehli, Ambála and Amritsar divisions under 1879 than under 1878. In the Lahore division the sudden decrease is under 1878. In the Ráwalpindi and Multán divisions there is no sudden decrease during the first three years, while in the extreme west of the Province the sudden decrease is under 1878 and continues to 1879. Now although the variations are not so uniform here, yet their tendency is exactly the same as was noticed in the numbers for the several ages and discussed in section 668, the proportion of females being smallest when and where the number of children was smallest, that is, when and where the distress which reduced the birth-rates was most severe. That distress was at its height in 1877 in the east, in 1878 in the centre, and in 1878 and 1879 in the west of the Province. Is it then the case that poverty and want not only reduce the total number of births but also reduce the proportion of female to male births? The figures look as if it were so. I find that Darwin, after discussing the proportion of the sexes among uncivilized races, says "there "may be some unknown law leading to an excess of male births in decreasing races which have already "become somewhat infertile;" and if this be the case, temporary conditions which reduce fertility may also tend to increase the proportion of male births. But I would go further than this. If a lower degree of fecundity is accompanied by a higher proportion of male births, then the excess of male births in the Panjáb is explained, in part at least; for we have already seen in section 678 that the number of births per 100 wives of child-bearing age is far smaller in the Panjáb than in England. Indeed the difference of conditions which temporarily checks fecundity in the Panjáb if we compare a year of distress with a year of plenty, is a constant difference if we compare the Panjáb with Europe. The standard of living is lower, the margin above the bare means of subsistence is smaller, the average life is shorter, the fluctuations of physical conditions and the change from sufficient food to absolute want are more frequent and more violent; while all the aids which civilization affords in the struggle for existence are wanting. If then the conditions which impair fecundity also reduce the proportion of female births, we should expect to find that proportion far lower in the Panjáb than in England.

It must, however, be borne in mind that there is another possible explanation of the small proportion of female infants in years of distress. Whether or no female infanticide prevails in the Panjáb to any considerable extent—and I believe that it does not—there can be no doubt whatever that the female is less welcome and worse cared for than the male infant. Now this perhaps almost unconscious depreciation of female child-life would tell most severely against the female children in years when even the male children must suffer; and it is probable that it has not been without its effect on the figures. How far the small proportion of female infants in years of want is due to this cause, and how far to an actual decrease of female as compared with male births, I am wholly without the means of judging.

704. The figures for religion do not call for detailed examination. Two points however stand out most prominently, and are exceedingly difficult of explanation. I mean the small proportion of females among Sikhs and the large proportion among Buddhists. In discussing the figures for Sikh females I have always written with some hesitation, as I have never felt quite certain that their wives when taken from Hindu families were not returned as Hindus. But this explanation will not help us in the matter of infants. It will hardly be suggested that a male baby in arms will be returned as Sikh while its infant sister will be returned as Hindu. Nor do I see any other explanation, unless it be that Sikhs either practise or have in former generations been wont to practise infanticide to an extent which has never even been dreamed of by us.

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To reduce their proportion of females from 948, the average of all religions, to 864, they must kill nine per cent. of their female children, a supposition which it hardly seems possible should be true. It does not appear that there is any great inaccuracy in the figures, for a reference to Abstract No. 119, page 367, will show that the proportion remains fairly constant throughout all the age-periods. The effect of poverty that we have just discussed should tend to make the proportion of females larger among Sikhs than in any other class, as they are certainly better off than most sections of the community. I give in the margin the figures for the principal Sikh districts, and shall return to this subject when I come to discuss the question of infanticide. The second striking fact is the extraordinarily large proportion of females among Buddhists. Here again the absence of the males on journeys or in the valleys will not help us, for they would hardly take with them the male infants and leave the female infants behind. And here again Abstract No. 119 shows that the peculiarity runs through all periods of age. In his Census Report of 1872 for the North-West Provinces Mr. Plowden suggested that the proportion of females decreased as the heat of the climate increased, and gave figures in support of his proposition; and this may perhaps explain the excess of females among the inhabitants of these high Himalayan valleys. The population concerned is very small; but the figures are so regular that the difference under discussion can hardly be accidental. The Christian population is so small that the figures possess but little value, the total number of children under 5 years old being only about 3,000. At the same time it is worthy of note that among a European population living under an Indian climate, and with no possibility of intentional and very little of even accidental error, the proportion of females to males in the first and third years of life is actually smaller than among the native population.

District.	Sikh females to 1,000 males.		
	0—	1—	2—
Sirsa	842	810	743
Ambála	837	847	817
Ludhiána	919	834	746
Jalandhar	814	896	780
Hushyárpur	929	975	848
Amritsar	772	814	737
Gurdáspur	842	925	802
Siálkot	804	774	775
Lahore	789	744	805
Gujranwála	809	831	764
Firozpur	856	811	740

705. Birth-rates of the sexes compared for the Panjab and Europe.—Do our birth-rates, however, really compare so unfavourably with European rates as is usually supposed? I give some figures in the margin. It must be remembered that the European figures are true birth-rates, while our figures represent the proportion between the sexes for the first year of life. I have added to my table the two divisions in which that proportion is respectively lowest and highest. It will be seen that our figures do not compare so unfavourably with those of Europe as might have been expected from all that has been said and written on the subject. The Sikh proportion only is lower than any of the European figures, while the proportion in Ráwalpindi is the highest in the list. But I doubt much whether any really satisfactory comparison is possible with the figures of one Census only to deal with. I have already pointed out how violently Indian vital statistics fluctuate, and how abnormal are the figures of the present Census. At the same time if my suggestion that distress reduces the proportion of females be well founded, our figures are rather abnormally unfavourable to us than the reverse. But even in the civilised countries of Europe there is no other single branch of vital statistics in which fluctuations are so large and apparently so unaccountable, as they are in the proportion of female to male births. The point is discussed, and some very striking statistics given at pages 242 *ff* of Darwin's *Descent of Man*[1]. The passage is too long to quote, but I will select one instance of extraordinary variation: "It is a singular fact that with Jews the pro- " portion of female births is decidedly smaller than with Christians. Thus in Prussia the proportion is as " 885, in Breslaw as 877, and in Livaria as 833 to 1,000, the Christian births in these countries being the " same as usual, for instance in Livaria, 962 to 1,000." Here we get, among the Livarian Jews, a proportion even lower than among our Sikhs. Now there are possible and probable reasons why we should expect that the proportion of female births would be markedly smaller in the Panjáb than in European countries. I have shown that the generally lower standard of living possibly has an effect in reducing this proportion. Mr. Plowden has shown that in hot climates the proportion apparently tends to become small, and our figures for Buddhists have supported the observation. Again if still-born children be included, the proportion of male to female births in Europe is much larger than would appear from the figures quoted above, for from 135 to 145 males are born dead for every 100 females who perish under similar circumstances. Now this disproportion is generally attributed to the larger cranium of the male and the consequently greater danger of injury in delivery. But in this as in every hot country the muscles and ligaments are notoriously more lax than in the colder climates of Europe, and consequently that portion of the excess of males actually begotten which disappears at the birth in European countries may be supposed to contribute to the living population of the Panjáb. Further, whether female infanticide is now practised or not, we know certainly that it was a common custom among certain castes, and had been so for generations; and I shall show presently that this would result in a hereditary tendency to produce more male than female children. Finally, our figures compare by no means unfavourably with those of Europe. Thus, so far as our statistics go—and I have already explained why I do not think they form a satisfactory basis for comparison—the proportion of female to male infants does not appear to be smaller than might reasonably be expected when we compare at once the statistics of the sexes and the conditions of life in the Panjáb with those of European countries.

Female births per 1,000 male births.			
England (10 years)	957	Greece	909
England (1857)	951	Philadelphia	905
Europe (estimate)	943	**Panjab**	**948**
N. Wales (10 years)	942	Ambála division	926
Austria	942	Ráwalpindi division	975
France (44 years)	942	Hindus	941
Italy	938	Sikhs	864
Russia	918	Musalmáns	967

706. The proportion of the sexes in towns and villages and in different districts.—There remain three aspects in which the sex figures may be examined, in towns and villages, in different districts, and among the several castes. The first two I shall dispose of very briefly. I have already in Chapter II, Part I, section 78 of this report made some remarks upon the distribution of the sexes over urban and rural population. When I wrote that paragraph I had not examined the figures for migration; and I now see that the great concentration of emigrants in the towns of the western Panjáb, and more especially in those of the Ráwalpindi and Peshávar divisions, goes far to explain the disproportion I then discussed.

[1] The one-volume edition of 1874. The whole discussion is much enlarged in this edition, and the passage which I shall presently quote regarding infanticide is not to be found in the earlier editions. In the quotation in the next sentence I substitute the corresponding proportions of female for those of male births given by Darwin, in order to admit of more ready comparison with my figures.

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There are other considerations also which affect the proportion of the sexes among urban population; and it may perhaps be well to summarise the whole briefly. The fact that men often go from villages to towns in search of work, leaving their families behind them, but less often from towns to villages, tends to reduce the percentage of females in towns; and the more recent the immigration the more marked will be the tendency. On the other hand certain towns are notorious for the large proportion of their inhabitants who take service in the army or in offices, leaving their women at home, and in such towns the percentage of females will be high. The generally prosperous condition of the urban population as a whole tends to raise the proportion of females by removing the prudential considerations which, as we have already seen, keep a considerable proportion of males single, and by encouraging or rendering possible polygamy. It is notorious that women are more generally married from villages into towns than from towns into villages. On the other hand the close seclusion to which the mercantile and higher classes, who are most numerous in the towns, subject their women is most unfavourable to female life, more especially at the child-bearing age; while the open-air life led by most women in the country probably more than compensates for the severer labour which they are called upon to perform. It is unnecessary to consider the figures for towns in detail. The above considerations will, as a rule, completely explain the variations. The number of females among every 10,000 of both sexes is shown in the margin. The reverse difference that exists between urban and rural population in Native States as compared with British Territory, is due to the fact that the towns of the former are smaller than those of the latter and comprise no large cities, so that the urban population is less distinctively urban in Native States than in British Territory.

	Females per 10,000 males.		
	Villages.	Towns.	Total.
British Territory	8,539	7,963	8,464
Native States	8,262	8,457	8,282
Province	8,491	8,038	8,433

I have had tables prepared showing the proportion of the sexes in each district for urban, rural, and total population. But the variations depend upon so many and such various considerations, such as the proportion of immigrant population, the comparative accuracy of enumeration, the greater or less severity of distress, which as already shown kills more males than females, locality, religion, and the like, that as these considerations have already been indicated and their effects discussed, I do not think it worth while to print the tables or to examine the figures. They can easily be abstracted from Table IV if required.

707. The proportion of the sexes among the various castes.—I give in Abstract No. 121 on the next page the number of males among every 1,000 persons for each caste in the Province, excluding however (1) all castes numbering fewer than 5,000 souls, as they are generally immigrants, and in any case the numbers are too small to be relied upon; (2) all religious orders and *faqírs* such as Gosáín, Udási and Madári; (3) all immigrant castes such as Kori (the only example I think), even though they exceed 5,000 in number.

The general distribution of the castes is very marked. At the top come most of the higher castes, in the middle the artisans, at the bottom the outcasts and vagrants; and if castes of under 5,000 souls had not been cut out, this last point would have been even very much more marked. In other words, the castes who prostitute their women and therefore find them especially valuable are at the bottom, and those who used at least to kill their girls, if they do not still do so, at the top. The prostitute caste is naturally last of all. I give in the margin the figures for the higher castes, including all who can possibly be suspected of any tendency or temptation to infanticide.

Females to Males per mille.			
Karrál	678	Taga	848
Thakar	761	Biloch	852
Khatri	770	Dáudpotra	855
Káyath	776	Shekh	855
Kharral	786	Banya	859
Ahír	792	Kamboh	859
Jat	799	Ráwat	873
Súd	821	Bhát	876
Bhábra	828	Mughal	883
Bráhman	832	Tanáoli	887
Dogar	832	Saiyad	894
Rájput	838	Meo	901
Pathán	838	Ráthi	905
Arora	838	Awán	916
All castes	**842**	Gakkhar	931
Gújar	842	Dhúnd	934
Ror	842	Kahút	934
Khokhar	842		

All the foreign Musalmáns, such as Saiyads, Shekhs, Biloches, Mughals and the like, with the single exception of Patháns, are well below the average; and the exception is accounted for by the large number of Pathán coolies and labourers temporarily within the Panjáb at the time of the Census. The Ráwal, Ráthi, Dhúnd, and Kahút, all of Rájpút standing or thereabouts, are almost at the bottom of the list. Even the Meos and Tagas so commonly accused of infanticide, and the Gakkhars who 750 years ago were a bye-word for the practice, are low down. The Karrál is, excepting the Pathán, the only frontier tribe who is high up; and possibly many of them are graziers who have temporarily come down from the Chibhál hills into Hazára. But the Thakar, the Khatri, the Káyath, all tribes who find difficulty in marrying their daughters, are very high; while the Jat, the Bráhman and the Rájpút are above the average, and if small sections of them are taken still higher figures will be obtained. I give some details in the margin. The hill Bráhmans seem to be absolved of all suspicion of infanticide, as do the Rájpúts of Kángra as a class. The figures for Hindu Rájpúts are suspiciously low, especially in Gurdáspur. The Sikh Jats have a lower figure than any single caste taken as a whole, while those of Amritsar are especially low, though this last fact is perhaps partly accounted for by the number of celibate devotees congregated at the centre of Sikhism, some of whom may have returned their caste and not their religious order. The proportion of females among the Khatris is terribly small; while among those of Gurdáspur, the head-quarters of the Bedi division who are said in the old days to have never allowed a female infant to survive, there are nearly half as many males again as females.

Females per 1,000 Males in selected cases.			
Jats.—Total	799	*Bráhman.*—Total	832
Musalmán	838		
Hindu	795	Kángra	925
Sikh	747		
Amritsar, total	741	Hushyárpur	885
Amritsar, Sikh	730		
Rájpúts.—Total	838		
Musalmán	856	*Khatris.*—Total	770
Hindu	776		
Kángra, Hindu	906	Hindu	774
Hushyárpur, Musalmán	880	Sikh	745
Hushyárpur, Hindu	860		
Gurdáspur, Musalmán	873	Hushyárpur	774
Gurdáspur, Hindu	738	Amritsar	772
Ráwalpindi, Musalmán	913	Gurdáspur	667

Part III.—The Proportions of the Sexes.

Abstract No. 121, *showing the* Proportion of the Sexes *in* each Caste.

FEMALES TO EVERY 1,000 MALES.

Caste No. (Table VIII A).	Name of Caste.	Females per 1,000 males.	Caste No. (Table VIII A).	Name of Caste.	Females per 1,000 males.	Caste No. (Table VIII A).	Name of Caste.	Females per 1,000 males.
101	Karrál	678	21	Nái	859	24	Saiyad	894
60	Thakar	761	28	Máchhi	859	92	Bhatyára	898
16	Khatri	770	33	Kamboh	859	109	Agari	898
90	Káyath	776	30	Sunár	862	20	Kanet	901
77	Kharral	786	49	Barwála	862	25	Mírási	901
27	Ahír	792	59	Charhoa	862	34	Meo	901
1	Jat	799	76	Núngar	862	39	Ráthi	905
107	Jhabel	802	4	Chúhra	866	61	Darzi	905
75	Súd	821	5	Chamár	866	106	Bishnoi	908
72	Sánsi	825	9	Juláha	866	113	Chamrang	908
88	Bhábra	828	13	Kumhár	866	87	Khatík	912
3	Bráhman	832	22	Lohár	866	12	Awán	916
46	Dogar	832	45	Máli	866	66	Koli	916
69	Bhátia	832	48	Bharái	866	41	Dúmna	919
2	Rájpút	838	51	Mahtam	866	78	Batwál	919
6	Pathán	838	56	Kalál	866	104	Parácha	9[illegible]3
10	Arora	838	83	Penja	866	71	Báwaria	927
108	Bharbhúnja	838	19	Mochi	869	89	Bázígar	927
112	Mahájan (Pahári)	838	23	Teli	869	114	Kúnjra	927
—	**All castes**	**842**	32	Dhobi	869	29	Ghirath	931
8	Gújar	842	110	Rangrez	869	57	Meg	931
55	Ror	842	47	Maniár	873	68	Gakkhar	931
58	Khokhar	842	81	Gaddi	873	97	Sarera	931
91	Aheri	842	82	Ráwat	873	74	Dhúnd	934
36	Chhímba	845	94	Banjára	873	98	Nat	934
86	Taga	848	43	Dhának	876	103	Kahút	934
11	Tarkhán	852	44	Khojah	876	64	Changar	942
18	Biloch	852	62	Bhát	876	38	Qassáb	946
26	Kashmíri	852	7	Aráin	880	50	Dági	949
17	Shekh	855	100	Thori	880	93	Ráj	1,024
31	Saini	855	37	Mughal	883	80	Ráwal	1,066
52	Labána	855	65	Bághbán	883	96	Kanchan	1,481
79	Dáúdpotra	855	67	Lílári	883			
85	Od	855	42	Malláh	887			
14	Banya	859	54	Tanáoli	887			
15	Jhínwar	859	73	Gadaria	890			

708. Causes of the excess of males in the Panjab.—Infanticide—We come then to the question whether female infanticide is practised in the Panjáb, and if at all to what degree. Now I have shown that in the North-West Provinces infanticide proper is believed not to be practised except immediately after birth, while death by intentional inattention is not caused after the third year of age. Thus the effects of infanticide should appear in the first three years of age, and especially in the first. But we find that the proportion of females to males during those years compares on the whole not unfavourably with European figures, and that that proportion actually increases from year to year during the first three years of life. I have shown moreover that there are reasons for believing that the figures of the present Census are unusually unfavourable, and still stronger reasons for believing that the normal proportion of female births would naturally be smaller in the Panjáb than in Europe. Whence then the wholly disproportionate excess of males observable in the former country? It can hardly be due to infanticide, or it would appear in the earlier years. I have indicated several minor causes which all help to produce and explain it, such as incomplete enumeration of females, effect of migration, and so forth. But I think there can be no shadow of doubt that the result is due in the main to excessive mortality among the females of the Province, especially at the child-bearing age. In England a considerable proportion of the women never marry, while those who do so marry in mature age. In the Panjáb *all* the women marry, and the vast majority at an age when their vital vigour is perhaps at its lowest. The self-restraint necessary to abstain from sexual excess, and the strength to sustain its effects without injury and to bear children without peril are alike absent. I have already contrasted in section 674 the conditions of female life in India and in England, and I need not here repeat my remarks. What we have to explain is a fairly normal proportion of the sexes in infancy, and a great excess of males in the later years of life; and the explanation must be, not infanticide, which is practised only in infancy, but excessive female mortality during middle and mature age. Not only is such excessive female mortality probable *à priori*, but it notoriously exists, and is shown to leave its mark even on our imperfect figures. I believe that female infanticide is, *taking the population of the Panjáb as a whole*, practically unknown.

709. But perhaps this is hardly disputed. The real question is, are there not classes or small sections of the community who practise it habitually? Here our figures can give us no definite reply, and all they

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can do is to furnish us with a clue; for they deal with large masses of the people and not with small sections. But the figures for Sikhs generally, for Sikh Jats and Khatris particularly, and for the Hindu Rájpúts of the low hills, are suspiciously low; while those for the Sikh Jats of Amritsar, and still more for the Sikh Khatris of Gurdáspur, are more than suspiciously low. At the same time Mr. Hobart, Inspector-General of Police in the North-West Provinces, tells me that infanticide is not even suspected in a tract unless the proportion of females to every 1,000 males under 12 years of age falls as low as 666; and that a village is not proclaimed under the Act if the proportion is above 613. Now no single one of the classes I have examined falls as low as this; though if the proportion for the Khatris of Gurdáspur generally is as low as 667, it is certain that it will be much lower for some sections of that class. Is there then any cause besides a present and existing custom of female infanticide which can account for this small proportion of females? I will quote in reply a passage from Darwin's *Descent of Man* (page 255*ff*)[1] to which Mr. Benton has directed my attention. Dr. Darwin writes as follows:—

"Colonel Marshall has recently found on careful examination that the Todas, a hill tribe of India, consist of 112 males and " 84 females of all ages—that is in a ratio of 100 males to 75·02 females. The Todas, who are polyandrous in their marriages, " during former times invariably practised female infanticide; but this practice has now been discontinued for a considerable period. " Of the children born within late years the males are more numerous than the females in the proportion of 100 to 80·65. Colonel " Marshall accounts for this fact in the following ingenious manner: 'Let us for the purpose of illustration take three families as " 'representing an average of the entire tribe; say that one mother gives birth to six daughters and no sons; a second mother has six " 'sons only; whilst the third mother has three sons and three daughters. The first mother, following the tribal custom, destroys four " 'daughters and preserves two. The second retains her six sons. The third kills two daughters and keeps one, as also her three " 'sons. We have then from the three families, nine sons and three daughters with which to continue the breed. But whilst the " 'males belong to families in which the tendency to produce sons is great, the females are of those of a converse inclination. Thus " 'the bias strengthens with each generation, until, as we find, families grow to have habitually more sons than daughters.'

"That this result would follow from the above form of infanticide seems almost certain; that is if we assume that a sex-" producing tendency is inherited. But as the above numbers are so extremely scanty, I have searched for additional evidence, but cannot decide whether what I have found is trustworthy; nevertheless the facts are, perhaps, worth giving."

He has before this given many facts and arguments in favour of the assumption that a sex-producing tendency *is* inherited. He then discusses the subject further, chiefly with reference to savage races which are fast dying out, and finally sums up in the following language:—

"From the several foregoing cases we have some reason to believe that infanticide practised in the manner above explained, " tends to make a male-producing race; but I am far from supposing that this practice in the case of man, or some analogous " process with other species, has been the sole determining cause of an excess of males. There may be some unknown law leading to " this result in decreasing races, which have already become somewhat infertile."

From a man of Dr. Darwin's excessive caution such a statement as that quoted above means a great deal. It is possible, indeed it seems probable, that a habitual practice of infanticide continued for generations, would gradually weed out the families who had a hereditary tendency to produce girls and leave those in unimpaired strength whose hereditary tendency it was to produce boys; and would thus result in a normal excess of male births in the race or class. And such a result would be greatly facilitated by the strict rules which bind precisely those classes in the Panjáb among which infanticide used to be most common, to marry into classes with the same customs as themselves. We know for a fact that the classes among whom the proportion of females is smallest did practice infanticide as a habit for many generations; and it may be that the hereditary tendency thus produced is sufficient of itself to explain the present deficiency of females which we find among them, without supposing that the habit still survives. Similar considerations might also help to explain variations in the proportion of the sexes, even where infanticide had never been practised; for among castes or races like the vagrant classes who prostitute their women, or the people of the high hills where the cultivation depends upon female labour, those families would prosper most and perpetuate their kind most largely who had a hereditary tendency to produce most girls; while where daughters are a useless and burdensome expense the reverse would be the case.

710. Opinions of officers on the prevalence of infanticide.—I shall conclude my treatment of the subject by quoting the opinions of district officers. All the thirty-two Deputy Commissioners have noticed the subject. Of these, twenty-four give it as their deliberate opinion that infanticide is unknown. Many point out that a girl is a "marketable commodity," a "valuable piece of property which can be disposed of for a price," and that many classes depend upon their daughters to procure wives for their sons by exchange of betrothal. It is pointed out that the practice of sale and exchange prevails throughout the Province, except in the Jamna districts and perhaps among the highest classes, and that it is rapidly spreading among those last. As Mr. Wilson remarks, if infanticide were practised by the Hindus and Sikhs (and it is only they who are as a rule suspected of it), the Musalmáns who bear them no love would certainly lay stress upon the fact; yet such accusations are seldom heard. So Major Nisbet points out that children of either sex are welcomed eagerly, though boys are preferred. Mr. Frizelle puts the point very clearly and fully. He says, writing from Sháhpur:—

"The disparity in the proportion of the sexes arising in later years points only to the greater unhealthiness of the life sur-" roundings and occupations of women than of men. It does not point to any studied bad treatment of female children. No doubt " female children are little prized and more neglected than male, but hardly more so than married women or female adults who are " very valuable; and there is nothing in the social condition or traditions of the people to cause them by wilful neglect to try to get " rid of their female offspring. There is nothing in the bringing up or settling of daughters rendering them more expensive or trouble-" some to provide for than sons. Just the contrary is the case. The daughter is made to work as hard as the son and is easily " married, and her marriage costs nothing, while that of the son only is expensive. Her father spends nothing on her marriage " except a little food. Her ornaments and even her clothes are provided by her husband and his family, at least such is the custom " among all the agricultural and common classes of the district. Only among people of position is the marriage of a daughter " attended with any considerable expense, and even then that of a son would involve a larger outlay. Hindus perhaps, at least the " better classes, spend a little more on their daughters' marriages and do not as a rule get rid of them on such easy and greedy terms " as Mahomedans, and yet the percentage of females is greater among them. The same state of things prevails however generally " among Hindus. It is to be remarked however that it is only by the very poor or the very disreputable of any class that a pecu-" niary consideration is ever taken for giving a daughter in marriage[2]. But a sort of barter or exchange is very common, and the " giving or promising of a girl is often used as the means of obtaining a wife for some male relation or connection of the bridegroom.

[1] See foot note to page 370.

[2] Mr. Steedman, however, says that in Jhang, the next district to Sháhpur, all Hindus, and the lower Mahomedan castes such as Aráins, habitually take money for their daughters.

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"The possession of a daughter is not only not a burden but a use and convenience, and still female children are looked upon with "disfavour and treated with neglect, probably a relic of the times not so very old when sons were valued for their fighting qualities."

I now turn to the eight district officers who are less positive as to the non-existence of infanticide. Captain Bartholomew of Jhang writes: "Girls are not actually ill-treated; but their birth is often con-"sidered a misfortune, and it is easy to understand how neglect without actual ill-usage increases the "death-rate." In Gurdáspur infanticide is said to be practised "if at all, only among the Bedi Khatris." Colonel Gurdon of Jálandhar thinks that there is "only neglect, not murder; and even that only among "high class Rájpúts or Jats." The Deputy Commissioner of Hissár explains that although men are often unable to marry because girls are so expensive, yet girls are not taken so much care of as boys, especially among Rájpúts who give large dowers and think it shameful to sell their daughters. Mr. Smyth is of opinion that there is now no infanticide in the Dehli district, but that Hindus treat their girls carelessly while Musalmáns do not; yet the Hindus and Hindu converts pay for their brides, while the foreign Mahomedans do not. Mr. Benton of Karnál writes, apparently more from the result of an examination of the figures than from personal knowledge:—

"There is no doubt that infanticide, if not general, still exists among the agricultural population to a much larger extent "than could have been imagined. There are strong motives for getting rid of a superabundant family of daughters. Although "in most castes a price can be got for a bride, still where the price is highest the up-bringing of daughters must be a considerable "loss looking at the matter as one of pure profit and loss; and to men of respectability who wish to marry their daughters in ac-"cordance with the prevailing customs, a large family of daughters is universally declared to be a ruinous misfortune.

"It is admitted on all hands that there is a difference between the treatment of male and female children, but it is not "admitted that this difference is of a character to cause the destruction of the latter. The total effect however of a prevailing "feeling more favourable to males than females may not be inconsiderable, even if it does not go the length of criminality."

Colonel Jenkins writes from Kángra:—

"There is a widely prevalent custom, particularly among the Bráhmans and Rájpúts, according to which a man must always "take a wife from a lower and give his daughter to a higher caste. There is the greatest difference between *giving* a girl and *taking* "a girl. If a Rájpút is asked with what class he may intermarry he will usually mention some below his own, but if asked whether "he would give his daughters to the same tribe in exchange, would be horrified at the idea. The same rule prevails among the local "Bráhmans though to a less extent. The result of this is that it becomes most difficult to obtain a suitable match for high-born girls, "and there can be no doubt I think that the custom of infanticide is by no means extinct. It is however practised in a much more "scientific method than in former days. It was not long ago that a case of this kind was brought before me in which there was "evidence to show that the woman had deliberately prepared to put an end to the child's life if it should turn out to be a girl, as it "actually did. She described how a female relative of her's had advised her to starve the child, roll over it, fling it about, and if "these methods had not the desired result, give it some opium. In this case she happened to be discovered, but it is most probable "that there are many such cases which elude detection. The system adopted for prevention of the crime can only operate as a "partial check, as the families in which it is most usually committed are more or less influential."

The following extract from Mr. Lyall's Kángra Report defines the limits and extent of the custom to which Colonel Jenkins alludes:—

"Except among first-class or Jaikári Rájpúts and Nagarkotia Bráhmans, 'batta-satta' or exchange betrothals are very com-"mon, and something is nearly always given as a consideration for the bride. On the other hand, Rájpúts of high family are heavily "bribed to marry, owing to the feeling of pride which forbids a Rájpút to marry a daughter to any but a man of equal or rather "superior family to his own. The prevention of infanticide, both in our territories and Jammu (where they used to marry many of "their daughters) now-a-days drives these Rájpúts to great straits. Not long ago a Manhás Rájpút, who had three daughters, not "finding any son-in-law of sufficient rank according to his notions, kept them all at home till they were quite old maids. He at "last found an old bridegroom of ninety, who married two of the three at once for a consideration, but died on the return journey "home, so that the two brides came back upon their father's hands. Shortly after the third daughter ran away with a post man or "letter-carrier."

Finally Mr. Coldstream, Deputy Commissioner of Hushyárpur, who has examined the whole subject at much length and with great ability and completeness writes as follows:—

"This difficulty of marrying daughters suitably has operated in past generations, probably for many hundreds of years, to "foster the barbarous custom of infanticide. Forty years ago probably many hundreds of female children were annually buried in this "district immediately after birth. When several female children were born in succession the destruction of the last born was carried "out with the following observance—a piece of *gur* was placed in the mouth of the child, a skein of cotton was laid on her breast, "and the following incantation recited two or three times:—

'Eat *gur*, spin your thread,
We don't want you, but a brother instead.'

"The infants were usually put into gharras or water-pots and buried in the ground. Sometimes a Bráhman or Mahájan "would be on the outlook, and rescue the child and bring it up as an adopted daughter. To such an act much religious merit was "supposed to attach. Several living memorials, women who had in infancy been so rescued, are alive, or were till lately, in this "district. In the Police division of Hájípur in 1867 the following statistics were collected. In 36 villages consisting of 1,013 "houses of Rájpúts of all denominations, there were found to have died 10 per cent. within the year. Among other tribes about "5 per cent. only had died. The Report which was then drawn up by the Inspector of Police, Mir Fazl Husen, states 'the parents "'have hundreds of ways at their command to put a female child to death, and can defy all the efforts of the Police to detect them. "'The plan which the parents now adopt is to report *sickness*, and then *death*, which is sure to follow. Their Hakíms refuse to give "'medicines because they know it will never be given, and that the application to them was nothing more nor less than a blind to "'be used if occasion should arise. They are heartlessly careless of their daughters' health: they expose them to all the inclemencies "'of the weather, and sometimes buy strong medicines to try to bring on sickness: the mother even sometimes causing her infant "'daughter to refuse her natural nourishment by rubbing the nipple over with bitter aloes and other specifics.'

"At the time of preparation of this report Mr. Perkins, Deputy Commissioner, prepared a statement which showed in numer-"ous villages an abnormal and significant disproportion in the number of girls in Rájpút families. The boys alive were in number "1,748: the girls alive were only 944. As I have not received back the village schedules from the Census office, I am not in a posi-"tion to make an exact comparison; but I may say that I am satisfied from enquiries frequently made that matters are now much "better, and that female children are now neither ruthlessly destroyed in any appreciable numbers, nor are they so carelessly treated. "At the same time, while I believe that the crime of female infanticide has to a large extent been banished from the land, I am not at "all sure that the small proportion of women is not in part due to a certain popular depreciation of female life common in the country: "the moral inheritance of past years, the trace of a barbarous sentiment which had for centuries been cherished throughout North "India. I can imagine that this estimate of female life works almost unconsciously in the minds of the people, and that while most "parents would hardly own it to themselves, it is very probable that among certain sections of the population daughters are less "carefully nourished and protected through the helplessness of early infancy and the dangers of later childhood.

"The Naib Tahsildar of the sub-division of Amb where Rájpúts most abound, who has been there six years and knows the "people well, says that there is no female infanticide among the Rájpúts. And in the Unah tahsil where there are most Rájpúts "(the class which was in older times most given to the barbarous practice), it is satisfactory to observe that the *female* population is "above the average, *viz.*, 47 per cent. This result may be held to justify the action lately taken by Government in withdrawing the

Part III.—The Proportions of the Sexes.

" very strict and harassing surveillance exercised by the Police over the families of Rájpúts, consisting in close enquiry into the death " of every female infant, and also into more private matters.

" Illustrating the subject of the small proportional number of females, I will quote some remarks by a highly educated Native " officer, a Hindu. He writes as follows:—

" 'Infanticide has not quite disappeared—I am quite sure that in certain old families, those who by custom must spend much " ' money on the marriage of daughters, and are poor, it is still practised. They either suffocate them or give the juice of the *ák* " ' plant (*calatropis gigantea*) in the *gurthi*, the first nourishment given to a new-born child. Another cause of the disparity in the " ' number of women is their not being brought up properly in childhood * * *. A third cause is misery in woman's life. Woman's " ' life in India is miserable from beginning to end, they are either secluded from life, shut up in their homes and suffer from want " ' of exercise, pure air, &c., or they are overworked among the lower classes. The continuous sorrow and misery of their life brings " ' a premature end to it. Women die at a very early age in India. There are some other causes also tending to shorten the life of " ' women, such as early marriage and child-bearing.'

" It should be mentioned here however that the serious depreciation of daughters is on the whole confined to the upper classes " of society, and to certain sections of those classes where either strict rules of hypergamy or isogamy prevail, or where large sums " have according to custom to be spent on the marriage of daughters. I should be sorry indeed to bring a sweeping charge of such " a grave nature against the whole body of upper class Hindus, nor would it be right or fair to do so. Among the lower orders large " sums are frequently demanded and paid on a girl being given in marriage, and the daughters are thus considered as valuable pro- " perty and well taken care of. Receiving a consideration for daughters is common among the lower classes both of Hindus and " Musalmáns: instead of cash a betrothal in exchange is often accepted. The low caste Musalmán of Jaswán Dún very commonly " makes money by the marriage of his daughters. The tahsildar of Dasúyah notes that the lower grades of Rájpúts even have begun to sell their daughters in marriage.

" I am glad here to be able to insert opinions of a number of intelligent men, who have acted as supervising officers in the " Census, and whose opinions, the results of intimate experience, I have taken as to the diminution of infanticide and the care taken " of female children. Several say that female children are treated well by all classes, that they are looked after as a source of income; " others that female infanticide is a matter gone from even the memory of the people, and that female children are looked after better " even than sons. There are however some suggestive qualifying remarks. One officer says: 'Indirect infanticide is not over yet;' " another, an intelligent Hindu B. A.: 'Infanticide has vanished, but female children are not so much loved as boys because boys are " ' the props of a family; girls are its weakness, causing expense and returning no income.'

" As I have remarked above, there is, I think, some indication given in the statistics of the existence of a certain popular depreciation of female child life."

711. Conclusions as to the prevalence of infanticide.—This last sentence appears to me exactly to express the existing state of affairs. That infanticide is practised at all generally I do not believe; that it is habitual with any class I doubt; and if with any, it is I think only with some exceedingly limited sections of the community, such as perhaps the Bedi families of Gurdáspur, and even there takes the form of intentional neglect rather than actual murder. But there is not the slightest doubt that the life of a girl is less valued and worse cared for than that of a boy; chiefly indeed among the hypergamous classes who cannot find husbands for them, the higher castes of the eastern Panjáb who will not sell their daughters, and the Hindus who spend much money on their marriage and account it shameful to leave them unmarried; but also in a less degree and as a relic of the old fighting days, and perhaps from the contagion of Hindu ideas, among all other classes of the Panjáb people without distinction of race, religion, or locality.

CHAPTER VIII.
THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

PART I.—GENERAL AND COMPARATIVE.

712. Unsatisfactory nature of the figures for occupations.—I have left the consideration of the statistics for occupations till every other portion of my Report is complete, in the hope that the printed tables might be ready in time. But as I take up my pen, with only a few days remaining of the period allowed for the completion of the Report, and with no other subjects left to be considered, the male tables are only complete for 12 out of the 32 districts, while the female tables for divisions even are still unfinished and no part of the occupation tables for Native States is yet in type; and this though the printing of the final tables has been going on continuously, and without any delay due to my office, for the last fourteen months. Even were the copy not in the printer's hands, it would be impossible to work with manuscript tables so cumbrous and complex as are the occupation tables for the Panjáb, and I am therefore compelled to content myself with a general review of the subject, and to omit all reference to the detailed figures for districts, which indeed are not available for the purpose.

I think on the whole that the figures for occupation are the least satisfactory among the results of the present Census. It is not so much that the original entries in the schedules were actually wrong, indeed I believe that as far as they went they were very seldom inaccurate; but that they were very often unnecessarily indefinite and vague in their meaning[1]. And such meaning as they had has been obscured by the adoption of a system of classification so ill adapted to the social œconomy of the Panjáb, that I should be hardly exaggerating were I to say that it has, by the form in which it has presented the results, very largely destroyed their interest and value. I shall presently explain under what circumstances that classification was, almost of necessity, adopted. To obtain figures which should really represent the distribution of the population of the Province by occupation, nothing short of recasting the whole of the tables would suffice. Thus all that I shall attempt is to explain the actual significance and composition of the detailed figures in such a manner as will enable any person referring to the tables to extract from them so far as is possible the information he may require, and to discuss very briefly the general conclusions to be drawn from the figures. I shall print the general discussion first, and follow it with the detailed explanations in small type as Part II of the Chapter.

713. The industrial œconomy of England and the Panjab.—Much of the confusion of the figures and of the uncertainty which attaches to their meaning is inherent in the very nature of the subject-matter. We have not here in the Panjáb, and least of all in the villages of the Panjáb, a differentiation of occupations such as exists in England, where each definite craft or minute branch of labour is confined to a specific class of workmen who follow that craft exclusively. In the towns, where alone are to be found such of the more delicate and elaborate industries as are practised at all in the Panjáb, division of labour is carried out to a certain extent. But even there the great mass of the artisans work, not in factories or for capitalists or large employers of labour, but as private and individual workmen, each man beginning, carrying on, and completing the articles which he produces. And in the villages the different crafts are not even followed by separate persons. I have already described in section 62 how all the rude arts necessary to supply the simple wants of the Panjáb villager are carried on within the walls of the village itself; and I have explained in section 570 how much of the labour is performed by village menials receiving customary dues and rendering customary services. In such primitive societies, where the community is limited in extent and no demand exists for skilled workmanship, it may be conceived that the same craftsman commonly follows several callings which in a more advanced and highly organised community would be kept distinct. I have shown in discussing the menial and artisan castes how impossible it is to draw any definite lines between the numerous castes whose very basis is the hereditary occupation they follow, and the same vagueness and uncertainty extends to the callings of the individuals composing those castes. One man combines weaving with tanning and working in leather and general coolies' work, another with scavengering and working in grass and straw; the water-carrier fishes and makes baskets, while his wife cooks and acts as midwife; the potter makes bricks and is the carrier of the village; the carpenter works in iron and the blacksmith in wood, while both act as bricklayers and stone-masons; the oil-presser scutches cotton and slaughters and dresses sheep, and so on throughout the list. And finally every one or almost every one of them works in the fields either continuously or at certain seasons. In the east of the Panjáb the common custom is for each family of leather-workers to furnish one able-bodied man for continuous field-work, and two brothers will take it turn about, ploughing one day and making shoes the other. And the vagueness and indefiniteness which thus characterises the practice of the great mass of the people has not unnaturally extended to their very conception of occupation. They think that the name of the caste to which a menial or artisan belongs is a quite sufficiently accurate and comprehensive definition of his occupation, and that to tell you that a man is a Máchhi and his wife a Máchhin is to tell you all that there is to be told, though a Máchhi besides working in the fields is a cook, a waterman, a carrier of burdens and palanquins, a fisherman, a boatman, a maker of baskets, a grain parcher, and a baker, while his wife often helps him in almost all of these pursuits, and is a midwife to boot. And indeed it not unfrequently happens that the same man actually follows all or nearly all of these occupations, and that it is exceedingly difficult to say that he derives his support from any one of them rather than from the rest;

[1] The accuracy of the returns of female occupation I shall discuss presently. The only suspicion of intentional inaccuracy in the return of male occupations is in the case of the Hill States, where it is said that the number of cultivators was purposely returned both by officials and by private individuals as much smaller than the reality, for fear on the one hand that the true figures should afford a clue to the real revenue of the State, and on the other that they should lead to increased taxation.

Part I.—General and Comparative.

and in such cases perhaps his caste name is almost as accurate a description of his calling in life as can be arrived at.

714. Difficulties of classification.—But when we came to tabulate such entries as Máchhi in accordance with a classification of occupations based upon the minute and definite division of labour which characterises English industries, and especially when a part of that classification was made in ten separate offices and in accordance with ten separate views of the distinctive occupation of a Máchhi, it may be conceived what confusion resulted. My orders to the divisional officers were that they were to take together such entries as conveyed precisely the same meaning though in different language. The separate forms assumed by the entries of occupation must have numbered many thousands, and it would have been absurd to have tabulated separate figures for *hajjám* and *bál kátna*, for "barber" and "hair-cutter." At the same time I directed them in no case to put together any two entries between the meaning of which any difference at all existed. Unfortunately their views as to identity of meaning, while they differed in form, agreed in their expansive nature. One man put Chamár and "boot-maker" together, another, Chamár and "tanner;" one took Máchhi and "cook" as having precisely the same meaning, another Máchhi and "water-carrier." And indeed not only were both right in a sense, but each was probably as nearly right as was possible for the locality for which he was tabulating the figures; for the staff was especially selected for local knowledge and experience, and as I have shown elsewhere, not only is the same word used to denote totally different occupations in different parts of the Province, but the group of occupations which is peculiar to, and still more the particular occupation of that group which is most commonly and distinctively followed by one and the same caste, varies from one place to another. As it was, the number of *different* headings for occupations returned to my office, after the divisional officers had finished their classification, was no less than 2,975.

715. Unsuitability of the classification adopted.—The fact is that the system of classification was at fault rather than the method of carrying out that system. The mistake was made of attempting to arrive at a minute detail of distinct occupations which simply has no existence in the practice of the people. In England not only are the branches into which the various industries are divided much more numerous than in India, but each is followed by a distinct set of workmen, so that it is possible to group the figures on an artificial system of classification. In India the same occupations are practised, not separately but in groups, and it is impossible to separate them. Yet instead of taking those occupations together which are practised together, and following the classification on which the whole industrial œconomy of the country is based, we attempted to force our material into a form which was not adapted to it, and spoiled it in the process. We sifted it with a sieve the meshes of which were too fine to allow the organic particles of which it is naturally composed to pass, and in forcing it through we broke those particles and crushed them out of all recognisable shape. The system which compelled the Census Commissioner to class the village Chúhra and Musalli together with beldárs, brick-makers, and lime-burners, as "workers in stone and clay" and the village Kahár and Máchhi together with icemakers as "workers in water," and to put both under the heading "workers and dealers in minerals," is simply a *reductio ad absurdum* of classification.

716. Another difference between the distribution of occupations in India and in England which caused the adoption of the English classification very seriously to diminish the value of our figures, has already been alluded to in sections 61, 62. England is essentially a manufacturing and mercantile country. The manufactures are carried on by a separate class, while the collection and distribution of the products of these industries and the enormous trade of the country are in the hands of a mercantile community which is exceedingly numerous and important. The English classification separates these great wholesale traders under the head "mercantile," but includes all the small local distributing agency together with the producers of the articles in which they deal. Thus, while iron merchant is taken separately, ironmonger is included in the same group with blacksmith. Now the Panjáb is neither a mercantile nor a manufacturing, but an agricultural country; the great merchants form a very small portion of the community; and even them it has been impossible to distinguish from the petty dealers owing to the indefinite nature of the language used, for *anáj bechna* might mean either a great grain merchant or a small village shop-keeper. So too production and distribution are more often in the hands of the same person in India than in England. If a villager wants a pot he goes direct to the potter, if a blanket to the blanket weaver, and not to a shop. On the other hand the petty local distributing agency which form the great mass of our mercantile classes, occupy by comparison a far more important position and are possessed of a far more distinctive character in the Panjáb than in England. Figures showing this agency separate from the artisan classes would have possessed great administrative value in the Panjáb. But we were not to have them; and while our "mercantile" class was left almost blank, "workers and dealers" in all sorts of articles and staples were grouped together under the same headings. Nor did these headings in very many cases adequately represent the commodities dealt in by the persons who were entered under them, for commerce, like industries, is much less minutely divided in the Panjáb than in England, while the groups of commodities in which the several traders deal respectively differ entirely from the similar groups into which the petty trade of England divides its staples. Yet another fundamental distinction between the organisation of occupations in the two countries is to be found in the fact that Government undertakes in India many functions which it leaves to private enterprise in England. Here it not only concerns itself with administration and defence, but also includes the engineers, the doctors, the schoolmasters, and a large part of the railway staff of the Province. In short, a system of classification could hardly have been devised more unsuitable to the circumstances of society and the requirements of the administration in the Panjáb, or more eminently calculated to produce results which should neither represent the one nor satisfy the other, than the English system which was followed at the present Census.

717. Reasons why the English system was adopted.—Why then was the English system of classification adopted? In the first place we had no other. It is easy, now that the figures have been tabulated and examined, to pick holes in the classification followed; but in the Panjáb at least we had no material on which to base a more suitable classification. We know singularly little of the industrial organisation of the people we govern—less indeed than of their organisation by caste, for the subject hardly falls within the scope of ordinary official routine. Beyond Mr. Baden-Powell's two valuable volumes on the Products and Manufactures of the Province, Mr. Hoey's Monograph on the Trade and Manufactures of Northern India, and a few scanty notices of village menials scattered through our Settlement Reports, there is hardly anything in print on the subject; while there is certainly no officer or group of officers in the Panjáb capable of drawing up a scheme of classification which should be even approximately

complete. Indeed I doubt much whether any such single scheme could be drawn up; for the grouping of occupations varies in different parts of the Province, and what would suit the conditions of one district would be ill adapted to those of another. And if this is the case within the limits of a single Province, how much more must it be so if the whole of India be taken together. Yet it was necessary, if the figures of the various Provinces were to be printed side by side, that some uniform scheme of classification should be adopted. Under these circumstances the Census Commissioner adopted the English system which is at least well known, and has been used as the basis of the occupation tables of the British Isles for many years. At an early stage in the operations Mr. Plowden informed me that the English system would be followed as far as possible in the classification of the figures of our present Census, and instructed me to submit my detailed classification to him for approval. But though I fully understood that the general scheme was to be based upon the English system, and that any departure from that system which I might think necessary to make would be subject to the approval of the Census Commissioner, I never understood for an instant that Mr. Plowden proposed to prescribe for the whole of India a grouping which should descend to the minute details shown in the later pages of Table XII, nor did the possibility of his doing so ever occur to me. Thus what I aimed at was to follow the English system in all cases except where departure from it seemed absolutely necessary, thinking that I should thus obtain figures which would serve both Imperial and Provincial purposes. When however my tables were complete and my establishment about to be broken up, I was ordered to compile new tables based upon the classification followed in Table XII. The effect of these instructions upon the completion of the Census work is described in the section on Tabulation in Book II of this Report. The mere comparison of the two classifications and selection of the items which had to be separated or reclassed gave me a week's incessant labour. Had I been aware that entirely separate tables would have to be prepared for Imperial purposes I should have departed much more freely from the English system in preparing my Provincial tables; indeed had I fully apprehended in the first instance how wholly unsuitable that system was, I think I should in any case have applied for permission to draw up separate tables for Provincial purposes. But though in the process of classification I learnt enough to show me that the system was unsuitable, I did not realise how wholly misleading any figures must be that were compiled in accordance with it. And indeed the work of compilation was one of such magnitude that it would have required very strong reasons to justify its being done twice over The occupation headings as returned to me in 25 tables numbered 9,038, and comprised 2,975 different and distinct headings. These I ultimately grouped under the 333 headings shown in Table XII A. I had 68 districts and states, and had to distinguish males from females, over and under 15 years of age, towns and villages, and simple and combined occupations. Thus, allowing for the fact that perhaps a quarter of the occupations are not represented in the female tables, I had to fill in 317,016 distinct entries, each of which was obtained by adding together on an average nine other entries.

718. Record of occupations in the schedules.—Nor was the system under which occupations were recorded in the schedules wholly free from fault. The heading of the occupation column in the enumerator's schedule prescribed by the Government of India ran as follows: "Occupation of men; also of those boys and females whose work is brought regularly to market." But after the schedules had all been printed and the English instructions for enumeration issued, the Government of India modified its former orders, and directed us to record the occupation of every male who was of an age to do work, or, if he had no occupation, the source from which he chiefly derived his income; and the occupation of all women who followed the occupation of their families or who earned their livelihood by some special employment, domestic occupations being omitted. Of double occupations only the principal one was to be shown, except where one of them was agricultural, in which case both were to be recorded. No entries were to be made for boys at school, girls, or small children. Thus the instructions conflicted with the schedule heading, and this was the first cause of confusion. A proposal by Mr. Elliott that no occupation should be shown against any one under the age of 15 years was, I think most unfortunately, rejected. When we came to examine the schedules we found that infants in arms were not unfrequently recorded as blacksmiths and so forth; and though as soon as this was brought to my notice I issued orders that children of under six years old were to be omitted from the occupation registers, yet as the register columns were headed "under and over 15," it is probable that these orders were not in all cases complied with. Now there are two separate sets of facts that a record of occupations may be intended to bring out; one is the number of souls dependent for their subsistence upon each branch of industry, and the other is the effective strength of each branch. The instructions to omit all children and such women as did not actually help in the work, showed that the latter and not the former was intended to be arrived at; indeed they made it impossible for the numbers depending upon each calling to be obtained from the figures. But since the effective strength of those following any given calling was what was wanted, it was obviously absurd to include mere children in our figures. Accordingly we tabulated separately those over and those under 15 years of age, and show both in our tables, as will presently be described.

719. Arrangement of the occupation tables.—The occupation statistics then consist of three main tables, XII, XII A, and XII B, which will be found in Appendices A and B. The manner in which the figures were compiled is explained fully in those sections of Book II of the Report which deal with the tabulation and compilation of the figures. Table XII is compiled in accordance with the classification prescribed by the Census Commissioner. It is intended merely to render possible a comparison of the Panjáb figures with those of other Provinces, and will not be discussed or again referred to in this chapter except in a short explanatory paragraph which I have appended to Part II. It was of course quite impossible that any single system of classification should suit equally well the varying conditions of the many Provinces of the Empire, and it so happens that the particular system followed by Mr. Plowden is in many respects ill-adapted to the Panjáb. In the first place all children, however young, whose occupations were returned in the schedules, are included in the figures. In the second place many of the headings give details which cannot be separated in this Province. Thus Judges are separated from Magistrates, while Collectors, Deputy Collectors, Deputy Commissioners, and Tahsildárs are distinguished from both and classed as "Civil Service." Revenue are separated throughout from Judicial Subordinates, and "Collectors' *Sarishtadárs*" are classed as "Civil Service," "Magistrates' *Sarishtadárs*" as "Magistrates," and "Court *Sarishtadárs*" as "Officers of Law Courts." So "Native Doctors" are classed as "Medical Assistants, Students," but "untrained Native Doctors" as "Unqualified Practitioners;" "Vaccinators" as "Subordinate Medical Service," but "Probationary Vaccinators" with trained Native Doctors; and so forth in many other instances. Finally the classification does not always coincide with fact so far as the Panjáb is concerned. Thus "Police," "Prison Officers" and "Officers of Law Courts," which last includes court clerks, process servers, sweepers, lamplighters, and the like, are classed together with village accountants and watchmen under "Municipal, Local and Village Government," as distinct from "Civil Service" and from "Government artificers, workmen, and messengers," who are put under "National Governments." Qázis are classed as "Priests," Dúms and Mírásis as "authors, editors, writers," and Chûhras and Musallis as "workers in stone and clay," both they and Kahárs and Máchhis being included under "workers and dealers in minerals." So makers of lac bracelets are put under "workers in animal substances," and makers of *huqqahs* and *chilams* are classed as "tobacco manufacturers" under "workers in drinks and stimulants."

Thus it is the figures of Tables XII A and XII B only which will be referred in this chapter. They are divided into three parts. The first shows details of persons under and over 15 years of age, and of occupations combined with agriculture; the second part shows the local distribution of each occupation throughout the Province by divisions; the third part shows the distribution of the population of the districts of each division according to occupation. The second and third parts include only those who are over 15 years of age, and it is these figures to which I refer in the following paragraphs except when I expressly state the contrary. I have somewhat abridged the tables for females, as the tables are even now exceedingly bulky.

720. Suggestions for a future Census.—At a future Census I would simply put the word "occupation" at the head of the column in the schedule, and I would not record any occupation for any person under 15 years of age. I would, I think, separate land-owners who cultivate from those who do not by the addition of the word *khudkásht*; and I would distinctly lay down that all members of a land-owner's family who work with him in the fields should be entered as land-owners, though they might as yet have no proprietary right in the land. It is the status, and not the mere fact of individual property that is important. As for the classification, I would prescribe for the Imperial tables a mere outline dividing occupations into certain broad groups, and would leave each province to fill in the details for itself as seemed most in accordance with the local conditions of industry. I doubt whether any very detailed comparison can profitably be instituted between the figures of such provinces for instance as Burmah and the Panjáb. In the Panjáb there should at next Census be far less difficulty in drawing up a tolerably satisfactory scheme than would have been the case before the present Census. We now have a fairly complete record of all the occupations entered in our schedules, and it is intended to bring out a dictionary of Panjáb occupations based upon that record. That any scheme can ever be perfectly adapted to all parts of the Province I do not believe; indeed I doubt whether the nature of the industrial organisation permits of an accurate classification of occupations in any great detail. But at each successive Census new information would be added, and the resulting editions of the dictionary should contain most valuable information. The way in which they would be used is explained in the sections of Book II which deal with tabulation and compilation. I am not at all sure that it would not be worth while to tabulate occupations for the few great cities separately in detail, grouping them for the rest of the Panjáb under only some thirty or forty main heads. In such places as Dehli and Amritsar, division of labour is carried to a much greater extent and industrial organisation is much more complete than in the villages and ordinary towns. The question of the classification of Government servants discussed in section 724 should receive especial attention.

Part I.—General and Comparative.

721. General distribution of male occupations.—Abstract No. 122 on the next page shows broadly the distribution of male occupations. I have in arranging these figures grouped together as far as was possible those occupations in the separation of which there was most fear of confusion; for instance I have included cooks (No. 55 of Tables XII A and B) with water-carriers (No. 58), since in the centre and west of the Panjáb, where alone the former were returned in any numbers, it was absolutely impossible to separate the two. The detailed remarks on each class which form Part II of the present chapter will show under what explanations and limitations each group of figures must be accepted. But on the whole the grouping of the Abstract may I think be taken as representing with considerable accuracy the general distribution by occupation of the male population of over 15 years of age, for it is to it alone that the figures refer. The doubts and uncertainties which attend the minute detail of occupations given in the final tables still affect in some degree the significance of the figures. But though they cannot be wholly removed, they do in a great measure disappear in the broader grouping here adopted. Some of them are got rid of by taking together occupations which the industrial practice of the country renders it impossible to separate effectually, while still more of them affect small figures only, and are quite unnoticeable when only main classes are considered. Thus our final tables show 44,963 silversmiths, 111 damasceners, and 70,741 blacksmiths. It is certain that the number of damasceners is understated. But it is equally certain that the whole number is so small, that whether the missing men have been returned as blacksmiths or silversmiths they have not appreciably affected the figures.

722. The figures of the Abstract do not include the whole of the male population of over 15 years of age. In the first place a certain proportion of this population had no occupations returned for them. The figures in the margin show that in British Territory no occupation was returned for about 5½ people in every hundred who are over 15 years of age. Now the instructions were to show occupations only for such males as were "of an age to do work," and as 14½ per cent. of the male population over 15 years of age are less than 20 years old, it may be concluded that the record of occupations is exceedingly complete so far as the total numbers are concerned. But besides this, the figures of the Abstract do not represent the whole numbers included in the final occupation tables, as nothing less than an entire regrouping of the whole 333 occupations would have secured this result. Thus I have only included the main groups in the figures now shown. But the numbers omitted are exceedingly small, never exceeding three per cent. in towns or one per cent. in villages, and only amounting on the whole to 11 per mille of urban, 7 per mille of rural, and 7 per mille of total population.

Divisions.	Persons of unspecified occupation per thousand of total males over 15 years of age.		
	Towns.	Villages.	Total.
Dehli	45	37	39
Hissár	41	44	43
Ambala	96	74	78
Jálandhar	58	54	54
Amritsar	70	46	50
Lahore	69	72	71
Ráwalpindi	53	44	45
Multán	52	68	66
Deraját	56	73	71
Peshâwar	48	56	54
British Territory	**60**	**56**	**56**
Native States	**88**	**82**	**82**
Province	**64**	**60**	**61**

723. Government Servants.—The group that I have put first consists of all who are in Government employ, whether concerned in the administration of the country by the various civil departments and the municipal organisation, or in its defence by the military force. It corresponds with orders 1 and 2 of the final tables. Of the total numbers included, 48 per cent. are employed in the civil, 16 per cent. in the municipal and village, and 36 per cent. in the military administration. This group is naturally concentrated to a very large extent in the towns, and is most numerous at the capital of the Province, and where great cantonments exist. The very large numbers shown for the Ráwalpindi and frontier divisions are due not only to the normal concentration of troops on our frontier, but also to the extraordinary activity in the Commissariat and Public Works Departments which has already been alluded to as resulting from the Kábul campaign. The class of Government servants is in one respect that section of the community which is less than any other affected by distress and famine, for their employment is most permanent in its nature. On the other hand, their salaries being practically fixed, they feel a rise in prices more severely than the numerous classes who are either paid in kind, or receive a remuneration which fluctuates with the cost of living.

724. Classification of Government Servants.—The classification of persons in Government employ is one of the most difficult questions connected with statistics of occupations in the Panjáb, and, as will be shown in Part II of this chapter, the figures are exceedingly unsatisfactory. The functions assumed by Indian Governments are so diverse, and many of them are so different in their nature from those to which the English Government confines itself, being connected with the development rather than with the administration or defence of the country, that the same system of classification is not equally suitable to both countries. Should for instance menials, messengers, and artificers employed in the public offices be classed as Government servants? If so, should labourers employed in the excavation of a canal or the construction of a railway be so classed? If the answer be that the former are permanently and the latter temporarily employed, how is the line to be drawn in the numerous cases where a permanent subordinate establishment is temporarily augmented at certain seasons of the year? The primary object of the occupation tables appears to be to inform us by what calling each person earns his living, and not from what source he receives the wages of that calling; and I would class all scavengers, porters, blacksmiths, and other artisans and menials under their proper heads, irrespectively of the question whether they were working for a Government department or for private employers. So I would not distinguish between schoolmasters employed by the Educational Department and private schoolmasters, and I would take engineers together whether they were the servants of a Company or of Government. The Government can at any moment obtain full details of its own staff which will be far more accurate and complete than any that a Census can afford. I would class under Government service only such persons as are actually employed in the general or local administration, in the assessment and collection of revenue, in the adjudication of disputes, or in the detection, prevention, and punishment of crime, or who were attached to the regular forces and under military discipline. Even then many doubtful cases would arise and would have to be dealt with separately. For instance, a canal officer is often a revenue collector and a magistrate as much as an engineer. At any rate some definite system should be decided upon before next Census. Owing to the adoption of the English system in the present Census, we have even in the Imperial tables the telegraph signallers of the Panjáb Northern State Railway classed as "Civil Service" under the head "National Government," while those of the Sindh, Panjáb and Dehli Railway are shown under the sub-order "Messengers and Porters;" Government hospital assistants are grouped with "National Government," while Government compounders are shown under "physicians, surgeons, and druggists," and so forth; while in the Provincial tables the classification is even more unsatisfactory, because more uncertain.

Abstract No. 122, *showing* Occupations of Males *for* Divisions and Towns and Villages.

PROPORTION PER MILLE OF MALES OF SPECIFIED OCCUPATION OVER 15 YEARS OF AGE.

Occupation.	Delhi. Towns.	Delhi. Villages.	Delhi. Total.	Hissar. Towns.	Hissar. Villages.	Hissar. Total.	Umbala. Towns.	Umbala. Villages.	Umbala. Total.	Jalandhar. Towns.	Jalandhar. Villages.	Jalandhar. Total.	Amritsar. Towns.	Amritsar. Villages.	Amritsar. Total.	Lahore. Towns.	Lahore. Villages.	Lahore. Total.
Administration and defence	58	12	21	51	14	20	111	14	29	73	14	20	70	16	24	117	13	32
Land-owners	39	362	300	130	295	269	78	395	345	106	407	375	44	309	272	50	247	211
Tenants	50	161	140	140	340	308	35	123	109	89	158	151	45	176	158	47	226	194
Joint cultivators	5	34	28	6	14	13	7	42	36	1	6	5	1	4	4	4	21	18
Agricultural labourers	10	21	19	15	14	14	5	24	21	16	28	27	10	25	22	7	21	19
Graziers	5	8	7	6	5	5	4	11	10	5	11	10	4	9	8	5	13	11
Total Agriculturists proper	111	587	496	297	668	609	132	595	522	221	610	569	104	524	464	118	528	454
Agriculture combined with other occupations	5	21	18	29	43	41	3	10	8	16	39	37	2	10	9	4	8	7
Total Agricultural class	116	608	514	326	711	650	135	605	530	237	649	606	106	534	473	122	536	461
Water-carriers	30	12	15	14	5	6	32	20	22	23	15	16	29	29	29	36	22	25
Workers in leather	48	43	44	39	31	33	35	21	22	26	48	46	26	22	23	23	22	22
Scavengers	24	34	32	22	16	17	22	20	21	22	12	13	19	62	56	30	75	67
Carpenters	12	15	14	14	13	13	24	19	20	17	20	20	12	22	20	21	20	20
Blacksmiths	7	8	8	25	21	22	10	10	10	8	11	11	9	11	11	10	9	9
Potters	10	17	16	12	13	13	9	9	9	10	8	8	8	16	15	7	20	18
Total village menials	131	129	129	126	99	104	122	99	104	106	114	114	103	162	154	127	168	161
Wool workers	2	1	1	...	...	...	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	...	...	4	...	1
Pashm "	2	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	2	4	...	...	67	1	10	3	...	1
Cotton cleaners	4	5	4	8	5	5	3	5	5	5	5	5	3	6	6	5	7	6
" weavers	34	31	32	43	44	44	46	45	45	60	57	57	29	65	60	29	53	49
Dyers and washermen	21	10	11	19	9	11	23	7	10	22	7	9	17	12	14	16	9	11
Drapers and embroiderers	19	1	4	...	...	...	13	1	3	10	1	2	38	1	6	10	...	2
Other workers in fibres and dress	28	3	10	22	2	4	25	5	7	21	8	11	56	5	12	29	5	8
Total workers in fabrics	110	51	62	92	60	64	123	64	73	125	79	85	211	90	108	96	74	78
Oilmen	6	5	5	9	3	4	4	7	6	9	7	7	5	7	6	4	5	5
Butchers	8	2	3	3	...	1	10	1	2	7	1	1	7	1	2	5	...	1
Milksellers, &c.	10	...	2	1	...	...	6	...	1	6	2	3	11	...	1	8	2	3
Greengrocers	15	1	4	10	1	2	10	1	2	10	1	2	21	2	5	15	3	5
Confectioners	14	1	3	9	...	2	13	1	3	14	1	2	22	1	4	17	1	4
Total workers in food	53	9	17	32	4	9	43	10	14	46	12	15	66	11	18	49	11	18
Bricklayers	14	1	4	7	2	2	16	2	4	12	1	3	10	1	2	12	1	3
Goldsmiths	22	4	7	21	2	5	10	6	7	15	6	7	18	7	8	14	6	8
Workers in brass	19	...	4	3	...	1	8	...	2	3	...	1	9	...	1	5	...	1
Other industries	69	10	22	31	8	10	45	6	13	42	9	9	58	15	21	47	9	17
Total Miscellaneous Industries	124	15	37	62	11	18	79	14	26	72	16	20	95	23	32	78	16	29
Total Industrial class	418	204	245	312	174	195	367	187	217	340	221	234	475	286	312	350	269	286
Corn-grinders and dressers	2	1	2	1	...	...	2	1	1	4	6	6	6	2	3	5	1	1
Workers in grass and fuel	18	2	5	5	...	1	14	5	6	16	4	5	14	3	5	15	2	4
Workers in bamboo and straw, &c.	4	3	3	4	2	3	3	2	2	6	6	6	4	2	2	4	2	3
Navvies	15	2	4	4	1	1	6	1	2	2	...	1	2	...	1	4	2	2
Coolies	82	50	56	53	28	32	93	65	70	50	26	28	62	21	27	93	36	46
Total Labouring class	121	58	70	67	31	37	118	74	81	78	42	46	88	28	38	121	43	55
Mercantile class	68	43	48	113	36	46	69	31	37	98	28	36	71	34	39	63	33	38
Carriers and boatmen	25	9	12	27	9	12	16	6	7	15	6	7	22	7	9	28	12	15
Total Distributing class	93	52	60	140	45	58	85	37	44	113	34	43	93	41	48	91	45	53
Grooms, &c.	12	3	4	4	2	2	5	2	3	2	3	3	12	1	3	17	4	6
Domestic servants	74	6	19	25	3	7	82	7	19	40	6	9	43	3	10	56	4	13
Priests	19	18	18	22	13	15	16	18	18	32	13	15	22	17	18	24	14	16
Barbers	17	16	16	13	14	14	11	12	12	17	12	12	14	16	15	13	13	13
Musicians and performers	7	3	4	5	2	2	7	2	3	4	3	3	5	9	8	7	7	7
Other professional classes	16	3	5	8	1	2	10	4	4	14	3	5	18	4	7	10	3	4
Beggars and faqirs	26	35	33	32	32	32	33	36	36	41	35	36	41	47	46	43	48	47
Total Unproductive class	171	84	99	109	67	74	164	81	95	150	75	83	155	97	107	171	93	106

Occupation.	Rawalpindi. Towns.	Rawalpindi. Villages.	Rawalpindi. Total.	Multan. Towns.	Multan. Villages.	Multan. Total.	Derajat. Towns.	Derajat. Villages.	Derajat. Total.	Peshawar. Towns.	Peshawar. Villages.	Peshawar. Total.	British Territory. Towns.	British Territory. Villages.	British Territory. Total.	Native States. Towns.	Native States. Villages.	Native States. Total.	Province. Towns.	Province. Village.	Province. Total.
Administration and defence	139	18	32	95	14	23	180	18	39	242	31	72	112	16	30	131	14	27	115	15	30
Land-owners	68	382	345	50	166	153	60	310	278	67	306	259	65	325	286	88	401	362	69	338	299
Tenants	[illegible]	193	180	51	306	278	53	266	238	50	286	240	61	210	188	108	217	204	68	211	191
Joint cultivators	1	2	2	1	8	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	13	12	9	33	30	4	16	15
Agricultural labourers	3	10	9	1	3	2	1	9	8	16	29	27	9	19	17	4	9	8	8	17	16
Graziers	4	11	11	6	58	52	5	39	34	5	13	11	5	16	15	7	13	12	5	16	14
Total Agriculturists proper	157	599	546	112	541	494	121	624	558	140	637	540	145	584	518	222	674	618	156	599	536
Agriculture combined with other occupations	3	11	11	5	17	15	6	8	7	4	9	8	7	17	16	8	15	14	7	17	15
Total Agricultural class	160	610	557	117	558	509	127	632	565	144	645	548	152	601	534	230	689	632	163	616	551
Water-carriers	25	11	13	15	3	5	22	2	5	40	1	9	28	14	17	21	12	13	27	14	16
Workers in leather	18	31	29	22	28	28	17	19	18	21	13	15	27	29	29	24	25	26	27	29	28
Scavengers	15	9	10	10	3	3	12	1	2	16	2	5	20	27	26	16	12	12	20	24	24
Carpenters	22	17	18	20	17	17	12	9	10	13	15	15	16	18	18	13	15	14	16	17	17
Blacksmiths	10	9	10	7	5	5	7	5	6	6	10	9	10	10	10	11	9	9	10	10	10
Potters	8	12	12	10	20	19	9	6	7	4	7	6	8	13	13	7	6	6	8	12	11
Total village menials	98	89	92	84	76	77	79	42	48	100	48	59	109	111	113	92	79	80	108	106	106
Wool workers	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	1	1	...	1	1	1	1	1
Pashm "	18	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	14	...	2	...	...	...	12	...	2
Cotton cleaners	5	7	6	8	10	10	7	4	4	3	5	4	5	6	6	2	1	1	4	5	5
" weavers	43	56	55	52	57	56	29	36	36	20	34	31	38	50	48	43	39	39	38	48	47
Dyers and washermen	16	8	8	28	13	15	25	7	10	15	7	8	19	10	10	19	7	8	19	9	10
Drapers and embroiderers	12	1	3	10	1	2	20	1	4	11	2	4	15	1	3	10	...	2	15	1	3
Other workers in fibres and dress	22	5	8	48	5	9	24	5	6	21	2	6	29	4	9	19	5	6	29	4	7
Total workers in fabrics	116	77	82	148	86	92	106	53	60	71	50	53	122	72	79	93	53	57	118	68	75
Oilmen	7	5	5	6	1	1	7	1	2	3	2	2	6	5	5	10	5	5	6	5	5
Butchers	6	1	1	5	...	1	3	...	1	8	3	4	7	1	2	5	...	1	6	1	1
Milksellers, &c.	3	...	1	13	2	3	6	1	1	9	2	3	7	1	1	4	2	2	7	1	2
Greengrocers	7	1	2	11	1	2	10	2	3	15	2	5	13	1	3	9	1	2	12	1	3
Confectioners	16	1	3	18	1	3	15	...	2	11	1	3	15	1	3	13	1	2	15	1	3
Total workers in food	39	8	12	53	5	10	41	4	9	46	10	17	48	9	14	41	9	12	46	9	14
Bricklayers	4	1	1	3	2	2	5	3	3	8	2	3	10	1	3	9	1	2	10	1	3
Goldsmiths	14	7	8	17	6	7	15	4	5	9	4	5	16	5	7	12	4	5	15	5	7
Workers in brass	3	...	...	4	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	7	...	1	10	5	6	17	1	2
Other industries	24	6	7	51	10	16	36	9	12	37	10	15	47	11	14	37	8	12	37	8	15
Total Miscellaneous Industries	45	14	16	75	18	26	56	16	20	55	16	24	80	17	25	68	18	25	79	15	27
Total Industrial class	295	188	202	360	185	205	282	115	137	272	124	153	350	209	231	294	159	174	351	198	[illegible]
Corn-grinders and dressers	...	1	1	2	1	1	...	...	...	7	4	5	3	2	2	4	2	2	3	2	2
Workers in grass and fuel	23	3	5	19	6	7	16	6	7	22	18	19	15	4	6	7	2	2	14	4	5
Workers in bamboo and straw, &c.	2	13	12	9	27	25	6	6	6	5	2	2	5	6	6	3	3	3	5	6	6
Navvies	3	1	1	6	4	4	11	2	3	2	1	1	5	1	2	6	5	5	5	2	2
Coolies	81	38	43	60	55	56	6	53	54	77	51	56	73	40	45	51	24	27	70	37	42
Total Labouring class	109	56	62	95	93	93	6	67	70	113	76	83	101	53	61	71	36	39	97	51	57
Mercantile class	84	34	41	116	36	45	116	53	60	54	28	33	80	35	42	88	35	41	81	35	41
Carriers and boatmen	35	21	23	28	20	21	31	34	33	17	13	14	24	13	14	17	7	8	27	12	13
Total Distributing class	119	55	64	144	56	66	147	87	93	71	41	47	104	48	56	105	42	49	108	47	54
Grooms, &c.	17	1	3	12	3	4	17	3	5	24	1	5	13	2	4	8	5	5	12	3	4
Domestic servants	41	7	11	39	11	14	35	8	12	40	18	21	50	6	13	39	8	12	48	7	12
Priests	21	14	14	28	10	12	16	8	9	24	27	27	22	15	16	26	14	15	23	15	16
Barbers	11	13	13	10	12	12	9	9	9	9	11	11	13	13	13	15	11	11	13	13	13
Musicians and performers	5	3	3	9	3	2	7	2	3	5	3	4	6	4	4	8	4	4	6	4	4
Other professional classes	4	...	2	5	1	3	2	1	1	4	1	1	10	3	4	12	3	5	10	3	4
Beggars and faqirs	42	40	41	58	62	62	54	54	54	30	26	27	38	42	41	52	23	26	40	38	39
Total Unproductive class	141	78	87	161	102	109	140	85	93	137	87	96	152	85	95	160	68	78	152	[illegible]	[illegible]

Part I.—General and Comparative.

725. The agricultural and pastoral group.—The great group which follows next in the Abstract, corresponds with sub-order 1, order 8 of the final tables, comprises all the agricultural and most of the pastoral sections of the community, and constitutes no less than 60 per cent. of the rural and 54 per cent. of the total population. I shall leave the figures for those who combine agriculture with other occupations to be discussed presently, and confine myself for the moment to the agriculturists proper. The exceedingly small proportion which the agricultural bears to the total community in towns as compared with villages was of course to be expected; and that proportion is smallest where the presence of great cities and cantonments has collected the military, mercantile, and industrial classes in largest numbers. The figures in the margin, which are arranged in order, show very clearly the influence of these conditions. Among the rural population also the same influence is not wholly absent, for the proportion of purely agricultural population is smallest in those parts of the Province where wealth is greatest and commerce most active, and greatest in the more backward and less highly developed parts. But, as I shall presently explain, the figures do not by any means include all who are engaged in agriculture; and a part at least of the difference shown by the present figures between the central and eastern divisions and the frontier districts is due to the fact that the village menial class is more numerous in the former than in the latter.

AGRICULTURAL AND PASTORAL PER MILLE OF TOTAL SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS.

Towns.		Villages.	
Hissar division	297	Native States	674
Native States	222	Hissar division	668
Jalandhar division	221	Peshawar division	637
Rawalpindi division	157	Derajat ,,	624
Province	**156**	Jalandhar ,,	610
Peshawar division	140	**Province**	**599**
Ambála ,,	132	Rawalpindi division	599
Derajat ,,	121	Ambala ,,	595
Lahore ,,	118	Dehli ,,	587
Multan ,,	112	Multan ,,	541
Dehli ,,	111	Lahore ,,	528
Amritsar ,,	104	Amritsar ,,	524

There is another consideration which affects in some degree the accuracy of the figures. I shall presently explain that the number of persons who combine agriculture with other occupations has almost certainly been understated, and it is exceedingly probable that in such cases, at any rate where the second occupation is of a menial nature, it has been dropped and only the agricultural occupation returned. Indeed even a shop-keeper who owned land would be under a temptation to return himself simply as "land-owner," for his own greater glorification. How far this has been the case in each part of the Province, and how often the menial cultivator has returned himself as a menial and how often as a cultivator simply, it is impossible to say. On the whole the figures are too large to be very materially affected by this cause.

Abstract No. 123, *showing the* **Composition** *of the* **Agricultural and Pastoral Class** *for* **Divisions, Towns, and Villages.**

		Owners	Tenants	Joint cultivators.	Agricultural labourers.	Graziers	Total Agriculturists proper.	Double occupations.
Dehli.	Towns.	36	45	5	9	5	100	5
	Villages.	62	27	6	4	1	100	4
	Total.	61	28	6	4	1	100	4
Hissar.	Towns.	44	47	2	5	2	100	10
	Villages.	44	51	2	2	1	100	6
	Total.	44	51	2	2	1	100	7
Ambala.	Towns.	61	27	5	4	3	100	2
	Villages.	66	21	7	4	2	100	2
	Total.	66	21	7	4	2	100	2
Jalandhar.	Towns.	50	41	...	7	2	100	7
	Villages.	66	26	1	5	2	100	6
	Total.	66	26	1	5	2	100	6
Amritsar.	Towns.	42	43	1	10	4	100	2
	Villages.	59	33	1	5	2	100	2
	Total.	58	34	1	5	2	100	2
Lahore.	Towns.	45	42	3	6	4	100	3
	Villages.	46	43	4	4	3	100	2
	Total.	47	43	4	4	2	100	2
Rawalpindi.	Towns.	43	51	1	2	3	100	2
	Villages.	64	32	...	2	2	100	2
	Total.	63	33	...	2	2	100	2
Multan.	Towns.	45	47	1	1	6	100	4
	Villages.	30	57	2	1	10	100	3
	Total.	31	57	2	0	10	100	3
Derajat.	Towns.	51	44	...	1	4	100	5
	Villages.	50	43	...	1	6	100	1
	Total.	50	43	...	1	6	100	1
Peshawar.	Towns.	48	36	...	12	4	100	3
	Villages.	48	45	...	5	2	100	1
	Total.	48	45	...	5	2	100	1
British Territory.	Towns.	46	45	[illegible]	6	3	100	5
	Villages.	56	36	2	3	3	100	3
	Total.	55	37	2	3	3	100	3
Native States.	Towns.	41	50	4	2	3	100	4
	Villages.	60	32	5	2	2	100	2
	Total.	59	33	5	1	2	100	2
Province.	Towns.	44	44	3	5	3	100	4
	Villages.	56	35	3	3	3	100	3
	Total.	56	35	3	3	3	100	3

726. Land-owners.—Abstract No. 123 in the margin shows the composition of the agricultural and pastoral class, the total of agriculturists proper being taken in each case as 100. I have attempted to divide cultivators into four classes, but it is very doubtful how far the attempt has been successful. First come those who own the land, whether they themselves cultivate it or not. I have just noticed that it is very probable that many people who own land, but whose principal source of income is some occupation other than agricultural, may have returned themselves simply as land-owners. But another difficulty was very generally felt in filling up the entries for land-owners. The sons of a land-owner who live with him and assist in the cultivation of his fields are strictly speaking not themselves proprietors, as they have no actual property in the land so long as their father lives. I think that the proper course obviously is to follow the *status* and to record such people as land-owners, and I believe that this course was as a rule adopted. But, in some cases they may have been entered as tenants. I have said that the figures for land-owners include such proprietors as do not cultivate themselves, but let their land to tenants or employ hired servants. I think it is a pity that such people were not distinguished from cultivating proprietors; but it is now impossible to separate the figures. The Deputy Commissioner of Bannu estimates that ten per cent. of the land-owners do not cultivate; in Hushyárpur the estimate is five per cent. I should say that in the Eastern Plains one per cent. would be a high estimate; but in the hills where agriculture is looked upon as derogatory, and in the Western Plains where the dominant tribes prefer pastoral to agricultural pursuits, the proportion would almost certainly be larger.

727. Tenants.—Under the heading "tenants" are included all who take land of a landlord and cultivate it on their own responsibility. In the towns the tenant class is often of an exceedingly fluctuating nature, a man seldom holding the same plot for more than two or three years in succession; and much of the richer lands near the villages in the highly-

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cultivated central districts is held on a similar tenure, especially where the owners do not cultivate themselves. In the south-west of the Panjáb the tenant is not unfrequently little better than a serf, possessing neither capital nor appliances of his own, and cultivating with his landlord's oxen. But though the number of tenants who have no certainty of tenure, whether dependent upon law or upon custom, is considerable in itself, it forms but a small fraction of the class as a whole. The great mass of the tenants are, in perhaps most parts of the Panjáb, almost as fixed in their holdings for all practical and immediate purposes as are the landlords themselves, ejections being exceedingly rare in proportion to the numbers concerned; while where the tenant is constantly changing the fact is more often due to a competition for labour than to a scarcity of land, and the tenant abandons his holding, not because the landlord turns him out, but because he thinks he can obtain better terms elsewhere. Thus so far as the œconomical distribution of the population is concerned, the landlords and tenants may almost be taken together, both being dependent almost wholly upon the nature of the season and the produce of the land, and being little liable to distress save when these fail them. On the other hand the landlords are, taken as a whole, by far the wealthier of the two classes, their holdings and their capital are alike larger than those of the tenantry, their income is, in those parts of the Panjáb where true rent exists, supplemented by the rent paid by the latter, and the margin over and above the bare means of subsistence upon which they can fall back when distress does arise is larger. And this difference is greatest where the proportion of landlords to tenants is smallest; in the Jamna districts, where land-owners ordinarily cultivate themselves, there is often but little to choose between a tenant and a landlord in point of security of the means of living. It is noticeable how much more generally the landlords in the towns employ tenants to cultivate their land for them than do those of the villages. They are often wealthier, while many of them are more or less educated and follow other occupations under which they are returned. The figures in the margin show the divisions arranged in order according as the cultivation is chiefly in the hands of owners or of tenants [1]. In the eastern and central portions of the Panjáb and under the hills, where a numerous agricultural population cultivate with their own hands the land which often barely suffices for their numbers, the tenant class is comparatively small. But throughout the great plains of the west and in the newly settled districts of Hissár and Sirsa, where land is abundant and much of it is in the hands of small capitalists who have received grants of land and collected cultivators from all quarters to assist them in breaking it up, and again in the frontier districts where dominant tribes enjoy proprietary rights in land which is largely cultivated by an inferior population, the tenant class is exceedingly numerous in proportion to the proprietary body.

Divisions.	Percentages of Owners and Tenants to total Agriculturists (Villages).	
	Owners.	Tenants.
Ambala	66	21
Jalandhar	66	26
Rawalpindi	64	32
Dehli	62	27
Native States	60	32
Amritsar	59	33
Province	**56**	**35**
Derajat	50	43
Peshawar	48	45
Lahore	46	43
Hissar	44	51
Multan	30	57

728. Agricultural labourers.—The next two groups are headed "joint cultivators" and "agricultural "labourers." Here I have endeavoured to separate two very distinct classes. The first, known as *Sájji*, *Adhjogia*, or by corresponding terms, is associated with himself by the owner or tenant in the cultivation of his land, and receives a fixed share of the produce be it great or small. The nature of the association has already been described in section 108 of Chapter II. The second class consists of the agricultural labourers on fixed pay, whether by the day, month, or year. The type of the class is the *Kamera*, *Káma*, or *Háli*. But I fear that the two classes have not been carefully distinguished in the schedule entries, and that a large number of each must have been included in the figures for tenants. According to the figures the joint cultivators are less numerous in towns than in villages, and are most common in the east of the Province; and this I believe to be in accordance with facts. So too the agricultural labourer is rightly shown as much more common in the towns than in the villages; but I believe that the figures under this heading are much too small for the Western Panjáb. According to the Abstract the class is hardly known in the Multán and Deraját divisions. Both these classes occupy an œconomical position greatly inferior to that of the tenant; but of the two the joint cultivator has far the more certain means of subsistence. He is, it is true, no less dependent upon the yield of the harvest than is the owner or tenant himself. But the partnership is in many cases one of long standing, and cannot at any rate be broken for a year, while the hopes of the harvest are wholly in the future when the agreement is concluded. The agricultural labourer on the other hand is at the best only paid by the year, and is often not entertained till the season has in some measure declared itself; while a large proportion of the class are mere temporary servants taken on for a short time only when the crops need watching, at harvest, and so forth, and a failure of rain deprives them of all hopes of employment. They are almost always paid in kind, and are so far independent of a rise in prices.

729. The pastoral class.—The figures for the grazier class are necessarily very imperfect. I have, as pointed out in Part II of this chapter, endeavoured in my final tables to separate the cattle-owners proper, that is those persons who derive their income from the possession of flocks and herds, from those who merely tend cattle. But it is impossible to separate with any completeness the one class from the other or either from the agriculturists. Every land-owner owns cattle, and as a rule his son tends them. Almost every cattle-owner holds land, and as a rule he and his son cultivate it. Still the number of persons returned as owning or tending cattle in the various parts of the Province, though incompletely representing the actual numbers engaged in the occupation, probably gives us a fair idea of the relative degrees in which pastoral are combined with agricultural pursuits. The number is far highest in the great pasture lands of the Western Plains, while in those alone are people returned as camel and cattle-owners, to the number of 9,000 in the Multán division and of 1,500 in the Deraját. The detailed figures of the tables

[1] The figures are of course based upon the *numbers* of owners and tenants as shown in the occupation tables, and not upon the *areas* cultivated by the two classes respectively.

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distinguish between those concerned respectively with cattle, camel, and sheep. As for the graziers of the cities they can hardly be said to be agriculturists at all; while if they are, the milk-sellers which are shown below as workers and dealers in food should be taken with them.

730. Agriculture combined with other occupations.—The instructions for filling up the Census schedules directed that when a person followed two or more occupations, that one only was ordinarily to be entered from which he principally derived his living; but that where agriculture was combined with any other occupation, both were to be shown. The rule made a distinction between two similar cases, and as might have been expected was very generally neglected. Many of the district officers note that the figures returned under this heading are absurdly small. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that, at any rate in the eastern half of the Panjáb, almost every adult male in a village excepting the shop-keeper does more or less field-work, and that most adult males who are neither land-owners nor belong to the agricultural menials presently to be described cultivate a small plot which they hold either as tenants or on a grant for service. The shop-keeper often owns some of the land of the village, but in the east of the Province he rarely, if ever, cultivates it himself. In the west however the Aroras are almost as energetic husbandmen as any other class of the community, while the Census Reports for the districts of the Western Plains and for Sirsa, where land is plentiful and labour scarce, note almost without exception how universal is the desire to obtain a piece of land. On the other hand they also notice how strong is the tendency, so soon as the land is obtained, to give up the hereditary occupation altogether and take to agriculture only; and where this has happened the person is rightly entered as a cultivator pure and simple. The omission to record double occupations may take either of two forms. The menial or artisan who combines agriculture with his proper handicraft may either enter himself as a cultivator only, or he may omit all mention of his agricultural occupation and record only his hereditary calling. Where the omission has taken the latter form it is of small importance, as we know the general facts; but where it has resulted in a man whose primary occupation is a handicraft being entered as a land-owner or tenant the error is more material. In the east menials rarely own land, there being a strong feeling against their doing so, and there they will probably have recorded their primary occupation correctly; and if in the west the craftsman who possesses himself of land ordinarily abandons his craft, the omission to record double occupations will not have materially affected the figures. On the whole I think I should, at a future Census, abandon all attempt to record double occupations. The share of the agricultural labour of the village performed by artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths, oilmen, or weavers, who, without belonging to the agricultural menials proper, cultivate a piece of land on their own account while at the same time following their hereditary callings, is exceedingly small; the general fact that most men in most villages do cultivate more or less is clearly recognised and can easily be borne in mind; and the attempt to record double occupations only results in figures which are misleading.

Abstract No. 124, *showing* **Combined Occupations** *for* **Males over 15 years of age.**

PROPORTION OF AGRICULTURISTS PER MILLE OF TOTAL MALES OVER 15.

No. of Class or Order.	Name of Class or Order.	Towns.	Villages.	Total.	No. of Class or Order.
Total	**Total population**	**151**	**575**	**515**	**Total**
I	Professional	8	73	46	I
II	Domestic and menial	3	19	15	II
III	Commercial	13	43	33	III
IV	Agricultural and pastoral	920	990	987	IV
V	Industrial	10	47	38	V
VI	Indefinite and non-productive.	4	23	19	VI
1	Administration	5	36	23	1
2	Army	4	26	9	2
3	Priests and professional	17	101	81	3
5	Domestic and menial	3	19	15	5
6	Mercantile	12	54	38	6
7	Carriers, &c.	15	35	29	7
8	Agricultural and pastoral	989	995	994	8
9	Engaged about animals	5	71	43	9
10	Mechanics	3	31	16	10
11	Workers in fabrics and dress	7	42	35	11
12	,, ,, food and drinks	6	22	17	12
13	,, ,, animal substances	16	40	35	13
14	,, ,, vegetable ,,	19	81	69	14
15	,, ,, minerals	20	61	52	15
16	General labourers	2	10	8	16
17	Persons of rank and property	89	298	270	17
18	Beggars, &c.	3	17	14	18

731. Total agricultural population.—The figures such as they are, are shown in the margin in Abstract No. 124. I have of necessity followed the unnatural classification of the tables, which greatly obscures the significance of the figures. The largest proportion of persons who combine agriculture with their more proper occupations is naturally found among the priests, most of whom own or cultivate land. Next come the carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, and leather-workers, and the mercantile class including cattle-dealers and carriers. Government servants form the only other class in which the proportion reaches two per cent. The figures for agricultural population given in Tables XII A and XII B and shown in the top line of Abstract No. 124 are arrived at thus. All land-owners, tenants, joint cultivators, agricultural labourers, cattle graziers, cowherds, and fruit and market gardeners (occupation Nos. 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, and 95) are assumed to be agricultural, and to them are added all those of other occupations who have returned agriculture combined with their primary calling. They are not complete, as many of the shepherds and camelherds are really agricultural as much as pastoral, and being classed as such in the divisional offices the combined occupations were not always shown. But if this be remembered, and if it be also borne in mind that the menials next to be described perform a very large proportion of the field-work, and that most of the village population, though not included in the figures, occupy themselves to some extent with husbandry, the figures probably represent the facts with considerable accuracy.

732. Village menials.—The group of occupations which comes next in Abstract No. 122, page 380, is that which includes the village menials. These persons, so far as they are found in villages, and to some extent in

towns also, are œconomically separated from their brother artisans by two very important facts. In the first place they occupy a recognised position in the village community, performing customary services and receiving in return customary dues which almost invariably take the form of a fixed share of the produce. Thus, with the exception of the leather-workers who perhaps profit more in seasons of drought by the mortality among the cattle than they lose by the failure of the crops, they are no less than the agriculturists proper wholly dependent for their support upon the yield of the harvest. In the second place, the first three classes at any rate, the water-carriers, leather-workers, and scavengers, occupy in the east and centre of the Panjáb a very important position in the agricultural community, much of the hardest field-work being performed by them. In calling for Census Reports and indicating the subjects that might profitably be discussed in them, it was particularly requested that Deputy Commissioners would explain the position occupied and duties performed by village menials in their respective districts. Unfortunately the request has been complied with in very few instances, and I therefore treat the subject with great hesitation, though I believe that what I am about to say is generally in accordance with facts. The date fixed for the completion of the Report is so near that there is no time to obtain information from the districts. Confining then our attention for the present to the village population, we find that the leather-workers, with whom I have included shoe-makers, are most numerous in the Jamna tracts and the hills, where they are recognised field labourers and supply a considerable portion of the agricultural labour employed [1]. In the centre of the Province their place is taken by the scavengers who there occupy a precisely similar position. So too the watermen, with whom I have, for reasons given in Part II of the Chapter, included those returned as cooks, appear from their numbers to perform somewhat similar functions in the central districts, though their large number is perhaps partly due to the custom there prevalent of having public bakeries common to the village. In other parts of the Province, where scavengers and watermen do not work in the field as part of their ordinary duties, they are looked upon as luxuries and are chiefly found in villages where the women are secluded, where they are of course a necessity; and indeed it would appear that in Hushyárpur these two classes, and even the potters also, are often paid fixed wages and not a share of the produce.

733. In the villages of the west of the Panjáb these three classes are returned in strikingly small numbers. I think there are several reasons for the difference. In the first place the general standard of agriculture is not so high, and labour not so often procured from beyond the limits of the cultivator's family. And in the second place the ties of hereditary occupation are infinitely more lax, so that a menial, when he turns his attention to field-work, is not kept down in his place as a menial by custom and the feeling of society; and instead of merely combining agricultural labour with his menial functions, as he would do in the eastern half of the Panjáb, he abandons the latter altogether and becomes a cultivator pure and simple. One would have expected to find scavengers and water-carriers especially abundant on the Peshāwar frontier, where the feeling about the seclusion of women is stronger than elsewhere. But so far as the villages are concerned this is not the case, and it appears that Pathán women enjoy considerable liberty within the limits of their own village. Mr. Beckett explains the small number of scavengers returned from the Peshāwar district by pointing out that the scavengers of those parts ordinarily clean and dress grain as one of their occupations; but this only accounts for a very small part of the deficiency. The carpenters and blacksmiths, who often can hardly be separated the one from the other, are found in fairly constant numbers throughout the Province; though, here again the numbers are smaller in the western districts where society is less highly organised, wealth is less, and the needs of the people more simple. Potters are naturally found in largest numbers where irrigation from wells is most largely practised.

734. In the towns the village menials whom I have just discussed are hardly to be distinguished from the other artisans save by difference of calling; for except in so far as they serve the village communities which are attached to most of the smaller towns, they are paid by the job or by the day like the other industrial classes, and are independent of the outturn of the harvest. The variations in the proportion they bear to the urban population are naturally much smaller than in the case of villages, though the causes just described which affect the latter are not without effect on the town population also. The scavengers and water-carriers especially are most numerous where great cities contain large numbers of the higher and more wealthy classes, who are particular about the seclusion of their women and can afford to pay for the rendering of the necessary services.

735. The workers in fabrics and dress.—The next group in Abstract No. 122, page 380, includes all the workers and dealers in wool, *pashm*, cotton, and silk, and the washermen and dyers. It corresponds with order 11 of the tables, with the exclusion of shoe-makers and barbers. Of the classes included in this group the only two who are at all numerously represented among the village population are the cotton-weavers and the dyers, while even in the towns these two constitute the greater portion of the group. The weavers can hardly be separated from the leather-workers, many of whom add weaving to their more proper calling; and accordingly we find weavers proper scantily represented in the eastern districts, where leather-workers are most numerous. The dyers and washermen are fairly equally distributed, except in the Multán division where they are curiously numerous and in Amritsar where they are engaged in the great industries of that city. Among the villages washermen are almost confined to those parts where local custom forbids respectable women to wash the clothes of their families. The cotton-cleaners are very evenly distributed, though again most numerous in the Multán division. The *pashm*-workers are chiefly confined to the towns of Amritsar, Lúdhiána, and the Ráwalpindi division; and the drapers and embroiderers, the other workers in dress, and indeed the whole group, are most numerous in Amritsar which is the great centre of shawl-making and embroidery in the Panjáb. Next after the Amritsar division comes the Multán division, where weaving and similar industries appear to be particularly prominent. In the absence of figures for districts any more precise localisation of the facts is impossible; but the Jhang district is celebrated for its manufacture of coarse cotton cloth, which it exports in large quantities.

[1] In the Karnál district the Chamárs take one-twentieth of the whole produce where they work on the plough. This is naturally less often the case in Jat villages than among Gújars, Rájpúts, and the like.

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Taken as a whole this group is a poor one. It is composed almost entirely of artisans proper who are paid by the piece or by the day, the only exception being the drapers, and the washermen who are in villages often paid a fixed share of the produce. The weavers of the towns are notoriously poor in the extreme; and they are probably no better off in the villages, for one of the first things in which a peasant economises is his clothing.

736. The workers and dealers in food.—The group which follows next in the Abstract is exceedingly artificial, and, excepting the oilmen who can hardly be separated from the butchers on the one hand or from the cotton-cleaners on the other, is almost confined to towns. The figures are examined in detail in the second part of the chapter. The group is most abundantly represented in those parts where the cities are largest and the wealthy classes most numerous. The group as a whole is concerned with the luxuries of the rich rather than, like that which preceded it, with the simple wants of the village population; and though the city weavers are largely employed in producing costly fabrics, yet they are generally in the hands of large employers for whom they work at rates kept by competition at the lowest possible level, while the members of the group under consideration work and trade on their own account. The milk-sellers and probably the greengrocers are often poor; but the group as a whole is mercantile almost as much as industrial, and would probably be one of the last to feel distress in times of trouble.

737. Miscellaneous industries.—The next group of the Abstract includes all the remaining industrial classes. The goldsmiths are, in the villages at least, almost as much pawn-brokers and money-lenders as they are artisans, while the other classes are chiefly found in the towns. The brassmakers are markedly most numerous in the Dehli division, where the manufacture of metal vessels thrives in Dehli, Rewári, Pánipat, and several other towns. The detailed figures are discussed in Part II of the chapter. Like the preceding one this group is chiefly occupied in ministering to the wants of the well-to-do classes, and is probably on the whole fairly well off, or at least less liable to suffer from distress and hard times than many other more important sections of the community.

TOTAL INDUSTRIAL PER MILLE OF TOTAL SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS.

Towns.		Villages.	
Amritsar Division	. 475	Amritsar Division	. 286
Dehli ,,	. 418	Lahore ,,	. 269
Ambala ,,	. 367	Jalandhar ,,	. 221
Multan ,,	. 360	Dehli ,,	. 204
Province	**. 351**	**Province**	**. 198**
Lahore Division	. 350	Rawalpindi Division	. 188
Jalandhar ,,	. 349	Ambala ,,	. 187
Hissar ,,	. 312	Multán ,,	. 185
Rawalpindi ,,	. 295	Hissar ,,	. 174
Native States	. 294	Native States	. 159
Derajat Division	. 282	Peshawar Division	. 124
Peshawar ,,	. 272	Derajat ,,	. 115

738. Total industrial class.—The proportion to total population borne by the industrial classes in the various divisions is shown in the margin.

The effect of the great industrial centres at Amritsar, Dehli, and Multán is very marked; while the small proportion which the industrial classes bear to the urban population of the western and Hissár divisions and of the Native States, is naturally to be expected in those parts of the Panjáb where the population is most primitive. Turning to the village population, the three divisions of Hissár, Pesháwar, and the Deraját stand at the bottom of the list together with the Native States; and the reasons have already been noticed in section 733. On the other hand those divisions stand highest where agricultural practice has reached its highest development, where the wealth and commerce of the Province are chiefly concentrated, and where the most highly organised society is to be found.

739. The labouring class.—The class of labourers which stands next in the Abstract is the one of all others which feels most quickly and most severely the approach of a season of distress. It is probable, as explained in the second part of the chapter, that a part at least of the coolie class, so far as it is returned from the villages, consists of village menials. But the general labourers of the towns, and a portion, probably considerable, of those returned from villages, live from hand to mouth, picking up almost from day to day such employment as they can procure, and seldom certain of work for the morrow. These are the people who crowd our poorhouses and flock to our relief works in years of famine. A part of the class, comprising perhaps most of the navvies and workers in straw, is vagrant and moves away from a tract where distress is apprehended. But the great mass of the class is too poor and too unenterprising to migrate. The figures probably do not represent the normal distribution of the class, partly because of the double meaning of the word coolie above alluded to, but still more because of the abnormal demand for this class of labour which existed in the Ráwalpindi and Pesháwar divisions at the time of the Census. But taking the Province as a whole the class constitutes six per cent. of the total and ten per cent. of the urban population, a very large proportion when applied to tens of millions.

740. The mercantile class.—The next group in Abstract No. 122, page 380, includes persons occupying very different positions. It comprises all grades of the mercantile classes from the banker of the cities through the shop-keeper of the villages to the wandering pedlar, though this last constitutes a wholly insignificant fraction of the whole. On the other hand the figures do not include the miscellaneous dealers who are scattered throughout the tables, as they could not have been separated without considerable labour, and their total number is by comparison inappreciable. The class as a class is eminently well off. Seasons of distress and failure of crops do, if greatly prolonged, affect the village shop-keeper; but as a rule he has little to fear from them. The class is certainly the most secure of all classes of the community, and the last that would need assistance in times of general want. The carrier class occupies a very different pecuniary position. Still as a whole it is not one of the classes which need cause anxiety to the administration in years of drought or famine. Trade may be backward at such times, but grain has to be imported, and distribution takes the place of collection. The class is probably doomed in great measure to die out with the extension of the railway system, for the donkeys of the village potter and the plough cattle when field-work is slack suffice for the greater part of the purely local carriage. The present figures show how scantily it is represented where railways have spread most largely. The large numbers returned from the Deraját are probably partly due to the *pawindah* traffic.

741. The unproductive class.—Last of all come the unproductive section of the community, so far

as our figures enable us to classify them. The grooms and others engaged about animals, and the domestic servants, are chiefly confined to towns where they are employed only by the wealthier classes, and they are fairly secure of their employment. Of the priests a considerable proportion own or cultivate land, while it is only in the most severe distress that their clients fail them and their ordinary income ceases. Still one of the most common forms which that income takes is a fixed share of the produce, and where nothing is reaped there is nothing to divide. The barbers are probably less secure of their fees, for so far as they do not take the form of a share of the outturn they depend in great measure upon weddings, and the first effect of scarcity is to put a stop to marrying and giving in marriage. The musicians and performers and the other professional classes, the teachers, doctors and the like, derive their subsistence chiefly from the wealthier classes, and are in some respects perhaps more independent of agricultural distress than others whose income is ordinarily larger. The beggars and *faqirs* include all the members of the religious orders, many of whom are well-to-do and even wealthy. But the great mass of the class consists of people who are really dependent upon alms begged from door to door, and with no other means of livelihood. The unproductive group as a whole is most largely represented in the most wealthy parts of the Province, and especially in the great cities.

742. The occupations of women.—The figures for the occupations of females are far less complete and far less trustworthy than are the corresponding figures for males. The directions laid down that an occupation was to be recorded for a woman, only when she assisted the males of her family in their calling or earned her living by a special occupation of her own, and that domestic occupations were not to be recorded. But, as Mr. T. W. Smyth remarks in his Census Report for Dehli, "some difficulty was experienced in obtaining information as to the occupations of women, as their male relations were reluctant to "admit that the females of their families did anything but attend to their household duties. In rural villages "the enumerators or supervisors were in the majority of cases personally acquainted with the different "families, and incorrect information as to the occupation of women was easily checked and rectified." At the same time it is often exceedingly difficult to say whether any and what occupation should be returned for a woman. Almost every woman does a great deal of household work; a great majority of them probably help their husbands in their callings in some degree whether small or great; and it is almost impossible to draw a line and say where the latter occupation overshadows the former, and becomes of sufficient importance to be recorded. The difficulty will be exemplified in discussing the agricultural occupations of women. Of the total female population over 15 years of age separate occupations were recorded for the proportions shown in the margin. The proportion did not differ much in towns and villages, the respective figures for the Province being 243 and 238. Thus it will be seen that while not one-quarter of the women of over 15 years old have returned their occupations on the whole, over a half have done so in the Hissár division, and only one-tenth in the Lahore division. The sequence of the figures does probably represent in some degree the measure in which women are employed in occupations other than domestic in different parts of the Province; but the extraordinarily small return from the Lahore division cannot be accounted for except by the adoption of a very different standard from that followed in the neighbouring divisions. The domestic work which falls upon the woman-folk of a poor and numerous family is very considerable indeed, and unless there are several grown-up daughters or daughters-in-law it occupies their time very fully. They have the water to draw and the house to clean, the corn to grind, the bread to make, and the dinner to cook, the food to take to the men, and there is plenty of spinning to be done in what spare time remains. Yet it is notorious that women do assist very largely in some sorts of occupations and in some parts of the Province; and I fear that the record of female occupations as a whole must be looked upon as imperfect.

SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS PER MILLE OF FEMALE POPULATION OVER 15 YEARS OLD.

Hissar division	544	Multan division	173
Dehli ,,	492	Native States	173
Jalandhar ,,	308	Rawalpindi divn.	161
Amritsar ,,	287	Derajat ,,	129
Ambala ,,	253	Peshawar ,,	121
Province	**238**	Lahore ,,	112

743. Errors in the record of female occupations.—There are three ways in which the figures might be expected to err. In the first place the women of the family might be recorded as following the same occupation as the men without reference to the question whether they really assisted them in the exercise of their calling; and where this had been done the tables would contain figures which would not really represent females occupied in the industries under which they were shown. There can be but little doubt that this has been done in some cases; indeed there are some entries, as for instance the 251 female *pandits* (occupation No. 50), which can hardly be explained on any other supposition. But a very careful and minute examination of the figures has led me to the conclusion that this error has occurred in a quite unexpectedly small number of cases, and that the entries due to it are wholly inappreciable in number. It will be seen in the second part of the chapter that even where the entry appears to be most improbable, a more careful examination often reveals the fact that there is some special branch of the calling within the female capacity, and that the women have been in part at least recorded as following that branch, thus leading us to suppose that the remainder were in all probability similarly engaged, though they entered the more general term in the schedules. The second probable error would be that women should return a purely domestic occupation in the schedules. There are few women who do not spin more or less; all but the richest cook the food of the family; among all but the wealthier classes or those who keep their females very strictly secluded the women ordinarily draw all the water for household purposes; while among the poorer classes and in many households which are not poor the women grind all the corn required for the day's consumption. These tasks are often very laborious: thus the Pathán women in the Marwat country often fetch their water from a distance of several miles. But so long as they are not performed for gain or hire, so long as the work is confined to the needs of the family circle, they are purely domestic occupations and should not have been entered in the schedules. Now a very large number of women of the poorer classes do make their living by spinning, cooking, drawing water, and grinding corn;

and the entries under these four occupations comprise nearly forty per cent. of the non-agricultural occupations returned for women. But if a woman returned her domestic work as an occupation she would almost certainly use one of these four expressions by which to describe it, and consequently we cannot be certain that some at least of the entries under these heads do not refer to domestic occupations which should not have been entered at all. The third form of error which is to be apprehended is that in which the woman, though really assisting the males of the family in their callings, has, whether from negligence or from a wish to make it appear that she is under no necessity to work for her living, had no occupation entered for her, thus implying that she is engaged wholly in domestic duties; and this has I fear been the case in very many instances.

744. The agricultural occupations of women.—It is a most difficult thing to decide what women should be returned as agriculturists, that is to say as actually assisting in cultivation. It is possible to distinguish four grades between the woman who never goes near her husband's field, and the woman who works in it almost as hard as he does himself. We have first the classes among whom the women are strictly secluded, and here of course they render no assistance whatever. But among all the classes who do not strictly seclude their women, and in the poorer families of even those classes who do ordinarily seclude their women, the wife almost invariably takes the midday meal to the men who are at work in the fields, and will commonly pick and carry back a few pot herbs for dinner or a little fresh grain for frumenty. The third grade is where the women, besides carrying the food, pick cotton and safflower, carry fodder, and do light field-work of all sorts, perhaps helping the reapers also at harvest. And finally there are classes among whom the women work if anything harder than the men, all the weeding and much of the hoeing being done by them, while ploughing and sowing, for which latter operation a woman is incapacitated by her sex, are the only two branches of agricultural labour in which they take no share [1]. The first and fourth classes are sufficiently well marked; but between them there is room for great variety of practice, and for no less difference of opinion as to what degree of assistance rendered would justify a woman in recording her occupation as agricultural.

745. Now the practice of the women in this respect is very largely a matter of tribal custom, their abstention from field-work being looked upon as in some respects a mark of higher social status. But it is not wholly regulated by such custom; and while poverty will sometimes compel women who from their caste would not be expected to work in the fields to do so, it is still more commonly the case that social pride and pretensions induce sections of those castes whose women ordinarily do field-work of all sorts to affect the exclusiveness of the higher castes. And the practice varies from one part of the Province to another, and in some parts from tribe to tribe of the same caste, from village to village of the same tribe, and even from family to family of the same village. In the eastern and south-eastern districts the practice is fairly uniform. The women of Jats and Rors, and of Kambohs, Aráins, and similar minor agricultural tribes, work regularly with the men in the fields; the women of the richer Bráhmans, Tagas, Saiyads, and Rájpúts do not go into the fields at all; while those of the poorer families of these castes and of all Gújars merely do light field-work, and even that not as a daily occupation. In the hills the women of all but Bráhmans and Rájpúts work in the fields, while in the higher Himálayas almost the whole of the field-work, not always excepting ploughing, is done by the women, the men working meanwhile as carriers, coolies, and the like. On the frontier the Pathán women work very generally in the fields, but not as a rule till they are some 25 years old, and then only at the lighter kinds of labour and at harvest time. Throughout the greater part of the Province the women of the Aráins, Sainis, Mális, and similar inferior castes work with their husbands in the fields; but in the Western Plains even these women, and still more those of the higher classes, take very little part in agriculture. Finally in the central and Sikh tracts and in the adjoining sub-montane, while the women of Gújars do light field work, those of Jats hardly ever help in the cultivation. When Mr. Elliott who came from the North-West Provinces, and I who knew only the Jamna districts, went through the Panjáb on a tour of inspection, we could hardly believe it possible that the women of Jat households should not ordinarily be recorded as assisting in agriculture. But there is no doubt of the fact that, unlike their sisters of Hindústán whose agricultural industry has become proverbial, the Jat women of the Panjáb proper do not ordinarily assist their men in the work of cultivation. The difference is doubtless due to the far higher social and political status enjoyed by the Jat in the stronghold of the Sikh Khálsa than in parts where other tribes occupy a dominant position.

746. The variety of practice being so great and the gradations so many, and there being, as Mr. Kensington puts it in writing of Hushyárpur, "a natural delicacy in admitting that the women work in "the fields," it is hardly to be expected that our record of female agriculturists should be even approximately complete, or that the figures should have any very definite significance. And besides the wives of the husbandmen themselves, all the women of the village menial class almost without exception do field-work for hire at seasons, such as harvest time, when the work must be done quickly and extra labour is needed; while where the better class of women take no part in the cultivation, the whole of the cotton and safflower picking and of such weeding as is done at all, is done by these menial women for payment. Thus while this class of females perform on the whole a very considerable amount of agricultural labour, it can hardly be said that they are cultivators by occupation, for it is only at certain seasons that their services are required.

747. Distribution of female cultivators.—Abstract No. 125 on the next page shows the distribution by occupation of those women for whom occupations have been recorded, the figures being proportions per thousand of the total specified female occupations.

[1] Mr. Wilson notes that he has seen a woman pouring the seed into the tube of the drill, while her husband drove the plough; and that in Sirsa he has known women to be yoked in the plough to draw it.

Part I.—General and Comparative.

Abstract No. 125, *showing* Occupations of Females *for* Divisions.

Occupation.	Proportions per mille of females of specified occupation over 15 years of age.																			
											British Territory.			Native States.			Province.			
	Dehli.	Hissar.	Ambala.	Jalandhar.	Amritsar.	Lahore.	Rawalpindi.	Multan.	Derajat.	Peshawar.	Towns.	Villages.	Total.	Towns.	Villages.	Total.	Towns.	Villages.	Total.
Land-owners	320	271	370	318	39	33	238	25	92	64	38	246	217	27	221	200	37	242	214
Tenants	135	397	46	209	54	10	64	14	[illegible]	54	47	157	142	63	378	345	48	186	167
Joint cultivators	13	8	15	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	6	5	...	1	1	1	5	5
Agricultural labourers	10	3	2	5	...	2	2	...	8	72	2	7	6	8	15	14	2	8	7
Graziers	1	...	1	6	1	...	1	3	5	5	1	2	2	...	7	7	1	3	3
Total Agriculturists proper	479	679	434	540	95	46	305	44	169	196	90	418	372	99	623	567	91	444	395
Agriculture combined with other occupations	15	17	4	16	2	1	3	...	...	3	2	10	8	9	10	10	2	10	10
Total Agricultural Class	**494**	**696**	**438**	**556**	**97**	**47**	**308**	**44**	**169**	**199**	**92**	**428**	**380**	**108**	**633**	**577**	**93**	**454**	**405**
Water-carriers and cooks	19	5	61	39	82	42	42	15	9	17	41	37	37	48	23	26	42	34	35
Workers in leather	45	23	8	31	34	3	2	...	2	1	19	24	23	17	18	18	19	22	2[illegible]
Scavengers	72	32	59	24	206	159	26	7	5	11	85	70	72	61	17	22	82	63	65
Carpenters	3	5	3	...	1	2	...	...	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2
Blacksmiths	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1
Potters	16	11	8	6	10	...	3	3	4	3	8	9	8	8	5	5	8	8	8
Total Village Menials	157	78	141	100	333	206	73	25	22	34	155	143	143	136	68	76	153	130	134
Wool workers	2	...	2	7	...	2	...	...	1	1	4	2	2	1	1	1	3	1	2
Pashm "	...	...	4	...	12	2	...	...	...	8	17	...	3	...	...	...	15	...	2
Cotton cleaners	4	3	2	10	3	1	1	7	5	2	5	4	4	3	1	1	5	4	4
" spinners	55	50	69	77	105	207	287	501	344	313	203	127	137	171	69	80	200	119	129
" weavers	40	46	53	71	132	75	74	65	30	30	64	69	68	66	29	33	65	63	61
Dyers and washerwomen	13	10	7	4	6	4	5	18	15	15	18	8	9	14	3	4	17	7	9
Tailors and embroiderers	8	3	6	9	21	22	12	15	12	38	32	8	11	28	11	13	32	9	12
Other workers in fibres and dress	3	1	3	4	2	12	1	14	10	...	12	1	4	7	3	4	11	3	3
Total Workers in Fabrics	125	113	146	182	261	325	380	620	417	407	355	219	238	290	117	136	348	206	224
Oilmen	5	3	8	4	1	2	3	...	1	1	4	3	3	7	2	3	4	3	3
Butchers	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	1	...	...	2	...	...
Milksellers, &c.	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	3	2	3	5	1	2	2	3	3	5	1	2
Greengrocers	10	8	4	7	41	14	20	14	4	2	30	12	15	30	2	5	30	11	13
Workers in Food	17	12	14	14	43	19	24	17	7	7	41	16	20	40	7	11	41	15	18
Miscellaneous Industries	15	10	9	7	35	68	12	14	18	12	24	13	26	29	12	13	26	14	15
Total Industrial Class	**314**	**213**	**310**	**303**	**672**	**618**	**489**	**676**	**464**	**460**	**575**	**391**	**427**	**495**	**204**	**236**	**568**	**365**	**391**
Corn-grinders	45	12	76	55	96	165	59	99	104	51	121	57	65	138	45	55	122	55	64
Workers in grass and fuel	9	1	10	5	6	4	2	2	8	50	11	6	7	10	4	5	9	5	6
Workers in bamboo and straw, &c.	5	2	2	13	2	3	10	15	17	9	8	6	6	4	4	4	8	6	6
Coolies	59	33	73	27	14	28	18	12	48	72	39	35	36	50	40	41	40	36	36
Total Labouring Class	**119**	**48**	**161**	**100**	**118**	**203**	**89**	**128**	**179**	**182**	**180**	**104**	**114**	**203**	**93**	**105**	**180**	**102**	**112**
Mercantile class	7	6	5	2	1	5	3	3	7	4	5	4	4	4	2	2	5	4	4
Carriers and boatmen	1	...	..	...	1	...	...	1	3	...	1	1	1	1	...	...	1	1	1
Total Distributing Class	**8**	**6**	**5**	**2**	**2**	**5**	**3**	**4**	**10**	**4**	**6**	**5**	**5**	**5**	**2**	**2**	**6**	**5**	**5**
Servants	8	1	7	3	2	9	4	12	10	41	24	3	6	28	15	17	24	5	7
Priests	18	12	15	8	14	8	4	4	5	3	16	10	11	28	10	12	18	10	11
Barbers	13	14	7	3	30	9	9	...	1	1	10	13	12	8	3	3	10	11	11
Musicians and performers	3	2	4	3	20	10	3	3	4	3	9	6	6	16	4	5	10	6	6
Other professional classes	2	1	4	4	6	10	3	9	4	4	9	3	4	9	1	2	8	3	4
Beggars and faqirs	30	23	41	29	38	60	89	79	145	81	47	45	45	64	37	39	49	44	44
Prostitutes	3	1	6	2	4	15	4	8	7	14	25	1	4	33	3	6	26	4	4
Total Unproductive Class	**77**	**54**	**84**	**54**	**114**	**121**	**116**	**116**	**177**	**155**	**140**	**82**	**89**	**186**	**73**	**84**	**145**	**81**	**88**

Part I.—General and Comparative.

The figures are not very instructive, owing to the varying proportions of the total female population for whom occupations have been returned in the several divisions (see section 742). On the other hand if I had calculated the percentages on the total female population of over 15 years of age, many of the occupations would have disappeared altogether, as they would not have amounted to one in a thousand. I give in the margin the proportions per mille of the total population over 15 years of age who have been returned as cultivators. The corresponding figures for towns are 23 and for villages 108 in the Province taken as a whole. Thus it will be seen that so far as the figures can be accepted, while something under 10 per cent. of the whole female population who are of age to work follow agriculture as a calling, nearly forty per cent. of those who have any occupation at all other than domestic are cultivators. In the Hissár division 100 out of every 264 adult women work in the fields, while in the Lahore division only one in 200 is returned as a cultivator. I suspect that the former figures are slightly and the latter very largely below the truth. But it is probable that the sequence of the divisions is very nearly in accordance with the facts, and that the proportion of females who do field work is largest in the eastern and south-eastern districts, next largest in the hills and sub-montane, then in the Salt-range Tract, still smaller in the central and frontier districts, and smallest of all in the districts of the Western Plains.

PROPORTION OF FEMALE AGRICULTURISTS PER MILLE OF TOTAL FEMALE POPULATION OVER 15 YEARS OLD.

Division		Division	
Hissar division	379	Rawalpindi division	50
Dehli "	243	Amritsar "	28
Jalandhar "	171	Peshawar "	24
Ambala "	111	Derajat "	22
Native States	99	Multan "	8
Province	96	Lahore "	5

748. Non-agricultural occupations of females.—The extraordinary variation in the numbers of female cultivators returned from the several divisions renders any comparison between the figures for other occupations shown in Abstract No. 125 for the various divisions almost meaningless. Since 50 per cent. of the whole are agricultural in the Dehli and only 5 per cent. in the Lahore division, the figures for an occupation which bore the same proportion in both divisions to the total of non-agricultural occupations would be by mere arithmetical consequence nearly double in the latter what they would be in the former; and I have just explained why proportions to total population would be unsatisfactory. The occupations of women are noticed in detail under their several headings in the second part of this chapter, and I shall here do nothing more than briefly note their distribution in the Province taking it as a whole. In summing up the distribution of occupations in section 752, I shall give the proportions which the main groups of female occupations bear to the total adult female population.

The occupations may be roughly classed under two heads, those in which the women simply assist their fathers and husbands in their work, and those which are female occupations proper where the whole work is done by the women. Of course it is not always possible to class any given occupation wholly under either head. To the first kind of occupations belong all the female cultivators, who constitute some 40 per cent. of the whole. It may be that a certain number of women have been wrongly returned as land-owners who do not cultivate themselves, but this error has probably been rare. A woman cultivating on her own account, that is to say unassisted by men, is I believe quite unknown in the Panjáb unless it be in the higher hills. Under this head fall also the workers in leather, who probably help in curing and dyeing leather and perhaps in the lighter kinds of sewing. The women returned as blacksmiths probably do little more than blow the bellows, and their number is small; though the women of the vagrant or Gádiya Lohárs commonly wield the forehammer. The female potters perhaps mould the clay, while the female oil-pressers may drive the bullocks. The total of these classes is under 5 per cent. of the whole, and it is probable that in some cases at any rate the women have been shown as following the occupation of their husbands through carelessness, rather than because they really assist them in their calling. The female weavers comprise 6½ per cent. of the total, and the numbers are, as noted by several Deputy Commissioners, probably very much below the truth. The women of the weaver classes prepare the web and fill the spools ready for the weavers' hand, and are an important element in the industry; though perhaps but a small number are wholly occupied in these occupations. The female cotton scutchers are chiefly occupied in rolling into rolls ready for spinning the cotton scutched by their husbands. Thus the women who merely help the men constitute almost exactly the half of the total women whose occupation is recorded, about 40 per cent. being cultivators and 10 per cent. artisans. These women follow the fortunes of their families, and thrive or starve with them.

749. But the women who follow occupations which can be wholly performed by females, while perhaps in the majority of instances they have husbands or sons whose income they help to increase, are in very many cases, and especially in the cities, poor widows or forlorn women who have nothing but their own labour to depend upon and who often find the greatest difficulty in earning a bare subsistence. These women very generally employ themselves in spinning cotton and grinding corn, especially if they belong to the higher castes, as these are in-door occupations, and in working as coolies if they belong to classes who are not secluded. The cotton spinners form 13, the corn-grinders 6½, and the coolies 3½ per cent. of the whole; though as before remarked corn-grinding and cotton-spinning, like water-carrying and cooking, may in some cases have been wrongly returned as generic terms for mere domestic duties.

There remains about 25 per cent. of the female occupations to be accounted for. The water-carriers, cooks, scavengers, and washerwomen form 11 per cent. of the whole. These women are very generally employed to bring water, remove night-soil, and wash clothes in houses where the females are strictly secluded; while the cooks are in some cases domestic servants, but more commonly keep public bakeries and cook for the village. In the villages they are perhaps generally village menials receiving customary dues, often taking the form of a fixed share of the produce; but elsewhere they depend upon the wealthier classes for their income, which though scanty is tolerably secure. The female money-lenders are probably women who have either been returned wrongly as following the occupation of their husbands, or who own capital and lend it through agents; but nearly half the female mercantile class consists of petty hawkers and pedlars, who like the greengrocers and costermongers are generally miserably poor. These two

last classes comprise $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole. The domestic servants occupy a fairly secure position. The female priests and barbers are women who have inherited the right to receive fees from clients, or, in the case of the barbers, who cut hair and perform similar services for females. These women, and the musicians, dancers, and performers, derive their income from the same sources and in the same manner as do men following the same occupations, and the four classes constitute $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total, while miscellaneous industries and professions account for 2 per cent. more. Something more than one per cent. of the women are employed as embroiderers and sempstresses, and are generally exceedingly poor, working for large employers who pay them at the lowest possible rates. The same number employ themselves in collecting cow-dung, grass, and fuel, and in making articles of reeds and straw; many of them are vagrants, many more are indistinguishable from the coolie class, and the livelihood of all is precarious in the extreme. Finally we have the class of beggars and *faqírs* who comprise about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole number returned, and many of whom are wholly dependent upon the alms of the charitable.

750. Occupations of children.—In a country where education is almost unknown to the masses, and where more than half the population is engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits, it may be imagined that the children are employed in such manner as suits their capacity at an exceedingly early age. In all but the wealthier families among the husbandmen of the villages, the boys go with the cattle to the jungles as soon as they are able to take care of themselves, while they are also largely employed in driving well bullocks, weeding, and similar work. Among the poorer menial classes the girls are set to gather cowdung and fuel, while both boys and girls assist their parents in a thousand small matters. In the towns children are more often sent to school and less often kept to work, except among the poorest classes. The instructions directed that no occupation was to be returned for any girls, or for such boys as were not "of an age to do work." But, as already pointed out, these instructions were not always followed, even infants in arms being occasionally shown as following the same occupation as their fathers. Young children under 6 years of age were in great measure excluded from tabulation, and the figures of Abstract No. 126 show the proportion which boys between the ages of 6 and 15 years bear to the total number above 6 years old returned as following each class of occupation. The classification of the final tables has been followed as it stands.

Abstract No. 126, *showing the proportion of* **Male Children** *to total of all Ages* **following each Class of Occupation.**

PROPORTION OF MALES UNDER 15 YEARS OF AGE PER MILLE OF TOTAL MALES.					
No. of Class or Order.	Names of Class or Order.	Towns.	Villages.	Total.	No. of Class or Order.
Total.	**Total population**	**313**	**389**	**379**	**Total.**
I	Professional	15	38	29	I
II	Domestic and Menial	43	68	62	II
III	Commercial	28	43	41	III
IV	Agricultural and Pastoral	59	82	83	IV
V	Industrial	48	56	54	V
VI	Indefinite and non-productive	58	85	81	VI
1	Administration	6	7	10	1
2	Army	4	9	5	2
3	Priests and Professional	49	55	57	3
5	Domestic and Menial	43	68	62	5
6	Mercantile	28	37	34	6
7	Carriers, &c.	28	51	45	7
8	Agricultural and Pastoral	64	84	83	8
9	Engaged about animals	27	76	53	9
10	Mechanics	38	53	45	10
11	Workers in fabrics and dress	59	56	55	11
12	" " food and drinks	38	43	41	12
13	" " animal substances	73	72	71	13
14	" " vegetable "	56	64	63	14
15	" " minerals	47	52	52	15
16	General labourers	56	76	70	16
17	Persons of rank and property	98	64	68	17
18	Beggars, &c.	66	98	91	18

The proportion is smallest among Government servants and the mercantile and carrying classes. Excluding beggars, and the assignees of Government revenue (order 17) who are small in number, and the entries under which represent source of income and not occupation, the largest proportion is in the agricultural class, especially in the villages. Indeed of the 543,487 boys for whom occupations are returned, 347,361 or 64 per cent. are shown as engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits, and for the most part as cowherds and shepherds. Of the remaining 200,000 boys 13 per cent. are employed as village menials, 12 per cent. in weaving and the like, 10 per cent. as workers in dress, 6 per cent. in grinding corn, 8 per cent. in collecting wood and dung and working in straw, 4 per cent. as blacksmiths and potters, 12 per cent. as coolies, 15 per cent. as beggars, 3 per cent. as priests, and 2 per cent. as carriers. Among the industrial classes the proportion of children is considerable, but it is doubtful how far they really assist in the actual operations of the several crafts. In the coolie class the boys do really help in the work, filling and carrying the baskets of earth from the excavation to the spoil bank, or driving the donkeys which carry the spoil; while among the beggars where the proportion is highest of all, they are invaluable as appeals to the charitable. Of the 96,511 girls under 15 years old for whom occupations are returned, 44 per cent. are engaged in agriculture, 11 per cent. in domestic and menial occupations, 4 per cent. as grinding corn, 22 per cent. in weaving, spinning, and embroidery, 4 per cent. as coolies, and 9 per cent. as beggars. The significance of the figures is too uncertain to justify more detailed examination.

751. Summary of the distribution of the population by occupation.—Thus we have a male population of over 15 years of age for nearly the whole of which separate occupations have been returned. Of these 53·6 per cent. follow purely agricultural and pastoral pursuits, while 1·5 per cent. more according to the figures, but in reality a much larger proportion, combine cultivation with other occupations. The husbandmen proper comprise 30 per cent. who have a proprietary interest, and 19 per cent. who have tenancy holdings in the land, while 3 per cent. are in a position little better than that of day-labourers. In the villages the agriculturists number 60 per cent. of the whole, while they are in the east and centre of the Panjáb largely assisted by agricultural village menials who form another 7 per cent. of the village population.

Part I.—General and Comparative.

Besides these cultivating menials, other village menials paid for the most part by receiving a share of the produce constitute another 6 per cent.; so that not less than 73 per cent. of the whole village population, and at the very least 16 per cent. of the town population, depend almost if not quite entirely for their subsistence upon the varying nature of the seasons and upon the produce of the fields. Of the remaining village population 3 per cent. are priests and professional men whose income also depends largely upon a favourable harvest, 5 per cent. belong to the mercantile and money-lending class whose livelihood is comparatively secure, 7 per cent. are artisans such as weavers and the like, whose income is always small but not directly dependent upon the seasons, though distress and high prices must always affect soonest the poorest classes, while 4 per cent. are coolies and day-labourers dependent for bare subsistence upon each day's chances, and another 4 per cent. are beggars and *faqirs*. Government and domestic service account for the remaining 3 per cent.

Of the adult male population of the towns 16 per cent. are purely agricultural and pastoral, while a considerable proportion of the menials in the smaller towns are paid according to the outturn of the harvest. Some 10½ per cent. belong to the mercantile, 2½ per cent. to the carrying, and 3 per cent. to the priestly and professional classes, all of whom are tolerably secure of their livelihood, as are most of the 4½ per cent. who work and deal in articles of food. Government and domestic service provide employment for 17½ per cent., while about 8 per cent are menials who are chiefly employed in serving the wealthier classes, and are not so wholly dependent as many others upon the fluctuations of trade and of the labour market. Ordinary artisans constitute 12½ per cent. of the whole, and are as a rule comfortably off according to their position in life, but the weaving classes who comprise 8 per cent. more are often miserably poor. The day labourers who are seldom certain of a day's food in advance constitute 10 per cent. of the whole urban population, while the *faqirs* and beggars amount to 4 per cent. more, leaving only 3½ per cent. unaccounted for.

752. Of the total female population over 15 years of age, 76 per cent. have had no occupations returned for them and must be supposed to be chiefly employed in domestic duties, though the numbers who are compelled to earn their own living either wholly or in part are probably much larger than would appear from these figures. In stating the composition of the remaining 24 per cent. of the adult female population I shall first give the percentages following each occupation calculated upon that 24 per cent. only, and shall add in brackets the corresponding percentage calculated upon the total adult female population. Of the women for whom occupations are recorded, 39½ per cent. (9·4) assist their husbands in cultivation, and 6 per cent. (1·4) in industrial occupations. Minor branches of the weaving trade employ 6½ per cent. (1·5) more, domestic service and attendance upon the wealthier classes occupy 11 per cent. (2·6) of the whole, while 3½ per cent. (0·8) follow professional pursuits. The remaining 33½ per cent. (8·0) of the female population of towns are miserably poor, and earn their bread by daily labour of the most uncertain kind, 15 per cent. (3·6) by spinning, 12½ per cent. (3·0) by general labour such as gathering cowdung, grass, or fuel, or working as common coolies, and 4½ per cent. (1·1) by begging.

The children of course share the fortunes of their parents. Those of the poorer classes are set to work as soon as they have the necessary intelligence, while the children of husbandmen tend cattle and perform similar light duties from a very early age. As they grow older the work becomes harder, till they enter into the full inheritance of that almost incessant though not always very arduous toil which is the lot of the immense majority of the population of the Panjáb.

753. Concluding remarks.—I am only too conscious how hasty and imperfect is the above sketch of the occupations of the people. But without the district figures it was impossible to enter into details; while even had they been available, the system of classification adopted has so obscured their meaning that it would hardly have been worth while to examine them very minutely. I have discussed the composition and significance of the figures under each heading of the tables with some fullness in the succeeding portion of this chapter, and I hope that with the aid of those remarks the figures will furnish such information as may be needed for general purposes of administration. But they will not serve the purpose of detailed inquiry into the constitution of particular industries, and I doubt whether any record of occupations made at a general Census in this country would suffice for such a purpose. In discussing the figures in Part II of the chapter, I have noticed many minor occupations which are interesting rather from their singular nature than because of their industrial importance. I have however given little or no information regarding the processes or appliances of the industries discussed. A great deal of most valuable matter will be found in Mr. Baden-Powell's *Panjáb Products* and *Panjáb Manufactures* and in Mr. Hoey's monograph on the *Trade and Manufactures of Northern India*. Some information regarding the grouping of occupations will be found in the chapter of this Report which deals with castes, and especially in the last part of that chapter. I have not attempted to institute any comparison between the figures of the last and those of the present Census; indeed any such comparison would be wholly impossible. In the first place the results were classified in 1868 on a somewhat different system from that now adopted, while there is not the slightest indication of how details were grouped, or whether any uniform system of grouping was followed; indeed the figures show conclusively that the want of uniformity was far greater than even that which our present figures display. But the chief reason which renders comparison impossible is that, whereas we show in our tables only the effective number engaged in the prosecution of each industry, the figures of 1868 represented the total number dependent for their living upon each industry, and included children of tender age, which our figures exclude.

Part II.—Detailed Notes on the several Groups of Occupations.

PART II.—DETAILED NOTES ON THE SEVERAL GROUPS OF OCCUPATIONS.

754. Officers of Government (I. 1. 1.)—The figures for Government servants are among the most unsatisfactory of all those for occupations. The entry very commonly specified simply the department in which the person was employed, and sometimes not even that; and it is almost certain that the figures include a considerable number of menials and artisans who would, I think, have been better shown under their several occupations. This is indeed in accordance with the Imperial classification, which directs that the court sweepers and lamplighters, for instance, should be classed under "Officers of law courts." But I doubt whether this is advisable. The canal staff especially may even include mere labourers returned as in the service of the Canal Department. It is worthy of consideration also whether doctors, teachers, and the like who are in the service of Government, should be shown under their distinct occupations or as Government servants. If the latter, distinct directions should be given that every one who is a Government servant should state the fact in specifying his occupation. Many of the Government schoolmasters for instance returned themselves simply as schoolmasters, and are not included among Government servants. On the other hand, the immense majority of clerks and munshis returned themselves simply as such, without specifying the occupation of their masters. This indeed was in accordance with instructions given by Mr. Elliott when on his tour of inspection in the Panjáb, when the adoption of the English classification had not been contemplated. Consequently it was impossible to separate Government from private clerks in the majority of cases; and as the greater number of them are in Government employ, they have been classed as Government servants except where the entry showed that they were not so. So again chaprásís were assumed to be Government servants except where the contrary was stated. It would have been interesting to know how many private clerks there are in the Province. The entries in this class were classified in the Divisional Offices, as in the case of Government officials the tabulating staff could very commonly supply of their own knowledge the information which the schedules failed to give. I have obtained from various departments details of their actual staff as it stood on 31st March 1881; and I had intended to print the results. But the figures are of little interest to district officials and of none to the general public; while the Panjáb Government can at any time obtain them corrected up to date if it requires them. The figures for civil pensioners (No. 11) are very imperfect, many of them being included under "Pensioners, private or unspecified" (No. 326). The other headings are sufficiently clear, and call for no remark.

755. Municipal and Village Staff, and Officers of Independent Governments (I. 1. 2 & 3.)—Town and bázár officials (No. 14) include the members and servants of the local organisation which exists in almost every town, such as bázár *chaudhris*, *muhalladárs*, and the like. But most of these men have other occupations also, and the figures are probably exceedingly incomplete. So with the municipal staff. Many of the municipal scavengers, for instance, must have returned themselves as scavengers simply, and are not included in this class. The village watchmen (No. 13) have been separated as carefully as was possible from private watchmen (No. 84), but the separation is probably far from complete. The officials of Native States (No. 15) consist of *vaqíls, motamids*, and their establishments. Many of them were in camp with the Lieutenant-Governor, and their schedules appear to have been wrongly sent to the district in which they were encamped. They took their own Census, while that of the Lieutenant-Governor's camp was taken separately and the schedules rightly sent to Lahore. The officers of independent Governments include the Governor of Jalálábád, and some *jirgahs* of frontier tribes who were at Peshawar when the Census was taken.

756. The Army (I. 2. 1.)—The remarks already made regarding Government servants apply with almost equal force to the army. In many cases the entry simply was "Military Service," and the figures probably include many artisans and even palanquin bearers and the like in attendance on the troops, and many of the large numbers of camp-followers and transport agency who were collected on the route to Kábul at the time of the Census. It would have been sufficiently easy to separate the soldiers actually present with their regiments, but at the date of the Census a very considerable proportion of the troops were on leave granted after the termination of the campaign. The large number of soldiers thus returned for the villages of the Jálandhar, Amritsar, Ráwalpindi and Pesháwar divisions show where the recruiting grounds of the Province lie. It is probable, too, that many of the military pensioners (No. 19) returned themselves by their military rank or as soldiers simply, and not as pensioners, while many more were doubtless shown as "pensioners" simply, and are included under No. 326. In the Pesháwar district 282 persons were returned as "Military servants such as doolie bearers" and the numbers shown in the margin were returned as "Commissariat Staff." These are all included under No. 18. They were probably persons employed in the transport camps. The total number of actual troops returned for the Panjáb in the Quarter Master General's return for February 1881 was 43,361, and for March 41,368. The figures for military service of all sorts were unfortunately lumped together in the divisional offices owing to a misunderstanding of my instructions. I directed that military servants should be separated from private servants, for instance military Mochis from other Mochis, and so forth; and the officers understood me to mean that military servants might be put all together under one heading.

COMMISSARIAT STAFF INCLUDED IN No. 18.	
Ráwalpindi	598
Jahlam	138
Gujrát	1,154
Pesháwar	2,015

757. Priests and holy men (I. 3. 1.)—I have attempted in this group to separate Hindu and Musalmán priests into three separate groups, the first being those who actually officiate in temples or mosques, such as Pujáris, Granthis, Imáms, Mullás of mosques, and the like; the second consisting of those who are supported by their clients and disciples, including such entries as Parohit, Gurupíri, Birt, Píri Muridi, and so forth; and the third being composed of all who subsist upon the alms of the charitable or religious public in general, and including such entries as Dákaut, Gújráti, Achárj, Dán lena, Inám Khor, Shukránah Khor, Wazífah Khor, Mujáwir, and the like. The separation of these groups is certainly very imperfect, and especially the line between the two last is most indefinite. The large number of women shown as Hindu family priests is very striking. The hereditary right to the offerings of clients is inherited by Bráhman women just like other property, and the figures probably represent actual facts. Even the entries for female officiating priests are in one sense not impossible, as the hereditary right to officiate in a temple might devolve upon a woman who could perform the duties by substitute and live upon the proceeds. But the probability is that these women have simply returned the occupation of their husbands. The much larger number of Hindu and Sikh than of Mahomedan priests is very marked. Almost all Bráhmans are *parohits*, though they generally cultivate also; while the corresponding classes among Musalmáns, such as Saiyads and the like, do not necessarily receive alms. The distribution of the figures naturally follows the prevailing religions of the several parts of the Province. The Musalmán religious students (No. 27) are those returned as "*Tálib ilm*." They are returned chiefly for the Ráwalpindi division; but are still more numerous throughout the frontier, where they must have been shown under some other heading. They are as a rule a pestilential set of scoundrels who, on the pretence of a desire for religious instruction, hang about mosques and shrines and lead an idle and profligate life. Of the attendants in places of worship all but 10 are attendants in mosques. Occupation No. 29, "Others," includes 13 students of the Sanskrit scriptures, 93 grave-diggers, 1 grave-watcher, 19 *kafankash* or faqírs attached to cemeteries who claim the shrouds as their perquisites, 110 circumcisers, and 92 exorcisors, diviners, and soothsayers. The large class of members of religious orders, so far as they have entered their occupation as "begging" or "*faqír*," are included under No. 324.

758. Lawyers and others (I. 3. 2.)—Under pleaders I have included licensed revenue agents; but this term (*mukhtyár*) may include some persons holding private powers of attorney. The Mahomedan law doctors (No. 31) are those who returned their occupation as Qázi. The large number of the Qázi caste in the Amritsar division and especially in Siálkot, has already been alluded to in section 517 and it is very improbable that the men here returned all really practise as Qázis, though they may bear the hereditary title. On the other hand, the Qázi generally has other sources of income, and the figures certainly do not include nearly all who do practise as Qázis in the Panjáb. So the figures for petition and appeal writers and for licensed stamp vendors will be most incomplete, the former being probably often returned as Munshi or *Ahl-i-qalam*, while the occupation of selling stamps is

Part II.—Detailed Notes of the several Groups of Occupations.

generally merely subsidiary to the other occupations of the vendor. The trackers are those who returned themselves as 'private trackers.' The skill of the trackers of the *bár* tract is notorious.

759. Medical class (I. 3. 3).—All Government servants, so far as the entries enabled me to separate them, are excluded from this class and entered under No. 7. Occupation No. 44 includes 4,531 doctors (*baids*) and 11 oculists, the remainder being surgeons (*jarráhs*). It is certain that many of the Náis included under No. 187 practise as surgeons also. Under occupation No. 45 are included 590 leech-appliers, the remainder being cuppers and bleeders. The persons entered under No. 37 as accoucheurs among males and as midwives among females are those who returned themselves as *dáya* or *dáyin*. The latter, includes wetnurse as well as m dwife; the former are probably only the husbands of midwives, as I do not think that male accoucheurs are ever employed by natives. The dispensing druggists are the *attárs* to whom the drugs bought from the *pansári* are taken to be made up. He also makes *args* and sherbets, and many of them might perhaps more properly have been included under workers and dealers in drinks and stimulants. He does not apparently distil *itr* though his name is derived from that word, the *gándi* being the distiller of essential oils as distinct from spirituous extracts.

760. Literary men (I. 3. 4).—This is a very mixed class indeed. The Native States seem to be richer in poets than we are; but we must have more than one editor. Students proper were not returned, learning at school not being an occupation; but the persons I show under this head returned 'holding scholarships' as their 'means of livelihood.' As already stated, munshis were included under Government servants when there was nothing to show that they were not such. The clerks and copyists of No. 42 include 168 writers of the Qurán and of Sanskrit *potis* or religious text-books, and 116 letter-writers. The remainder are returned as copyists, men of the pen, private clerks, fine writers, and so forth.

761. Artists (I. 3. 5).—These figures include 55 *naqqásh*, the remainder being either *tasáwirs*, or picture-drawers or makers. The *naqqásh* is I believe rather a designer than an artist proper. He draws plans, prepares designs for the cotton printers, and so forth.

762. Musicians and Bards (I. 3. 6).—The musicians, dancers, and singers shown under No. 44 include all the class of dancing girls, and all minstrels whether wandering or settled, who have not entered themselves as *faqír* or Mírási. Playing, singing, and dancing so ordinarily go together in the Panjáb that it is impossible to separate them; but most of the men may be taken to be players on musical instruments, and most of the women to be dancers and singers. The actual returns as made to my office are shown in the margin. But in all probability a great number of these women are entered as prostitutes under No. 332, for most of them are harlots as well as dancers. I yielded to the representations of my staff, and classed Bharáis or Phiráis under musicians because they play drums. *Biáh Náiyán; chinj Bharáiyán.* "The Barber takes the wedding-fees, and the Bharái the collections at "wrestling-matches" (where the latter beats the drum). But with my present knowledge I should rather have classed them as *faqírs*. The bards (No. 45) include the Jágas, Bháts, Dúms, and Mírásis. All these keep genealogical trees and chaunt the praises of ancestors (*c.f.* Chapter VI, pages 288-9). But many of the Dúms and Mírásis are little more than strolling minstrels. The figures for males include 936 Jágas and 187 Bháts, the rest being Dúms and Mírásis, as are all the females except 61 Bháts. The hereditary right to fees from clients descends among these people, as among Bráhmans, to the women; but the female Mírásis are very probably women who accompany the strolling minstrels of that class, and are hardly to be distinguished from the dancers and singers discussed above.

Musicians, &c. No. 44.		
Entry.	Males.	Females.
Players	3,500	73
Singers	147	495
Dancers	103	101
Singers and players	8,185	2,042
Dancers and singers	197	292
Singers, dancers, and players	294	330

763. Actors, conjurors, &c., (I. 3. 7).—This is the class of actors, performers, and showmen; and many of them are hardly to be distinguished from the class which precedes them, as most of them play some musical instruments, many of them dance, while the vagrant acrobats very generally prostitute their women. It appears however that most of the women have been returned either by their caste name, as Nat, Bádi, and so forth, in which case they have been classed as gipsies under No. 328, or as dancers, who are included in the preceding class. Actors and jokers (No 46) include 28 actors proper (*bahrúpia*) and 274 jokers and story-tellers (*naqqál, bhánd*). Conjurors and showers (No. 47) include 21 puppet showmen, 85 conjurors proper, 29 of those men who act in the sort of miracle plays performed at Hindu festivals, 41 bear and monkey men, and 13 snake charmers; the rest are returned as showmen or performers without further specification. Tumblers and wrestlers (No. 48) include 421 wrestlers, the rest being shown as *bázígar*, which is said in some cases to include conjuring as well as tumbling.

764. Teachers and Pandits (I. 3. 9).—Teachers and schoolmasters in Government employ have been classed, wherever they could be separated, as Government servants. The schoolmaster of the indigenous village school has almost always some other occupation or means of support, and it is certain that the figures do not represent even a fraction of the non-official teachers of the Province. The master of the Qurán schools so common on the frontier would probably return himself as Imám, Mullá, Ulamá, or whatever his sacred office might be, and so be classed among priests rather than with teachers. The same may be said of Pandits (No. 50), who are very often teachers also. Our two mineralogists were returned from the Hill States as obtaining their living by the precarious occupation of "searching for mines." I do not know whether any of our geologists were in the Hill States at the time.

765. Boarding house-keepers (II. 5. 1).—Except as regards the very small number of hotel-keepers proper, there probably has been the greatest confusion between eating-house-keepers (*bhatyára, tabákhia*), cooks (No. 55), and keepers of cook-shops (*kibábi*, &c., No. 201). In fact if the English system of classification had not compelled me to separate them, I should have taken them all three together, for it is impossible to draw any line of demarcation between any two of them. The attendants in village rest-houses are those men who wait upon the guests of the village. They generally have other occupations also, and have been returned in very small number from British districts. It is possible that in Native States the terms used may include village messengers also.

766. Servants and Menials (II. 5. 2).—This is perhaps that one of all the classes to which the English classification is least suited. I have tried to divide it into three sections, the former including servants proper, the second village menials, and the third nurses. But as I have already explained in sections 713, 714, the village menials follow a multiplicity of different pursuits from among which some have selected one and some another to enter as their occupation; while where, as was not unfrequently the case, they returned only their caste name, they were included sometimes under one heading and sometimes under another. Cooks (No. 55) have in some divisions been included under domestic servants (No. 56), while where the custom of village bakeries prevails, as it does throughout the Western Plains and central districts, there has been no means of separating those who cooked food as private servants and those who baked for all who chose to send their bread. Most of the women and many of the men returned as cooks for the villages in those parts of the Province are probably keepers of village bakehouses; while though women were instructed not to return purely domestic occupations, it is not impossible that some who simply cook food for their families may have returned their occupation as "*roti pakána.*" Domestic servants (No. 56) are probably fairly correctly returned, though here again "*roti pakána*" has perhaps not unfrequently been entered under this head; while on the other hand the man who returns himself as *khidmatgár* is often nothing more than a cook. Under "Servants, unspecified" (No. 57), the entries are probably very miscellaneous, for "service" (*naukari*) may mean almost anything. In the case of water-carriers (No. 58) there has probably been confusion in some degree with cooks (No. 55), fishermen (No. 105), and perhaps boatmen (No. 81). So there has almost certainly been confusion between scavengers (No. 59) and workers in bamboo, grass, and straw, &c. (Nos. 251 to 258), for the scavenger classes almost invariably work in these materials, and the Dúmna or Chúhra is almost as likely in many parts of the Province to have returned one occupation as the other; while where Dhánaks have been returned as such, it is in many districts almost impossible to say whether they should be classed as weavers or as scavengers. The enormous number of women who are returned as scavengers may perhaps mean, as regards some portion of them, nothing more than that they are the wives of scavengers; but in the cities and wherever the villagers seclude their women strictly, women are largely employed as scavengers to private houses. The same is the case with water-carriers, though it is not impossible that many women of the more

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respectable classes who are wholly occupied by domestic duties may have returned their occupation as *páni bharna*. Again the women of the scavenger families are very generally employed in making up cowdung into cakes and stacking them to be used as fuel. The village messengers (No. 60) are generally either scavengers or leather-workers, who are employed to run messages for the village and remain in attendance at the headman's house or at the guest-house. Wetnurses (No. 61) have probably been for the most part included under midwives (No. 37). "Others" (No. 62) includes 36 ear-pickers, 15 ear-piercers, 106 male and 67 female corpse-washers, and 21 persons who either play with or feed (*khilána*) children.

767. Mercantile men (III. 6. 1).—I have already explained in section 716 why these figures wholly fail to represent the total number of the mercantile classes in the Panjáb. The number of village banyas alone included under No. 205 is nearly four times as great as the whole of the mercantile class here shown. It was found to be impossible to distinguish wholesale dealers or merchants from petty traders, the word *bechna* or *beopár* being used indifferently for both; and all people trading or dealing in any product have been, under the orders of the Census Commissioner, classed under "workers and dealers" in that product, the dealers however being separated wherever they were at all numerous. If no commodity was specified they were classed as shop-keepers (No. 69). Under bankers (No. 63) I have classed only those who returned their occupation as that of granting bills or *hundis*; under money-lenders (No. 64) I have classed *sáhúkárs* and those who live on interest; while money-changers (No. 65) are *sarráfs*. But the three classes cannot really be distinguished, while to the money-lenders must be added a large proportion of the village banyas (No. 205) and of the silversmiths of the villages (No. 285). *Sáhúkár* should properly mean a large merchant or banker, but it is ordinarily applied in the villages to all the money-lending traders. It is not improbable that the existence of the license tax induced many village traders whose income is chiefly derived from money-lending to enter themselves simply as shop-keepers or grocers. The number of women shown as money-lenders is considerable, and I believe that the figures represent facts. Under brokers (No. 66) I have included all who returned their occupation as that of *dallál*, including many different sorts of commodities, cattle, camels, wool, *pashm*, silk, cotton, boots, hats, rope, flour, sugar, fruits, vegetables, spices, drugs, indigo, wood, hay, gold and silver, jewels, and a hundred others. The brokers are almost confined to the towns. Agents and factors (No. 67) include 2 house-agents, and 16 "agents," the rest being returned as *gumáshtas*. The commission salesmen (No. 68) are those returned as *áratis* of various commodities, such as cloth, turbans, *pán*, petty hardware, and the like: they also are found almost wholly in the towns.

768. Shop-keepers (III. 6. 2).—Here again it is impossible to separate shop-keepers (No. 64) from the innumerable dealers in specified commodities who have been classed as workers and dealers in those commodities. The figures simply include all such as returned their occupation as trade, commerce, shop-keeping, or by some equally vague term, and probably comprise many of the merchants proper. Under pedlars (No. 70) I have classed *bisátis*, sellers of *maniári*, packmen and the like; and *banjáras*, excepting in the Dehli, Hissár, and Ambála Divisions and in all Native States except Baháwalpur. In the excepted tracts I have classed *banjáras* as carriers. These pedlars sell small hardware and toys, needles, antimony, little boxes, combs, beads, and the like. Of them 1,799 were returned as *banjára*, 4,789 as *bisáti*, 612 as seller of *maniári*, and 4,045 as *maniári-bisáti*.

769. Carriers by rail (III. 7. 1).—Here again, as in the case of soldiers, the figures have been returned under a single heading owing to a misunderstanding of my orders to keep Government railway staff distinct from other Government servants. The figures probably include artisans and similar servants in railway employment.

770. Carriers on roads (III. 7. 2).—The figures here are a good deal confused. In the first place palanquin-bearers were very commonly returned as *kahárs*, and accordingly classed as water-carriers under No. 58. Again very many of the carriers did not specify the animals which they used, merely returning *ládna* or *bárbardári*; while even where details were given they were not always kept distinct by the divisional offices. Such details, however, as were returned to me I have given in the tables. Rahbáris I have classed as camel-carriers, though they are probably quite as much camel-graziers; and Banjáras I have taken as bullock-carriers in the three eastern divisions, and in all Native States except Baháwalpur. The figures in all cases include drivers of the animals or vehicles specified, *únt chaláná* being taken with *únton ki bárbardári*, and so forth. The cabmen (No. 77) include the drivers of *yekkas* or buggies, coachmen, and the like; the draymen (No. 78) are those who have returned themselves as *gáríwáns*. As *gári* is also used for a cab, some of them may be cabmen; but since most of them are found in the villages while most of the cabmen are found in towns, it may be assumed that the figures represent the distinction conveyed by the two headings with tolerable accuracy. It is curious to mark how pack animals almost supersede wheels in the west of the Panjáb. "Others" (No. 79) include 57 turnpike-keepers and contractors, 307 hand-cartmen, and 389 elephant-drivers, the last mostly in Native States.

771. Carriers on rivers (III. 7. 3).—It is possible that some confusion has occurred between cooks (No. 53), fishermen (No. 105), water-carriers (No. 58), and boatmen (No. 81) owing to these occupations being commonly followed by the same caste. I have included 102 boat owners under boatmen. This class is naturally most numerous in the Multán and Deraját divisions. There is hardly any navigation on the Jamna, but little on the upper courses of our rivers, and none at all in the hills. The Kángra boatmen must be men described as Malláh or by some equivalent term, who carry passengers across the stream on rafts or inflated hides.

772. Packers, weighers, and measurers (III. 7. 5).—This group is an exceedingly composite one. Under No. 82 are included 83 packers or keepers of those shops where goods are sent to be securely packed for transit by rail or cart, 125 *muhassils* or men entrusted with the care of the crop from when it begins to ripen till it is finally divided between the landlord and tenant, and 21 cloth-measurers. It also includes 1,100 persons who simply return their occupation as that of weighing, and are perhaps the weighmen of the bazaars, but more probably the same as the *dharwáis* who constitute the remainder of the group. These last are the village weighers who divide the produce between the sharers and keep the accounts of the village community. But they are, I believe, almost invariably ordinary village shop-keepers, and probably cannot be distinguished from those who are classed under No. 205.

773. Porters and Messengers (III. 7. 6).—The porters (No. 83) are the *pándis* and *palledárs* or regular porters of the bazaar, as distinguished from the coolie (No. 318) or occasional coolie, though the two are not capable of exact separation. These men are returned chiefly from Dehli and Ráwalpindi, and almost wholly from the towns. The messengers and watchmen (No. 84) include 411 messengers, 37 private chaprásis, and all chaprásis of Native States, all other chaprásis being classed as Government servants. The remainder of the group consists of the private watchmen of towns and shops and private houses, as opposed to the village watchmen who have been given under No. 13. But it is probable that the figures have not been separated with complete success, while it is certain that some at least of the chaprásis who have been classed as Government servants are really in private service.

774. Agricultural and pastoral group (IV. 8. 1).—The great class of land-owners, tenants, and agricultural labourers comprises by far the larger portion of the total population of the Province. I have attempted to divide it into four groups; first, land-owners proper; secondly, tenants who hold land and cultivate it on their own responsibility; thirdly, joint cultivators who are really labourers who join in the cultivation and receive in return for their aid a fixed share of the produce under the system already described in section 108; and fourthly, field labourers who receive fixed payment by the day, month, or year, but whose remuneration is in any case independent of the amount yielded by the harvest. I experienced some little difficulty owing to the unfamiliar terms used in some of the districts to describe peculiar tenures. But with the aid of Settlement Reports and of the patwári staff engaged in compilation, I think that this difficulty was overcome without much error. But in one respect it is probable that the entries themselves were untrustworthy. Considerable doubt was felt as to how the son of a land-owner should be described; the point had not occurred to me, and was not provided for in the instructions. I think that the status of each person should be followed; that all the members of a land-owner's family who work with him in the fields should be entered as land-owners. But as a fact I believe they were not unseldom entered as tenants or simply as cultivators. No distinction was made between land-owners who cultivate themselves, and those who do not, as Mr. Elliott thought that to attempt to do so would lead to confusion. The distinction is not so important in the Panjáb as in some other parts of India, since the proportion of Panjáb land-owners who do not cultivate is small. But the figures would have been interesting, and might I think have easily been obtained by entering the cultivating land-owners as *hissadár* or *khewatdár khudkásht*. Again no distinction was made between occupancy tenants and tenants at will, and this I think was certainly right. To have attempted to separate them would have caused endless squabbling and ill-blood, while the entries could not have been relied on. Under agricultural labourers (No. 88), I have included the following entries: 103,591 *kámas* and *hális* or ploughmen, 2,496 *rákhas* or field-watchmen, 261 *mirábs* or water-distributors, 614 reapers, 381 sowers,

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4,655 agricultural labourers (*mazdúr zaráyat*), 135 cane-crushers, 1,080 sugar-makers (*gur.*) These are males. Among the females are 5,138 *kámas* or field-workers, 406 reapers, 3,945 agricultural labourers, and 794 weeders.

As for the pastoral group, I have distinguished cattle and camel owners from cattle and camel herds wherever the figures enabled me to do so. But the separation is certainly very imperfect. Indeed the whole returns are exceedingly incomplete. In the first place the word for to graze (*charána*) is very liable to be mistaken for the word to drive (*chalána*). But independently of this, the camel-owners and camelherds are very generally carriers also, and have been returned and classed as such under Nos. 73 and 76, while the cattle-owners and cattleherds are almost always cultivators as well, and have probably been returned as cultivators only. Every husbandman, almost every villager owns cattle, and some of the young men and boys take it by turns to drive them to the jungles. So in the towns the milksellers classed under No. 198 almost all own and tend cattle, while the butchers (No. 200) own sheep and goats. Again the dealers in camels, cattle, and sheep and goats (Nos. 100, 101, 102) are very doubtfully distinguishable from the owners of those animals, while no definite line can be drawn between shepherds and workers in sheep's wool (Nos. 147 to 150). The general distribution and composition of the agricultural and pastoral class have already been discussed in sections 725 to 731. The land agents and stewards (No. 94) comprise such as returned themselves as land-owners' agents or clerks.

775. Horticulturists (IV. 8. 3).—This is a very imperfect group. The fruit and market-gardeners are generally either land-owners or tenants, and most of them have probably been classed as such. So too, many of the greengrocers (No. 212) themselves grow the vegetables which they sell. The figures also probably include all gardeners in private service. So again flower-growers and flower-dealers are in many cases undistinguishable, while the former will often have been returned as land-owners, tenants, or gardeners.

776. Persons engaged about animals (IV. 9. 1).—The figures of this order again are probably very incomplete. Horse-breeding and dealing in this country is chiefly in the hands of the land-owners. There has not improbably been confusion in some cases between grooms (No. 99) and domestic servants (No. 56) on the one hand, and grass-cutters (No. 252) on the other. Indeed it is clear that in some divisions grooms have been classed as domestic servants. I have just pointed out that dealers in camels, cattle, sheep, and goats (Nos. 100 to 102) often cannot be distinguished from the breeders of those animals. Under farriers and cattle-doctors (No. 103) I have included 13 veterinary surgeons and 11 cowleeches, the rest being *nálbands* or farriers. Hunters (No. 104) include all who have returned the chase as their means of livelihood, but many of the vagrant classes depend on it for a considerable portion of their food. The numbers shown for fishermen (No. 106) are of course absurdly below the truth; but to them must be added the fish-mongers (No. 203), while many of those returned as boatmen (No. 81), water-carriers (No. 58), and perhaps cooks also (No. 55) are certainly fishermen as well. Bird catchers and trainers (No. 106) include 127 hawkers, almost all in Native States, 18 pigeon-flyers and dealers, and 16 men who keep quails and *chikor* for fighting purposes. "Others" (No. 107) comprises 23 mule and donkey dealers, 69 donkey herds, 21 pig herds, and 5 leech sellers.

777. Mechanics (V. 10. 1 to 13).—The small figures shown for almost all the sub-orders of order 10 exemplify the remarks I have already made regarding the difference between the organisation of industries in England and in India. Order 10 contains the mechanics or artificers who confine their attention to the production of certain definite articles, such as harness, carts, furniture, and the like, as distinguished from the general workers in certain materials, such as iron or wood. The columns of the former order are nearly empty, almost all our artisans being returned under the latter class. They do indeed make harness, carts, furniture, and the like; but very few of them make them only; the harness-maker works generally in leather, the carts and the furniture are made by an ordinary carpenter, and so forth. I shall make a few brief notes on the first thirteen sub-orders of this order, not because the figures themselves possess the least importance, but because some of the crafts represented are curious. The number of printers (No. 110) is evidently understated. Perhaps there has been confusion between *chhápagars* or calico and paper stampers, and lithographic printers. But there is probably an error in tabulation, though it is curious that the same error should be so general. It may be that the lithographic writers have returned themselves as *naqlnavís* or *khushnavís* and been included in No. 42, and the pressmen as *mazdúr* simply, for many of those classed as printers are returned as *mazdúr chhápakhánah*. The picture-dealers (No. 112) can probably not be distinguished from picture-drawers (No. 43). Under No. 113 are included 57 artificial flower-makers, 11 coral bead-makers, and 17 rosary-makers. The bow and arrow makers are the Kamángar and Tírgar already described in the Chapter on Castes, whose occupation now-a-days is rather to lacquer and decorate wood than to make bows or arrows. Toy-makers (No. 114) includes 112 kite-makers and 2 ball-makers. "Others" (No. 115) are 19 cage-makers, 11 makers of birdlime, together with 131 makers of earthen, 14 of paper, 23 of wooden, and 12 of tin (? pewter) toys, and 23 of dolls or puppets. The women all make earthen toys except 46 who make dolls. Block-cutters (No. 118) are the men who cut the wooden dies used in printing paper and calico. I can hardly think there are as many watch-makers and sellers (No. 119) as are shown in the tables; yet the entry is perfectly clear and unmistakable. Scales-makers (No. 120) are those who make pairs of scales used for weighing. Makers of arms (No. 121) included 10 makers of guns and gun-locks, 18 of swords, and 2 of scabbards. The armourers (No. 122) are *sigligars* or burnishers. The gunpowder-makers and dealers (No. 123) are probably not to be distinguished from the workers in fireworks (No. 144). Cutlers (No. 124) include 63 makers and 9 grinders of penknives, and 21 makers of the clippers used for cutting the betelnut. "Others" (No. 125) include 2 men and 20 women who make spools for spinning wheels, 1 oil and sugar-press-maker, 1 tweezer-maker, and 12 needle-makers. The saddlers (No. 127) are very doubtfully distinguishable from other workers in leather (Nos. 192 and 230-232). Of other harness-makers (No. 128), 21 stuff and 18 make pack saddles, 18 make whips, and 119 clothing for animals, while 98 make nose bags. The boat-bridge-builders (No. 130) are carpenters employed on bridges of boats.

778. Workers and dealers in houses (V. 10. 14).—This is a terribly heterogeneous group, owners of house property who live by their rents being classed side by side with and under the same heading as bricklayers and masons. The latter heading (No. 132) includes 2,000 "wall-builders," returned from the Multán and Deraját divisions, 6 "builders of houses" and 1 marble mason. The rest are returned under the heading *mimár* or *ráj*. It is, as already explained in the chapter on Castes, difficult in the plains and impossible in the hills to separate these men from carpenters (No. 242). Whether the wall-builders of the south-west are really bricklayers, or only makers of mud walls, I cannot say. Such bricklayers as may have returned themselves as *mistris* are included in blacksmiths (No. 317).

779. Workers and dealers in furniture (V. 10. 15).—Many of these men have probably returned themselves simply as carpenters (No. 242). The cabinet-makers (No. 133) include 11 "makers of English things in wood" and 1 maker of chairs and tables. The bedstead-makers (No. 134) include 142 stringers and 198 sellers of bedsteads; No. 135 includes 88 cane-chair-makers and 61 men who put canes into chairs; while among the furniture dealers are 398 *kabáris* or dealers in second-hand furniture.

780. Workers and dealers in dyes, chemicals, &c. (V. 10. 16).—Ink-dealers (No. 139) include dealers in ink and pens. Among the workers and dealers in other dyes are 14 indigo sorters, 11 indigo churners, 34 workers and dealers in turmeric, 3 in magenta, and 127 in *mendhi*. It is probable that the makers of saltpetre (No. 141) and of salt (No. 279) have been confused; indeed the two occupations generally go together. Under No. 142 we have 331 makers of crude soda (*sajji*), 69 of alum, 38 of salamoniac, and 23 of borax. The number of sajji-makers must be far below the truth, but I do not know by what name they ordinarily describe their occupation. Perhaps they are included with saltpetre-makers (*q. v. supra*). Under No. 144 are included 15 makers and sellers of matches. The rest are *átishbáz*, which cannot be distinguished from *dárúgar* (No. 123) in actual practice, though the classification prescribes different places for the two; and I have added the word "gunpowder" to mark the fact.

781. Workers and dealers in wools (V. 11. 1).—It is quite a relief to turn from the above artificial classification of unimportant figures to a really natural and important group of industries. The workers and dealers in wools naturally fall under three heads, those who deal respectively with sheep's wool, *pashm* or the underwool of the Tibetan goat, and ordinary goat's wool. Workers in sheep's wool are, so far as our figures go, most numerous in the Jálandhar division, where numerous flocks pasture on the hills; while workers in *pashm* are most numerous in Amritsar and Ludhiánah, the two great centres of the Panjáb shawl trade, and in the Ráwalpindi division. Goat's wool is chiefly used for pack-saddles and coarse sacking, and the industry does not appear to be important, and is chiefly confined to the villages where it is probably in the hands of the shepherds. This is true also of the manufacture of sheep's wool; and at any rate so far as the villages are concerned, the figures we are now discussing and those for shepherds already discussed under No. 93 should probably be taken together. It is noticeable that the spinning both of sheep's wool and of *pashm*

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is chiefly done by women, for whom it is one of the few real industries which they follow in the Panjab. In the hills, however, most of the wool is said to be spun by men, who will probably have returned themselves as shepherds. The wool-weavers (No. 148) include 57 carpet-weavers. The great mass of the males of this sub-order are shown as engaged in weaving. But it is probable that the spinning and scouring are often done in the weaver's house by himself or his women and children.

782. Workers and dealers in silk (V. II. 2).—The silk industry is chiefly prosecuted at Amritsar and Multán, but I should have thought that the figures for the Peshâwar division were under the mark. Perhaps silk is at Peshâwar an article of commerce more than of manufacture, and the merchants who trade in it trade in other Central Asian produce as well, and so do not appear here. Of the silk merchants (No. 163) no fewer than 604 returned themselves as trading in raw silk only. The silk cord-makers (No. 167) are the *patwas* who make waist cords of silk, thread beads and jewels on to silk, and so forth, and the figures of No. 185 probably refer to the same industry.

783. Workers and dealers in cotton (V. II. 3).—The cotton industry is naturally one of the largest in the Province, and is conducted chiefly in the villages. The figures are very probably in some degree incomplete, inasmuch as where certain classes of scavengers or leather-workers have returned only their caste as their occupation, they have been classed under those two heads, whereas many of them occupy themselves with weaving also. Thus it is said that in Hushiárpur the majority of the Mochis are weavers and not leather-workers. But if they returned their occupation as Mochi, they will have been classed as leather-workers. The cotton industry employs three women for every four men, the former being chiefly occupied in spinning, and also assisting in the weaving, for which they prepare the shuttles and the web. Cotton ginning (No. 169), or the work of separating the fibre from the seeds, is scarcely a distinct occupation, and the village Banya, when seated in his shop, generally occupies himself with this work; cotton scutching (No. 170) or arranging the fibres and separating them from dirt by the vibration of a bowstring struck with a heavy plectrum, is a distinct craft; but it is very doubtful how far its followers can be separated from the oilmen (No. 235) and butchers (No. 200), all three industries being very commonly followed by the same men. A considerable number of female cotton-scutchers are returned. They use a smaller bow than that which men work with; but many of them are occupied, not in actually scutching the cotton, but in rolling it when scutched into soft spindleshaped rolls, ready to be spun into thread. I have attempted to separate weavers of coarse from weavers of fine fabrics (Nos. 172 and 173), including under the latter all who are shown as doing the finer sorts of work such as turbans, waist bands, and the like. But the separation is most imperfect, as the weavers of fine fabrics have certainly returned themselves in many cases simply as "weavers." All that can be said is that the figures of No. 173 include no weavers of coarse fabrics. The weaving of fine fabrics is naturally more generally followed in the towns as compared with the villages than is that of coarse weaving. Under the coarse weavers I have included 35,625 women and 177 men whose occupation is returned as preparing the web for weaving, and 53,290 women who are shown as filling the shuttles and spools with thread ready for the use of the weaver; and I suspect that most of the women who are returned simply as "weavers" are occupied chiefly in these two operations. I have already pointed out in the chapter on Castes how difficult it is to separate the cotton dyers and printers (Nos. 176 and 177) from the washermen (No. 191), and it will be noticed that these industries are scarcely represented at all in the Derajât. The reason is that I have classed the Charhoa, who combines all three occupations throughout the west of the Panjáb, under washerman. The relative position of these crafts is discussed in sections 641 to 645 of the chapter on Castes. The weavers of cotton webbing (No. 175) make the *niwár* so largely used in India. The cotton string (No. 178) is chiefly used for flying kites. Under No. 179 are included 20 tent and 2 lace-makers. The figures for dealers in raw cotton (No. 180) are very imperfect, as almost every village Banya deals in it; so too, those for dealers in cotton fabrics (No. 182) cannot be properly distinguished from the drapers entered under No. 183. I have assumed that *kapra* means cotton cloth only, which is I believe the fact.

784. Workers and dealers in mixed materials (V. II. 4).—I have classed as drapers under No. 183 all who returned themselves as *bazzáz*, while those who showed their occupation as dealing in cotton fabrics I put under No. 182: but the two sets of figures cannot really be distinguished. Embroidery (No. 184) employs nearly as many women as men, and it is curious that it appears to be more in the hands of women in the Native States than in British Territory. The great centre of the industry is Amritsar. The figures include 697 males and 211 females who returned themselves as makers of *chikan*, or white embroidery on cotton fabrics; 9 men and 253 women who embroider with gold lace; 791 men and 46 women who embroider with gold thread; 157 men and 1,783 women (of which latter 1,208 are in Native States) who embroider boots; and 3,409 men and 177 women, mostly in Amritsar, who embroider *pashmína* with silk. A very great deal of the *phúlkári* embroidery now so fashionable is done by village women for personal wear or as a welcome addition to the family income, rather than as a principal occupation. No. 185 includes those who return their occupation as waistcord weavers, but they are doubtfully separable from *patwas* (No. 167), as woven waist cords are generally of silk. "Others" (No. 186) include one ribbon weaver, one girth maker, two curtain makers, and two female fringe makers.

785. Workers and dealers in dress (V. II. 5).—This is a terribly artificial and unnatural group. In it are classed side by side the semi-priestly Náí, the Chamár boot-maker, the darzi, and the cap-maker. The functions of the Náí have been already described in the chapter on Castes. Of course the figures for barbers (No. 187) include many who really do nothing but cut hair, especially the Musalmán barber of the towns. This occupation is also largely followed by women, men not being allowed to act as barbers to females. Hat-makers (No. 188) would have been better described as cap-makers, being those who make and sell the small cloth skull-caps worn by many Mahomedans of the towns. The sellers are 206, and the makers 350 in number, but I believe they are generally made in the shop where they are sold. The tailors (No. 189) are the *darzi* class, and include 995 males and 4 females who have returned themselves as darners and patchers. It is probable that many of the cotton printers (No. 177) and washermen (No. 191) also occupy themselves on tailor's work. A large number of women follow this calling. The washermen and ironers (No. 191) cannot be wholly separated from the calico printers and dyers (Nos. 176 and 177); indeed the figures include 6,571 males and 111 females who have returned their calling as that of Charhoa, and who probably follow all three occupations. Thirty-one men and seven women have described their occupation as "smoothing clothes by beating them," and this I have translated "ironers." Washing also gives employment to a considerable number of women. The boot-maker (No. 192) cannot be separated from workers in leather (Nos. 230 to 232), for Chamárs have often returned themselves or been classed as boot-makers, this being their principal occupation in the villages, and the two sets of figures must be taken together. The other callings which they combine with this are described in the chapter on Castes. The figures include small numbers of persons who put pegs in boots, make coloured-boots, make boot-tips, and bind the edges of boots. A large number of women are returned as boot-makers. It is I think probable that most of these should be classed as tanners, as the women do doubtless assist in the work of tanning, while I believe they seldom actually work in leather. But I have no precise information on the subject. The boot-sellers (No. 193) are really distinct from the boot-makers; they are almost confined to the towns, and are always I believe either Musalmáns or low-caste Hindus. Other workers in dress (No. 194) include some curious occupations, such as turban-tyers, 17 men and 1 woman, probably the people who arrange the plaited turbans worn by the better classes of domestic servants; 53 men and 7 women who make great coats of skin or fur; 23 makers of boddices, 13 of the native equivalent for stays, and 84 petticoat-makers, all women; 55 makers of leather gaiters; 162 men and 2 women who deal in old clothes and boots; 12 male and 5 female umbrella-makers; 17 men who make walking-sticks and clubs; 57 men and 17 women who make buttons, some of *sísah* (? glass or lead), some soft buttons; 53 men and 13 women who make or sell spangles; 45 men and 160 women who work and deal in the ornaments worn by bridegrooms at weddings; 8 men who pleat gold ribbons; 4 women who make a sort of necklace of false stones threaded on horsehair which is commonly worn by Chamárs, and 12 who make gloves.

786. Workers and dealers in raw fabrics. (V. II. 6).—This group again is probably incomplete. Rope and string so far as they are of grass are, where not made by the villagers themselves, often made by the vagrant or outcast classes who have almost a monopoly of working in grass; and these would be commonly classed under gipsies (No. 328) or grass-workers (No. 257). Rope-making, in which I include string-making, gives occupation to a considerable number of women. Under rope-makers (No. 196) I have included 834 men and 197 women who make the rope rings which are used to swing water-pots in or to steady them when carried on the head, and 80 women who are occupied in dressing *múnj* fibre. No. 197 includes 5 makers of nets for carrying straw or fodder, the remainder being weavers of the coarse hemp sacking used for bags or matting.

787. Workers and dealers in animal food (V. 12. 1).—Here again the figures are probably imperfect. Most of the cowherds and cattle-owners (Nos. 89 and 90) in towns, or at any rate such of them as are not agriculturists, sell milk and butter or *ghi*, and these

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may have returned either occupation. Indeed some of these men were returned as Ghosi, which means a cowherd as much as a milkman. The sale of milk affords occupation to a considerable number of women. So too the butchers (No. 200) are very commonly oil-pressers and cotton scutchers (Nos. 235 and 170) as well as butchers, while those men again are often butchers. Some roastmeat-shop-keepers (No. 201) have almost certainly been included with eating-house-keepers (No. 52) and perhaps with cooks (No. 55), while many of the scavengers (No. 59) living in or near towns sell pork and eggs. Finally it is impossible to separate fishmongers (No. 203) from fishermen (No. 105), while the classes with which the latter have probably been more or less confused have already been detailed under the head of fishermen.

788. Workers and dealers in vegetable food (V. 12. 2).—This class again is an exceedingly artificial one. The woman who grinds corn, the village grocer, the confectioner, the vegetable seller, and the sugar refiner, are in the Panjáb as distinct as it is possible for any classes of occupation to be. Under petty grocers (No. 205) I have included all the various terms used to express the petty shop-keeper who is so universally found, especially in the villages, such as *áta dál, nún tel*, and so forth. But it is not improbable that many of the general shop-keepers entered under No. 69 should really come under this head, while the grain and flour merchants (No. 204) probably include some of these petty grocers. The women returned as following these occupations are probably either owners of the shops, or have merely given their husbands' occupations as their own. I believe that shops are hardly ever actually kept by women in the Panjáb. Of the grain-dealers (No. 204) 100 are returned as dealing in rice and 313 in pulses, while all the female flour-dealers are sellers of *súji*. Grain-dressing (No. 206) is in the hands of women more than of men, especially in the villages. The figures include 3,450 male and 2,711 female rice-huskers, 50 men and 858 women employed in splitting pulse, and 13 men who husk oil-seed for the confectioner and for the production of the finer sorts of oil. It is probable that many if not most of the 1,698 Changars included as general labourers under No. 318 are really corn-sifters and dressers. On the Peshâwar frontier this work is said to be generally performed by the scavenger class. Under grinders (No. 207) I have included all who returned their occupation as that of grinding corn. Here the women predominate enormously; and it is doubtful whether in some, perhaps in many cases in the villages at least, this occupation has not, like that of cooking, been returned as a general term to express that the woman is engaged in household duties. The directions were that no occupation was to be returned for women who were wholly occupied in domestic matters; but they were probably not always strictly followed. The figures include 2,767 men and 460 women who work water-mills, more than half of whom are in Native States; 1,916 men and 115 women who work mills driven by bullocks; and 22 men and 10 women who pearl wheat. Bakers (No. 208) are indistinguishable from cooks (No. 55) and from eating-house-keepers (No. 52), *nánbái, roti pakána*, and *bhatyára* not being distinctly separated in practice. Of the numbers under this head 194 are sellers of ready-made dough and 596 are sellers of bread; the rest are described as *nánbái*, or by some equivalent term, though I believe *nánbái* is used almost as often for the keeper of a shop for cooked food as for the owner of a bakery. The corn-parchers (No. 209) are also very doubtfully separable from the headings mentioned above, the keepers of ovens commonly parching corn as well as baking bread. The very large number of women returned as corn-parchers is noticeable.

I have attempted to separate confectioners (No. 210) from the men (No. 211) who carry about biscuits, sweetmeats, and confectionery of sorts on trays for sale in the bazaar and at railway stations and similar places; but the separation is probably very incomplete. Both classes are chiefly confined to the towns, and the number of women engaged in this occupation is strikingly small. Of the confectioners 69 men are returned as making different sorts of sugar-sweetmeats, 112 as making sweet cakes, puddings, biscuits, and the like, and 1,686 as preparing food cooked with *ghi* or salt; but the great mass are returned under the generic term *halwái*. As I have already remarked, the greengrocers and fruiters (Nos. 212, 213) cannot be completely separated from the market gardeners (No. 95), nor they again from the general agricultural class; the seller of vegetables being very generally the man who grows them. But this is less true of the towns than of the villages, the petty costermonger of the former commonly buying his vegetables from the market-gardener; and especially is this the case with perhaps almost all the women, a very large number of whom are returned as greengrocers. Indeed it is a common custom for the wives to carry about for sale the vegetables which their husbands grow. It is very doubtful how far the sugar-refiners (No. 214) and the dealers in refined sugar and molasses (No. 215) can be separated.

789. Workers and dealers in drinks, &c. (V. 12. 3).—This again is an exceedingly artificial group. I suspect that the figure for spirit merchants and spirit distillers (Nos. 216 and 217) cannot always be separated, and trade in spirits is seldom the only occupation of the trader. It is probable that some of the distillers have been entered simply as *thekadár* and included under No. 319. Many of the workers and dealers in tea (No. 218) have probably been returned as land-owners. Under No. 219 I have included 59 soda-water makers and sellers, 31 makers and sellers of ginger-beer or "pop," 21 people returned as selling coffee, and 37 makers and sellers of rice-water and sherbets. But the *attárs* (No. 38) also make sherbets. Tobacconists (No. 220) include 15 pipe-fillers and 341 makers and sellers of snuff. The figures are very imperfect, tobacco for smoking being commonly sold by all petty grocers and especially by betel and *pán* sellers (No. 222), and tobacco for snuff by *pansáris* (No. 143). The dealers in narcotics (No. 221) are those who sell *bhang*, opium, and similar drugs. But these again must have often been returned as *thekadárs* and included under No. 319. The perfumers (No. 224) are the *gándis* or makers and sellers of otto. Under No. 223 I have included 126 dealers in spices and red pepper, 13 vinegar makers, and 70 makers of pickles, preserves, *chatnis*, &c.

790. Workers and dealers in dung, grease, &c. (V. 13. 1).—Here again is an exceedingly artificial group. It is probable that the people who collect cowdung and pat it into cakes for fuel have very commonly returned themselves as or been included under scavengers (No. 59). This work is chiefly or entirely done by women. The dealers in cowdung (No. 226) cannot in many cases be distinguished from the dealers in fuel (No. 240) and grass (No. 251), while the *bhatyáras* (No. 52) commonly sell all three. The manufacture of soap (No. 227) seems to be chiefly carried on in the Amritsar division. Under No. 228 I have included 11 makers of gut, 5 of glue, 11 wax-refiners, and 13 carvers of ivory.

791. Workers and dealers in hides and leather (V. 13. 2).—I have attempted to separate in this sub order the tanners who do not work in leather, such as Chamrangs and Khatíks, the Chamárs who both tan and work in leather, and the Mochis or leather-workers. But in the west Mochis apparently tan also, the word being merely a synonym for Chamár in those parts; while not only does the entry *chamra rangna* often mean that the man works in the leather he tans, but "boot-makers" (No. 192) is in many cases a mere expression for those who work generally in leather, whether they are tanners also or not. The confusion has extended to the divisional offices, some of which have returned this class as boot-makers and some as leather-workers. The figures of No. 192 must be added before the class can be examined. Besides this there is the fact that in the Eastern Panjáb at any rate, the Chamárs are the people who do the village *begár* or forced labour, and if asked their occupation will answer coolie or *begár* perhaps more often than anything else; so that it is probable that many of these men have been included under general labourers (No. 318), see further section 803. The distinction between the occupations of the Chamrang and the Khatík has been explained in the chapter on Castes, where also it is pointed out that the Khatík is a scavenger as much as a tanner in the east of the Panjáb. Under No. 230 I have included 398 Khatíks, 2,176 Chamrangs, and 27 leather-stainers and grainers; but this last work is commonly done by the Chamrang and Mochi, as explained in sections 602 and 609. The remainder of the group are returned simply as tanners. The hide jarmaker (No. 233) is the *dabgar* who makes the jars in which oil and *ghi* are kept Under No. 232 I have included, besides all who returned themselves as Mochis or as general workers in leather, 22 makers of water-bags (*mushak*,) 12 makers of bags and portmanteaus, one chamois-leather maker, and nine makers of leather-pipes (*huqqahs*). The large number of women returned under this sub-order probably help the men in the process of tanning, though it may be that they have merely returned the occupations of their husbands and fathers.

792. Workers and dealers in oils and gums (V. 14. 1).—This sub-order constitutes a fairly natural group, the chief difficulty being that the oilmen (No. 235) are often butchers (No. 200), and generally cotton scutchers (No. 170) as well, and *vice versâ*. The number of women returned as oil-pressers is considerable. The kino gatherers (No. 237) are the men who collect the resin of the *dhák* (*Butea frondosa*) whose mode of operation is described at page 10 of the Karnál Settlement Report. Under bracelet-makers (No. 238) I have included 3,294 bracelet-makers, who may work either in glass or lac, or indeed in metal, though lac is the commonest material; and 932 lac bracelet-makers, including Maniárs in the three divisions of Dehli, Hissár, and Ambála and the Eastern and Hill States, Maniárs being classed as pedlars in the rest of the Panjáb. This industry affords occupation to a considerable number of women, more than half of whom, however, are returned as selling bracelets; and it may be that the women hawk about the bracelets which the men have made. I class lac in the Panjáb as a vegetable rather than as an animal product, because the lac-workers

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of the Province deal only or at any rate chiefly with the resin, which is a vegetable exudation, and not with the dye, which is an animal substance.

793. Workers and dealers in wood, &c. (V. 14. 2).—I have here attempted to separate the timber merchants from the dealers in small wood for fuel, but the separation is certainly imperfect, for the term "wood-seller" which I have included in the latter class may apply to the former. I have already explained under the head of workers in cowdung that the figures of No. 240, so far as they refer to dealers in fuel, are not separable from those of Nos. 226 and 256, and hardly from those of No. 52. Under wood-cutters and dealers (No. 240) are included 1,580 males and 270 females returned as wood-cutters and gatherers, the remainder being shown as dealers; but the two classes are hardly separable. The number of women returned under this occupation is smaller than I should have expected. The number of charcoal-burners (No. 241) must be below the mark, but I do not know under what other head these men are likely to have been included. Mr. Anderson notes that Lohárs (blacksmiths) are generally charcoal-burners also in Kúlu; while in the Kángra valley the charcoal is usually burnt by the Dhogri or iron-smelter of the hills. It may be that in the plains also, the blacksmith commonly burns his own charcoal. The carpenters (No. 242) are not definitely separable from the blacksmiths (No. 317) or bricklayers (No. 132), though it is probable that except in the hills the three occupations are generally, and in the towns perhaps almost always kept distinct. I have included 211 sawyers and planers in the figures The female carpenters are, I suspect, merely carpenters' wives. They are chiefly returned from the Hissár division. It is probable that some at least of the turners (No. 243) have been returned or classed as carpenters, while the wood-painters or *rangsáz* (No. 244) can hardly be distinguished from the turners (No. 243) on the one hand, and the *kamángars* (No. 114) on the other, the turner (*kharádi*) colouring and lacquering wood in the lathe, and the *kamángar* doing the same on plain or irregular surfaces. The comb-maker (No. 246) makes the wooden combs used by the natives.

794. Workers and dealers in leaves, grass, and straw (V. 14. 3-4).—It is quite impossible to separate these two classes. The people who work in leaves and straw are almost always the same, and it is a matter of accident which entry has been made in the schedule; while almost all the gipsies (No. 328,) and scavengers (No. 359) also work in those materials. If a man returned himself as Dúmna he might probably be classed with equal propriety either as a scavenger or as a worker in bamboo. The workers in leaves proper (No. 247) are those who collect and sell the broad leaves of the *dhák* (*Butea frondosa*) which are used by the grocers to wrap up purchases in, and who pin them up into cups and platters for use at feasts. The matting plaiters (No. 248) are those who make the coarse matting, usually of palm leaves but sometimes of broad-leaved grasses, which are used to cover the floors, and are not capable of separation from the makers of hand-fans (No. 249) which are plaited from the same material. These industries are largely followed by women. Under "Others" (No. 250) are included 1 bark-pounder, 5 dealers in cocoanut shells, probably to make *huqqahs* from, and 5 gall gatherers. As already pointed out under workers in dung, the dealers in hay and grass (No. 251) cannot always be separated from Nos. 52, 226, and 240. The male grass-cutters and gatherers probably include most of the grass-cutters in attendance upon horses, and as many of them are also grooms, and many of them are attached to troops, they may have been confused with Nos. 18, 56, and 99. I am surprised not to find more women entered as following this occupation. But cutters and gatherers of wood (No. 240) and of grass are very commonly the same, while both will often have returned themselves as coolies (No. 318). The thatchers (No. 253) are generally water carriers (No. 58), and water-carriers often thatchers; indeed the thatchers of the Native States must almost certainly be water-carriers or fishermen. The workers in bamboo (No. 254), of whom a considerable proportion are women, are naturally almost confined to the hills. They include 172 male and 17 female dealers in bamboos and reeds, 409 men and 227 women occupied in splitting and cleaning these articles, and 906 men and 433 women employed in making screens (*chik*); the rest are returned generally as workers in bamboo and reeds. The pipe stem-makers (No. 255) are those who bend the hollow reeds or withies used for the stems of *huqqahs*. The basket-makers (No. 256) cannot be distinguished from the water-carriers (No. 58), who make all the rude baskets required by the villagers, while many of the bamboo-workers make baskets of finer workmanship. The workers in grass and straw (No. 257) are those who make winnowing and dust pans, sieves, grass ridges for carts, &c., (*sirki*) and grass-matting and screens. But all these are made by all outcasts and vagrants, and the occupation of a Chúhra or a Nat might be described as working in grass no less correctly than as scavengering or tumbling Most of these people are returned as makers of winnowing pans (*chháj*) as a typical term; but we have 517 men and 170 women shown as sieve-makers, 32 men and 14 women as sieve-bottomers, 1,097 men and 351 women as *sirki*-makers, and 202 men and 173 women as makers of brushes and grass mats. The making of weavers' brushes No. (258) is a higher branch of the same set of occupations, but has probably often been returned under the other headings.

795. Workers and dealers in stone, bricks, earth, &c., (V. 15. 3).—This again is a somewhat artificial group. The stonemasons (No. 261) have probably been generally returned as *mimár* and included under bricklayer (No. 132), or in the hills as *thávi* and been classed as carpenters (No. 242). There is a separate class of millstone setters (No. 263) called *khumrah*, but it is I think only known in the Jamna districts, and the work is said ordinarily to be done by carpenters. Limestone or *kankar* diggers (No. 264) would generally be returned as coolies (No. 318). Lime-burners are chiefly returned from the Native States. I do not know by what class this work is usually done, but should say most probably by the potters (No. 274); brick-burning (No. 268) is certainly generally done by them, and the two sets of figures can probably not be separated. Brick-making (No. 267) is I believe seldom a separate occupation except in the rare cases where the bricks are moulded. The ordinary country brick is made roughly on the ground by cutting layers of clay into blocks by two sets of cuts at right angles to each other, and unskilled labour is usually employed. Some of the brick-makers and merchants included in the figures make or deal in unburnt bricks. Under navvies (No. 271) I have included all who were returned as Ods or Beldárs; but thousands of these men must be included under coolies (No. 318), and in the Peshawar district, where extensive earthworks were in progress, orders were given that the navvies were to be so described. Under "Others" (No. 273) are included 17 men who make stone mortars for grinding spices and the like, 30 stone merchants, and 2 men returned as makers of "pencils," which I assume to mean slate pencils.

796. Workers and dealers in earthenware (V. 18. 4).—I have just pointed out that potters (No. 274) can scarcely be distinguished from brick-burners (No. 268), and there has also almost certainly been some confusion with makers of brass or copper vessels (Nos. 300 and 304), the general term "*bartan banána*" having been used in some cases, and these having always been classed as potters in the absence of any indication to the contrary. The very large number of women returned as potters do doubtless assist in loading and driving the donkeys, and perhaps in tending the kilns, but many of them are perhaps nothing more than potters' wives. The potters are very generally the petty carriers of the neighbourhood, as well as mere potters. The 17 china-makers (No. 276) returned from the Hissár and Peshawar divisions and the Native States are probably only makers of the better class of pottery produced in Jhajjar and Peshawar, and the fine potters of Dehli and Multán and Lahore have an equal claim to the title. The 17 female pottery painters (No. 275) from Multán are probably engaged in the production of this fine pottery.

797. Workers and dealers in glass (V. 15. 5).—It is almost certain that some of the bracelet-makers returned without any specification of material, and classed under No. 238, belong to this head. Only 26 makers of glass bracelets have been returned, and they are all women and have been classed here. So far as the figures go the glass manufacture is almost confined to the Dehli and Lahore divisions.

798. Workers and dealers in salt (V. 15. 6).—I have already pointed out that makers of saltpetre (No. 141) and perhaps makers of other similar products (No. 142) have apparently been confused with makers of salt (No. 279), the terms *shorágar* and *núngar* being used as almost synonymous.

799. Workers and dealers in water (V. 15. 7).—The well-sinkers (No. 281) cannot be separated from water-carriers (No. 58), the *toba* being almost always a Jhinwar, and the Jhinwars being generally the well-sinkers of the country. The workers and dealers in ice (No. 282) almost certainly include people who make or sell ices, which are hawked about the streets in some of the larger cities; but ice and ices cannot be distinguished in our figures. The occupation is not one which lasts the whole year round, and would not be likely to be returned at a Census taken in February.

800. Workers and dealers in gold and silver.—(V. 15. 8).—The gold washers (No. 283) are the Dáolis and Sansois who wash for gold in the beds of the hill streams. They are found in the hilly districts only. The gold and silversmiths (No. 285) are generally, in the villages at least, pawn-brokers and money-lenders as well as artificers. The figures for engravers on gold and silver (No. 286) are apparently very imperfect. It is probable that such men would ordinarily return themselves as silversmiths simply. Of the

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guilders and platers (No. 287), 9 return themselves as guilding by the old process of covering the article with thin sheets of the precious metals, while the rest describe their occupation by the English word "guilt" (*gilat*). Some at least of these guild and plate by electricity, while the fraudulent or ignorant use of a mercurial wash is not unknown. The figures for gold and silver foil-beaters (No. 288) are probably very imperfect. Some of these men may have been returned simply as silversmiths, while others are doubtless included under No. 308. The gold and silver wire-beaters (No. 289) are those who beat out the wire into the flat narrow strips which are used to wind round silk and so make gold and silver thread. The industry is chiefly carried on at Dehli. The figures include 6 women who return themselves as gold and silver wire-drawers, not beaters. No. 290 should have been described as "damasceners and enamellers," as both *koftgari* and *minakári* are included in the figures, 52 men following the first and 59 the second calling. I do not know how the damasceners of Siálkot have been entered; I believe the industry has been very largely transferred from that town to Gújrát. The refiners (No. 291) are those who smelt the sweepings and refuse of the shops of the workers in gold and silver, and extract the metal. The figures for makers of gold and silver thread, lace, and ribbon or cloth (Nos. 292 to 294) call for no remarks, except to point out the considerable number of women engaged in the last-mentioned industry. The lapidaries (No. 297) include only those who cut and polish precious stones, while the jewel-setters (No. 298) are those who have returned their occupation as setting the jewel in a bed of composition, or as closing in the gold or silver over its edges so as to hold it fast. But I am informed that these last operations are commonly performed by the ordinary silversmith.

801. Workers and dealers in copper, tin, zinc, lead, brass, &c. (V. 15, 9 to 13).—The figures for workers in copper, tin, zinc, and lead are often imperfect owing to the artisan having returned the nature of his work, but not the material in which he worked. Wherever the metal was not specified the figures have been classed under "brass and unspecified metals" in sub-order 13. The tin-men (No. 302) are those who make or sell tin vessels; the tinners (No. 303) are those who coat the inside of cooking vessels with the alloy of tin known as *kaldi*. Of the workers and dealers in antimony (No. 305) 13 are makers, 1 an applier, and 12 sellers of *surma*, the pounded antimony ore which is used by women to beautify their eyes. But I believe that the substance is sold by almost all pedlars of small hardware. Of the founders (No. 306), 32 are men who are returned as casters of metal vessels (*bartan*) and ox bells; while 75 are brass-founders. The foil-beaters (No. 308) include 74 beaters of brass foil. These foil-beaters are the men who beat out the many-coloured foils, mostly I believe made either of brass or of alloys similar to pewter, which we know under the name of ozidue. I have already pointed out that some of the metal-vessel makers (Nos. 300 and 309) have probably been included as potters (No. 274) owing to their having returned themselves simply as "vessel makers." I felt considerable doubt where to put the pipebowl-makers (No. 312), but decided that a man who made earthen pipebowls would probably return himself merely as a potter, and so classed these men as workers in metal. The pipebowl in question is the *huqqah*, not the *chilam*. Under "Others" (No. 313) I have included 1 dealer in pewter, 7 makers of jewelry of bell-metal, 16 makers of lanthorns, 11 makers of hooks, and 60 engravers on metal.

802. Workers and dealers in iron (V. 15. 14).—The iron smelters (No. 314) are found only in the hills, and chiefly in the Hill States. The ironmongers (No. 316) are the few people who returned themselves as dealers in articles made of iron. The blacksmiths (No. 317) are, as I have already pointed out, not always distinguishable from the carpenters (No. 242). The female blacksmiths who are returned may perhaps blow the bellows, for 253 of them are especially returned as so employed; or they may in some cases be merely blacksmiths' wives. Under the head of blacksmiths I have included 881 hammermen, 1 stove-maker, 1 maker of girdles for baking bread, and 17 nail-makers.

803. General labourers (VI. 16. 1).—This is a most unsatisfactory heading, including as it does 300,000 men and 56,000 women. The entries of which the figures have been composed were as follows—coolies and mates, males 279,800, females 48,473; *mazdúr*, males 5,954, females 1,485; *kár begár*, males 12,152, females 5,786; Changar, males 1,698. Now the whole of the entries under *kár begár* are in the Ambála and Hissár divisions, it is certain that they refer almost exclusively to village menials, and it is almost certain that they consist chiefly of Chamárs, who in those parts will call their occupation *begár* or coolie as often as Chamár. So it is probable that many of the coolies entered in the eastern districts are at any rate are really Chamárs. But besides this, the figures must include numberless navvies and others employed upon earthwork and excavation, who were in some cases returned as coolies by the orders of the Deputy Commissioner; and no doubt many of those people who follow uncertain and irregular occupations, such as collecting fuel, dung, wood, grass, and the like, have returned themselves as coolies. Again many of the people returned as *mazdúr* may be agricultural labourers paid by the piece or by the day or month. But besides all these there is a considerable residuum, especially in the towns, who have no fixed occupation, but depend for their livelihood upon such temporary occupation as they can obtain, and of these no better description than the heading of the tables can be given.

804. Persons of indefinite occupation (VI. 16. 2).—The contractors or *thekadárs* (No. 319, probably include all sorts of Government contract and license-holders, such as for distilleries, drugs, earthwork, mail carriage, supplies, and the like. More than half the whole number are in Native States. The agents (No. 320) are persons returned as *mukhtiárs*: generally persons holding powers-of-attorney from others. Under "Others" (No. 321) I have included 7 firemen of engines, 654 apprentices, 20 contractor's servants, and 1 license-holder.

805. Persons of rank or property (VI. 17. 1).—The assignees of land revenue (No. 322) include a considerable number of women, which shows that the occupation column has been filled up for women even where they have no true occupation. The status of these people differs greatly; most of them are probably land-owners also, and perhaps some of them should more properly have been returned as petty village grantees (No. 327). Of course the figures are not intended to include all the assignees of land revenue in the Province, as most of the members of this class have other means of subsistence. Under "Others" (No. 323) I have included 9 taluqdárs, and 1 "person who is in easy circumstances."

806. Persons of no true occupation (VI. 18. 1).—I should have said that some at least of the people included in this class had very real occupations; but I have followed the English nomenclature. Beggars (No. 324) is a most unsatisfactory class, as it includes both the beggars proper and the members of religious orders. But there was no possibility of separating them, though the latter, if their numbers could have been obtained, would better have been included with the religious classes. Indeed, as I have shown in my chapter on Castes, though there are large numbers who certainly belong to the one or the other, yet the two classes shade off into one another so that the line between them is exceedingly indefinite. The gleaners (No. 325) are almost wholly women. The pensioners (No. 326) are probably almost all Government pensioners; but as they have not specified whether they are civil or military they are classed here. Indeed it seems to me most anomalous to include military pensioners in the figures for the army. The petty village grantees (No. 327) are men holding small plots of land on easy terms from the village communities, either in recognition of their saintly character, or in consideration of their services in some small capacity. The village watchmen and many other people who have been classed elsewhere commonly hold grants of this nature. The vagrants and gipsies include 75 Sánsis and 324 Nats, the former of whom might perhaps have been classed as workers in grass or hunters, and the latter as tumblers. The prisoners (No. 329) were returned as such, and not by their original occupations, under the orders of the Government of India. That so many of them are returned in some districts from the villages, is due to the fact that the gaol sometimes lies outside the boundaries of civil lines, as is the case with the Lahore Central Gaol. Some of course would be in the lock-ups in the district. No rule was laid down as to how prisoners awaiting trial were to be returned, and the practice has probably not been uniform. The prostitute class (Nos. 331, 332) has probably been understated; but most of the tumblers and dancing-girls are habitual prostitutes. Finally under "Others" (No. 333) I have included 63 candidates for employment, 53 male and 16 female gamblers, 514 Saiyads, and 2 informers, 2 thieves, and 2 blackguards (*badmásh*) returned as such, whether of their own motion or by a too well-informed enumerator, I cannot tell.

807. Note on the Imperial figures (Table XII).—The above remarks, which refer to the Provincial figures of Tables *XII A* and *XII B*, apply generally to the Imperial figures of Table XII also. But some special points connected with these latter figures call for a word of explanation. I. 1. 2. 1. None of our Honorary Magistrates returned their occupations as such. I. 1. 2. 6. Our *Názirs* are not sheriffs proper, but revenue officers or officers of law courts. I. 3. 1. 1, 4, 5. The occupation column did not afford the means of distinguishing priests of the Church of England, of the Roman Catholic Church, and of dissenting bodies I. 3. 1, 13. Nor could we distinguish Jain from Hindu priests, the former being themselves invariably Hindus. II. 4. No women returned their occupation as "wife." The instructions directed that no domestic occupations should be shown for women. II. 5. 1. 3, 4. It was

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impossible to separate lodging-house and eating-house keepers. **II. 5.** It was in many cases, such as laundryman, grocer, gardener, bhisti, and the like, impossible to separate domestic servants from others, and they have been included under the general headings. So, in the case of such entries as "club-house service," "institution service," and the like, the servants returned the nature of the service they rendered, but not the nature of the institution to which they rendered that service. **III. 6. 1. 1.** It was, for reasons already stated, impossible to separate merchants from dealers; and the Census Commissioner directed that the heading should be left blank. **III. 6. 2. 3.** It was impossible to separate costermongers from greengrocers, who are shown in order 12. **III. 7.** I have already explained that our divisional offices most unfortunately classed all railway servants under a single heading owing to a misunderstanding of my instructions. **III. 7.** 6. 2. It was impossible to separate private from Government telegraph service. **IV. 8,** 1. 3. 4. No persons returned their occupations as "sons" or "daughters" of farmers. The entry of the children of land-owners has already been discussed. **V. 10.** 3. 1. Lithographic printers could not be separated from printers, who are shown in sub-order 1 of the same order. **V. 10.** 17. 3. The dyers are, in accordance with the Imperial scheme of classification, shown in order 11 under the several fabrics which they dye. **V. 13.** 1. 3. Comb-makers were, with the permission of the Census Commissioner, shown as workers in wood, that being their proper place in the Panjáb. **V. 15.** 1. 6. The labourers in the Panjáb salt-mines returned their occupation either as "diggers," "labourers," or as *nimak nikálna*, which could not be distinguished from salt-makers, who are shown in sub-order 6 of the order. **VI. 18.** 1, 1. 2. Beggars and religious devotees alike returned their occupation as *faqíri, gadái, bhik mángna*, and so forth, and could not be separated. Where the occupation returned by the latter was a religious one, they were classed under sub-order 1 of order 3.

CHAPTER IX.

EDUCATION IN THE PANJAB.

807a. Introductory.—The figures for education are contained in Table XIII of Appendices A and B, which shows the total numbers of each sex for all religions and for each religion separately, who are under instruction and who are able to read and write, distinguishing rural from total population. It is probable that the figures are less correct than any others, except those for age, obtained at the present Census; or if not absolutely less correct, are at any rate possessed of less significance. The instructions issued to enumerators were that nobody who could not both read and write was to be shown as educated. It is probable that these instructions were not always understood or carried out. Thus Mr. Anderson observes that of the 229 persons shown as educated in Spiti, it is to be feared that not a few could only read and not write; while in Siálkot it was found that some of the enumerators were entering as educated, only such as could read and write the Persian character. On the other hand, the instructions directed that *all* under instruction should be so shown; and this was obviously wrong. In the Musalmán indigenous schools of a religious character the boys are often taught to read only and not to write; and such boys should not have been included. It is probable also that boys still at school but who had learnt to read and write, were occasionally entered as educated instead of as under instruction.

The figures for female education are probably still less accurate, for here there is a probability that wrong returns were intentionally made. A native woman may be able to read; but it is not fitting that a respectable woman should be able to write, that accomplishment being reserved for women of light character. It is not "good form," and there would be a disinclination on the part of the people to admit that their wives and daughters could both read and write, even when they could do so.

Again, supposing that the instructions were rightly understood, and that there was no tendency to conceal facts, there are so many degrees of "reading and writing" that it must often have been difficult to decide how a man should be entered. In the Jamna districts for instance, very many of the village headmen can read the Mahájani, or as they call it Hindi character, and can write their names in it, and perhaps make shift to painfully scrawl any word set them. But for all practical purposes of ready writing they are illiterate. Just before the Census was taken, Mr. Tolbort proposed to enter in the column for education, instead of the words "can read and write," the name of the character with which he was acquainted before the name of each person who could read and write. The proposal came too late for action; but I am not at all sure that it was not a good one. It would increase the labour of tabulation; but the difference in the degree of education that is implied by the ability to read and write the Persian and Mahájani characters respectively is often immense; and if the information were collected at successive enumerations the figures would throw great light upon the progress of education in the Province.

808. Figures compared with those of the Educational Department.—The only test that I have of the accuracy of my figures is a comparison with those of the Educational Department, and Abstract No. 127 below gives the two sets of figures side by side:—

Abstract No. 127 *comparing* **Educational Department and Census figures** *for* **Districts.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
		Males under instruction.					Females under instruction.		
		Educational Return							
No.	District.	Government Schools.	Indigenous Schools.	Total.	Census figures.	Excess of column 6 over column 5.	Educational Return.	Census figures.	Excess of column 9 over column 8.
1	Dehli	4,369	378	4,747	6,443	1,696	841	293	—548
2	Gurgáon	3,148	562	3,710	3,341	—369	51	47	—4
3	Karnál	1,922	463	2,385	2,715	330	39	63	24
4	Hissár	1,442	451	1,893	1,711	—182	...	26	26
5	Rohtak	2,378	474	2,852	2,864	12	18	33	15
6	Sirsa	622	441	1,063	1,655	592	...	34	34
7	Ambála	5,229	1,135	6,364	6,201	—163	33	164	131
8	Ludhiána	3,574	1,218	4,792	4,962	170	403	291	—112
9	Simla	578	11	589	797	208	249	416	167
10	Jalandhar	6,120	878	6,998	7,329	331	1,504	433	—1,071
11	Hushyárpur	4,752	1,105	5,857	8,112	2,255	61	65	4
12	Kangra	2,400	...	2,400	5,038	2,638	191	94	—97
13	Amritsar	5,827	1,223	7,050	8,656	1,606	1,355	450	—905
14	Gurdáspur	5,259	1,006	6,265	7,438	1,173	438	177	—261
15	Sialkot	4,483	1,810	6,293	9,525	3,232	783	455	—328
16	Lahore	5,815	3,014	8,829	9,815	986	1,164	657	—507
17	Gujránwála	4,335	1,096	5,431	7,277	1,846	571	295	—276
18	Firozpur	2,475	726	3,201	3,342	141	156	181	25
19	Ráwalpindi	4,401	5,454	9,855	8,899	—956	1,041	516	—525
20	Jahlam	3,228	4,742	7,970	4,561	—3,409	423	99	—324
21	Gujrát	3,737	10,732	14,469	5,831	—8,638	25	163	138
22	Shahpur	2,105	2,563	4,668	3,562	—1,106	14	97	88
23	Multán	3,571	1,394	4,965	7,025	2,060	113	216	103
24	Jhang	1,958	1,473	3,431	3,651	220	285	127	—158
25	Montgomery	1,442	576	2,018	3,393	1,375	63	63	...
26	Muzaffargarh	1,612	382	1,994	3,279	1,285	...	122	122
27	Derah Ismáil Khan	1,958	906	2,864	3,039	175	...	41	41
28	Derah Gházi Khan	1,895	...	1,895	3,349	1,454	...	85	85
29	Bannu	1,182	753	1,935	2,080	145	...	36	36
30	Peshávar	1,814	2,000	3,814	8,183	4,369	110	321	211
31	Hazara	986	4,731	5,717	2,274	—3,443	...	20	20
32	Kohát	375	1,330	1,705	1,276	—429	...	21	21
	Total	94,992	53,027	148,019	157,623	9,604	9,931	6,101	—3,830

Education.

Colonel Holroyd's figures for Government schools are taken from the returns for 1880-81; but those for the attendance at indigenous schools are only a rough estimate made in 1879-80 after local enquiry. For males, my figures compare well with his on the whole. In the Pesháwar and Ráwalpindi divisions, where the Mahomedans are most bigoted and the Qurán schools at which boys are not taught to write most numerous, my figures are in deficit; and this is as it should be, for his figures include, and mine should not, the attendance at such schools. Indeed either my figures or his estimate must be wrong for Pesháwar; probably the latter, judging by comparison with neighbouring districts. It is hardly probable that Pesháwar, with a population half as large again as that of Hazára and more than three times that of Kohát, should have only 2,000 indigenous scholars against 4,731 and 1,330 respectively. In other districts my figures are in excess; and this again is as it should be, for my figures include private tuition which Colonel Holroyd's do not.

As for females, Colonel Holroyd's figures are actuals, not estimates, and mine must be utterly worthless. I have already assigned a reason for their being so.

809. State of education in various parts of the Province.—Abstract No. 128 on the opposite page shows the educated proportion per 10,000 of the population of each District and State, those districts being put first in which education has made greatest progress among the total male population.

With the exception of the hilly districts of Hazára and Kohát and the district of Gújrát, the frontier districts and those of the Multán and Ráwalpindi divisions stand very high on the list. The three exceptions will be seen on referring to Abstract No. 127 (page 401,) to be those districts in which my figures fall far short of the estimate of the Educational Department; and it is to be feared that the apparent pre-eminence of the western districts is due to the fact that, except in Hazára, Kohát and Gújrát, boys attending the Qurán schools so numerous in the west, and learning to read only and not to write, and adults who have been so trained, have been included in our figures. Next to the western districts come the median districts and the northern zone of the Eastern Plains, including the commercial and military centres of Lahore, Amritsar, Jálandhar, Kángra and Lúdhiánah. Gújránwála stands very high, and so does the little State of Pataudi. Well at the bottom of the list come the Hill States, the minor States of the Eastern Plains, Hissár, Karnál and Gurgáon, Hazára and Kohát, Gújrát, Bannu and Baháwalpur; while in the middle stand Dehli, Patiála and Nábha, Rohtak and Sirsa, the sub-montane districts except Hushyárpur which is high, and Fírozpur. Generally it may be said that, taking the figures as they stand and remembering that they probably include the schools of the Mullás, education is highest in the west and after that in the central districts, partly no doubt because these districts contain the great proportion of the military forces of the Panjáb; and lowest in the hills, the sub-montane districts, and the central and southern portions of the Eastern Plains. The districts which include the great cities and cantonments naturally stand high in comparison with their neighbours.

Taking rural populations only, Pesháwar, Amritsar and Lahore sink at once and markedly in the list; while Montgomery, Patiála, Nábha, Rohtak, Kángra, and the sub-montane districts rise.

The figures for female education are obscured by the inclusion of Christians, which constitute a fourth of the whole; and it would have been better had I excluded Christians from my statistics. But omitting cantonments, Gújránwála, Jhang, Sháhpur and Lúdhiánah stand high, while the figures for Suket and Bhajji and still more for Keonthal are, if accurate, extraordinarily large.

810. State of education among the followers of the several religions.—Abstract No. 129 (page 404) shows the proportion among every 10,000 of each religion in each division who are under instruction and can read and write, distinguishing males and females and rural and total population.

The general results may be thus summarised:—

Religion.	Males per 10,000.				Females per 10,000.			
	Rural population.		Total population.		Rural population.		Total population.	
	Under instruction.	Can read and write.	Under instruction.	Can read and write.	Under instruction.	Can read and write.	Under instruction.	Can read and write.
All Religions	**100**	**342**	**142**	**468**	**3·0**	**3·3**	**6·3**	**8·9**
Hindu	110	596	171	789	1·2	2·6	2·4	5·6
Sikh	86	372	111	471	2·0	5·4	4·4	7·4
Jain	361	3,318	646	3,702	9·2	9·6	9·5	13·1
Buddhist	213	1,293	213	1,293	...	...	...	...
Musalmán	94	128	118	169	4·1	2·3	6·5	5·0

I will discuss the male figures first.

The pre-eminence of the Jains is very striking, but also very natural. They consist almost wholly of the mercantile classes, and very largely of the wealthiest portions of those classes, and indeed I am inclined to think that the figures must be very much understated. There are out of every 10,000 Jains over 6,500 who are above 15 years of age, and a very small proportion of these can be still at school. Yet it is difficult to believe that more than 2,800 of them cannot read and write. It is possible that in some places, as already suggested, only such as could read and write the Persian character were returned as educated. At any rate whatever the nature of the error may be, I do not believe that the figures are correct; nor do I believe that only 650 out of the 1,160 children between 10 and 15 years of age which are found among every 10,000 Jains are under instruction.

Education.

Abstract No. 128, *showing* **Educated Proportion** *of population for* **Districts and States** *arranged in* **order** *of* **magnitude.**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
		Males per 10,000.						Females per 10,000.						Serial number in order of magnitude in respect of				
		Rural Population.			Total Population.			Rural Population.			Total Population.			Males.		Females.		
Serial No. of Tables.	Districts, Divisions, States, &c.	Under instruction.	Can read and write.	Total.	Under instruction.	Can read and write.	Total.	Under instruction.	Can read and write.	Total.	Under instruction.	Can read and write.	Total.	Rural Population.	Total Population.	Rural Population.	Total Population.	Serial No of Tables.
9	Simla	270	747	1,017	289	1657	1,946	192·5	5·9	198·4	270·9	311·4	582·3	1	1	1	1	9
23	Multan	155	484	639	231	698	929	4·4	4·6	9·0	8·7	14·5	23·2	3	2	10	8	23
24	Jhang	115	542	657	170	672	842	4·2	5·2	9·4	7·0	6·5	13·5	2	3	8	15	24
VIII	**Multan Division**	130	464	594	185	616	801	4·5	4·6	9·1	6·8	8·6	15·4	4a	3a	9a	14a	VIII
30	Pesháwar	210	262	472	248	547	795	7·0	6·9	13·9	12·2	24·7	36·9	11	4	3	3	30
19	Ráwalpindi	176	356	532	198	554	752	5·8	6·4	12·2	3·9	20·6	24·5	7	5	4	7	19
26	Muzaffargarh	133	416	549	177	573	750	7·9	7·8	15·7	7·9	9·4	17·3	6	6	2	11	26
16	Lahore	103	327	430	192	543	735	4·2	3·5	7·7	15·9	22·1	38·0	16	7	13	2	16
9	*Pataudi*	*144*	*496*	*640*	*160*	*569*	*729*	...	...	...	*2·4*	*6·0*	*8·4*	*2a*	*7a*	*32d*	*20a*	*9*
17	Gujranwala	152	369	521	218	508	726	6·2	3·7	9.9	10·4	6·4	16·8	8	8	7	13	17
11	Hushyárpur	135	441	576	168	519	687	1·0	2·3	3·3	1·5	3·9	5·4	5	9	25	25	11
IV	**Jalandhar Division**	123	427	550	159	526	685	2·8	3·7	6·5	5·2	7·3	12·5	5b	9a	13f	15b	IV
13	Amritsar	95	281	376	176	505	681	2·2	3·0	5·2	11·2	14·7	25·9	24	10	19	6	13
12	Kangra	114	496	610	132	548	680	1·6	4·7	6·3	2·7	6·6	9·3	4	11	15	18	12
10	Jalandhar	117	345	462	170	509	679	6·4	4·3	10·7	12.1	18·1	30·2	13	12	5	4	10
VI	**Lahore Division**	106	331	437	171	498	669	4·2	3·5	7·7	11·4	14·3	25·7	14d	12a	13a	6a	VI
8	Ludhiana	101	385	486	151	497	648	4.1	5·0	9·1	10·4	9·4	19·8	10	13	9	9	8
27	Derah Ismáil Khan	76	309	385	128	513	641	1·3	2·3	3·6	2·0	4·7	6·7	23	14	24	23	27
22	Shahpur	113	353	466	160	477	637	4·5	4·4	8·9	4·9	6·5	11·4	12	15	11	17	22
25	Montgomery	113	408	521	141	487	628	2·1	1·5	3·6	3·2	2·4	5·6	9	16	23	24	25
—	**Total British Territory**	110	338	448	155	473	628	3·4	3·3	6·7	7·1	9·7	16·8	14a	16a	13e	13a	
III	**Ambala Division**	84	337	421	125	500	625	4·9	4·6	9·5	11·3	17·4	28·7	18a	16b	7a	4a	III
28	Derah Gházi Khan	118	288	406	166	454	620	5·0	1·5	6·5	5·2	2·3	7·5	20	17	14	22	28
1	Dehli	72	357	429	187	427	614	2·6	1·7	4·3	9·8	17·7	27·5	17	18	20	5	1
VII	**Ráwalpindi Division**	141	314	455	169	442	611	4·2	4·4	8·6	7·5	9·9	17·4	13b	18a	11a	10a	VII
1	*Patiala*	*53*	*434*	*487*	*87*	*524*	*611*	*0·7*	*2·2*	*2·9*	*2·3*	*4·2*	*6·5*	*9c*	*18b*	*25b*	*23a*	*1*
2	*Nabha*	*42*	*462*	*504*	*65*	*546*	*611*	*0·5*	*1·3*	*1·8*	*0·6*	*1·9*	*2·5*	*9b*	*18c*	*27a*	*32c*	*2*
—	**Total Province**	100	342	442	142	468	610	3·0	3·3	6·3	6·3	8·9	15·2	14b	18d	15a	14b	...
V	**Amritsar Division**	124	288	412	173	421	594	4·2	3·4	7·6	8·7	10·1	18·8	18b	18e	13b	9a	V
IX	**Derajat Division**	96	284	380	137	456	593	2·5	1·6	4·1	3·1	3·3	6·4	23b	18f	21a	23b	IX
X	**Peshávar Division**	149	213	362	181	403	584	3·6	3·3	6·9	6·8	13·2	20·0	27c	18g	13c	8b	X
5	Rohtak	60	388	448	97	468	565	0·2	1·0	1·2	1·3	2·7	4·0	14	19	31	29	5
—	**Total Eastern Plains**	52	388	440	84	481	565	0·8	1·9	2·7	1·9	3·8	5·7	14c	19a	25d	23f	...
6	Sirsa	68	279	347	119	443	562	2·6	3·2	5·8	3·0	5·0	8·0	28	20	17	21	6
7	Ambala	70	301	371	105	456	561	1·0	3·1	4·1	3·4	12·6	16·0	25	21	21	14	7
18	*Suket*	*84*	*471*	*555*	*85*	*476*	*561*	*2·6*	*10·0*	*12·6*	*3·0*	*19·0*	*22·0*	*5a*	*21a*	*3a*	*8a*	*18*
14	Gurdáspur	125	297	422	167	392	559	2·1	4·0	6·1	4·7	7·1	11·8	18	22	16	16	14
8	*Dujana*	*34*	*304*	*338*	*77*	*471*	*548*	...	...	...	...	*0·9*	*0·9*	*30a*	*22a*	*32e*	*32d*	*8*
15	Sialkot	145	285	430	176	371	547	7·3	3·1	10·4	9·6	8·6	18·2	15	23	6	10	15
20	Jahlam	116	277	393	146	400	546	1·4	2·5	3·9	3·6	5·1	8·7	22	24	22	20	20
3	*Kapurthala*	*105*	*261*	*366*	*153*	*385*	*538*	*1·9*	*2·1*	*4·0*	*2·9*	*5·1*	*8·0*	*27b*	*24a*	*21b*	*21a*	*3*
I	**Dehli Division**	62	334	396	123	412	535	0·9	1·4	2·3	4·5	7·7	12·2	21a	24b	26a	15c	I
—	**Total Native States**	54	356	410	81	445	526	1·4	3·1	4·5	2·5	4·9	7·4	18c	24c	19a	22a	...
II	**Hissar Division**	51	315	366	88	432	520	0·8	1·3	2·1	1·5	2·9	4·4	27a	24d	26c	28a	II
18	Firozpur	66	302	368	94	424	518	2·3	3·4	5·7	6·2	10·9	17·1	27	25	18	12	18
2	Gurgáon	69	328	397	99	417	516	0·3	1·0	1·3	1·6	2·1	3·7	21	26	28	30	2
11	*Bahawalpur*	*88*	*315*	*403*	*107*	*401*	*508*	*4·0*	*2·9*	*6·9*	*5·0*	*3·9*	*8·9*	*20a*	*26a*	*13d*	*19a*	*11*
22	*Bhajji*	*86*	*420*	*506*	*86*	*420*	*506*	*11·1*	*35·3*	*46·4*	*11·1*	*35·3*	*46·4*	*9a*	*26b*	*1a*	*1a*	*22*
29	Bannu	98	248	346	117	382	499	1·4	1·0	2·4	2·3	2·5	4·8	29	27	26	27	29
21	Gujrát	137	272	409	160	323	483	4·4	3·6	8·0	5·0	3·9	8·9	19	28	12	19	21
32	Kohat	101	244	345	126	356	482	0·9	0·4	1·3	2·6	2·0	4·6	30	29	30	28	32
3	Karnál	48	322	370	81	394	475	0·3	1·5	1·8	2·2	3·1	5·3	26	30	27	26	3
7	*Kalsia*	*34*	*253*	*287*	*62*	*407*	*469*	*0·4*	*1·9*	*2·3*	*0·3*	*2·6*	*2·9*	*31a*	*30a*	*26b*	*32a*	*7*
15	*Bilaspur*	*55*	*405*	*460*	*55*	*405*	*460*	...	*0·3*	*0·3*	...	*0·3*	*0·3*	*13a*	*30b*	*32c*	*32e*	*15*
4	Hissár	33	256	289	63	386	449	0·5	0·8	1·3	1·1	2·2	3·3	31	31	29	31	4
6	*Maler Kotla*	*16*	*215*	*231*	*82*	*357*	*439*	*0·4*	...	*0·4*	*2·5*	*3·7*	*6·2*	*32b*	*31a*	*32b*	*23c*	*6*
14	*Nahan*	*21*	*310*	*331*	*35*	*403*	*438*	*0·4*	*2·6*	*3·0*	*1·4*	*6·5*	*7·9*	*30c*	*31b*	*25a*	*21b*	*14*
4	*Jind*	*20*	*287*	*307*	*40*	*389*	*429*	*0·5*	*1·3*	*1·8*	*0·5*	*2·1*	*2·6*	*30d*	*31c*	*27b*	*32b*	*4*
—	**Minor Hill States.**	58	371	429	58	371	429	5·3	31·1	36·4	5·3	31·1	36·4	17a	31d	1b	3a	...
17	*Nalagarh*	*16*	*217*	*233*	*46*	*368*	*414*	...	*0·9*	*0·9*	...	*5·8*	*5·8*	*32a*	*31e*	*32a*	*23d*	*17*
—	**Total Hill States.**	38	296	334	50	348	398	1·2	6·8	8·0	2·5	9·1	11·6	30b	31f	12a	16a	...
20	*Baghal*	*49*	*336*	*385*	*49*	*336*	*385*	*3·1*	*7·3*	*10·4*	*3·1*	*7·3*	*10·4*	*23a*	*31g*	*6a*	*17a*	*20*
13	*Chamba*	*39*	*209*	*248*	*78*	*299*	*377*	*0·4*	*1·1*	*1·5*	*7·6*	*5·2*	*12·8*	*31d*	*31h*	*27c*	*15a*	*13*
5	*Faridkot*	*26*	*269*	*295*	*39*	*336*	*375*	*1·6*	*1·3*	*2·9*	*2·5*	*5·3*	*7·8*	*30f*	*31i*	*25c*	*21c*	*5*
10	*Lohdru*	*9*	*219*	*228*	*23*	*304*	*327*	...	...	...	...	*9·7*	*9·7*	*32c*	*31j*	*32f*	*17b*	*10*
19	*Keonthal*	*31*	*273*	*304*	*53*	*273*	*326*	*4·3*	*22·5*	*26·8*	*4·3*	*22·5*	*26·8*	*30e*	*31k*	*1c*	*5a*	*19*
31	Hazara	93	140	233	104	207	311	0·7	0·3	1·0	1·1	2·0	3·1	32	32	32	32	31
12	*Mandi*	*24*	*260*	*284*	*38*	*240*	*278*	*0·6*	*1·9*	*2·5*	*0·7*	*3·5*	*4·2*	*31b*	*32a*	*25e*	*28b*	*12*
16	*Bashahr*	*29*	*227*	*256*	*29*	*227*	*256*	...	*11·5*	*11·5*	...	*11·5*	*11·5*	*31c*	*32b*	*4a*	*16b*	*16*
21	*Jubbal*	*13*	*94*	*107*	*13*	*94*	*107*	...	*5·8*	*5·8*	...	*5·8*	*5·8*	*32d*	*32c*	*17a*	*23e*	*21*

Education.

Abstract No. 129, *showing* Education *among the followers of* each Religion *for* Divisions.

Serial No.	Divisions and States, &c.	Rural Population. All Religions. Under instruction.	Rural Population. All Religions. Can read and write.	Rural Population. Hindu. Under instruction.	Rural Population. Hindu. Can read and write.	Rural Population. Sikh. Under instruction.	Rural Population. Sikh. Can read and write.	Rural Population. Jain. Under instruction.	Rural Population. Jain. Can read and write.	Rural Population. Buddhist. Under instruction.	Rural Population. Buddhist. Can read and write.	Rural Population. Musalmán. Under instruction.	Rural Population. Musalmán. Can read and write.	Total Population. All Religions. Under instruction.	Total Population. All Religions. Can read and write.	Total Population. Hindu. Under instruction.	Total Population. Hindu. Can read and write.	Total Population. Sikh. Under instruction.	Total Population. Sikh. Can read and write.	Total Population. Jain. Under instruction.	Total Population. Jain. Can read and write.	Total Population. Buddhist. Under instruction.	Total Population. Buddhist. Can read and write.	Total Population. Musalmán. Under instruction.	Total Population. Musalmán. Can read and write.	Serial No.
	MALES PER 10,000.																									
I	Dehli	62	334	62	372	45	278	323	3,569	...	...	56	125	123	412	112	426	354	901	571	3,731	...	...	130	232	I
II	Hissar	51	315	48	350	37	193	347	3,474	...	...	59	121	88	432	84	488	41	213	708	3,561	...	...	88	155	II
III	Ambala	84	337	85	431	79	289	923	3,003	...	...	75	143	125	500	120	601	98	347	790	3,297	...	...	123	217	III
IV	Jalandhar	123	427	125	510	110	565	...	...	243	1,435	119	184	159	526	165	827	127	626	519	3,240	243	1,445	147	221	IV
V	Amritsar	124	288	146	505	132	346	...	...	...	...	107	137	173	421	232	753	169	486	1,047	4,528	...	...	134	175	V
VI	Lahore	106	331	199	962	78	343	...	...	...	...	83	124	171	498	333	1,280	100	407	729	3,450	...	...	121	180	VI
VII	Ráwalpindi	141	314	420	1,782	497	1,983	...	...	...	...	107	140	169	442	496	2,131	513	2,093	971	5,318	...	...	117	163	VII
VIII	Multan	130	464	395	2,371	262	1,400	...	...	...	...	81	112	185	616	546	2,633	326	1,517	...	...	...	...	101	141	VIII
IX	Deraját	96	284	307	2,298	173	1,447	...	...	...	...	76	90	137	456	485	2,851	431	2,293	...	...	...	...	89	120	IX
X	Pesháwar	149	213	226	1,926	249	1,595	...	...	...	...	144	131	181	403	369	2,437	376	2,830	...	...	...	...	161	172	X
I	Patiála	53	434	66	640	30	251	326	3,497	...	...	54	151	87	524	107	765	40	299	557	3,968	...	...	101	222	I
	Total Eastern Plains	52	388	58	556	30	242	320	3,343	...	...	61	141	84	481	97	689	41	294	476	3,629	...	...	97	199	
II	Baháwalpur	88	315	227	1,724	21	158	...	...	...	...	66	82	107	401	266	1,939	19	234	...	...	...	...	77	101	II
	Total Hill States	38	296	38	298	22	313	...	4,418	...	...	28	190	50	348	49	348	39	413	510	5,373	...	...	61	229	
	Total British Territory	110	338	127	624	115	442	363	3,308	243	1,442	97	129	155	473	106	838	148	563	674	3,693	243	1,442	122	170	
	Total Native States	54	356	57	506	30	242	339	3,398	...	...	62	114	81	445	88	628	41	295	481	3,750	...	...	87	158	
	Total Province	100	342	110	596	86	372	361	3,318	213	1,293	94	128	142	468	171	789	111	471	646	3,702	213	1,293	118	169	
	FEMALES PER 10,000.																									
I	Dehli	0·9	1·4	0·6	0·9	0·0	8·7	2·5	9·8	...	...	1·8	1·7	4·5	7·7	1·2	3·1	2·7	8·1	5·3	6·6	...	...	8·8	9·0	I
II	Hissar	0·8	1·3	0·2	0·9	0·0	4·6	8·6	4·3	...	...	3·0	2·4	1·5	2·9	0·5	2·1	...	4·3	9·2	4·6	...	...	4·5	4·7	II
III	Ambala	4·9	4·6	1·1	2·7	3·2	7·9	44·0	22·0	...	...	3·8	3·8	11·3	17·4	2·2	5·5	3·6	8·8	19·4	32·3	...	...	7·7	7·4	III
IV	Jalandhar	2·8	3·7	1·3	2·9	3·0	8·6	...	...	...	...	5·8	3·7	5·2	7·3	2·3	3·8	3·1	11·1	...	...	...	...	9·8	5·7	IV
V	Amritsar	4·2	3·4	1·7	2·3	4·5	6·9	...	...	...	...	5·2	2·4	8·7	10·1	4·2	6·2	12·3	11·1	...	...	...	...	8·7	5·7	V
VI	Lahore	4·2	3·5	3·0	2·7	1·4	3·9	...	...	...	...	5·3	3·3	11·4	14·3	6·1	10·7	3·5	4·9	...	...	...	...	9·5	6·3	VI
VII	Ráwalpindi	4·2	4·4	4·5	10·7	3·2	15·3	...	...	...	...	4·0	2·9	7·5	9·9	8·3	23·8	12·2	19·4	...	...	...	...	4·7	3·5	VII
VIII	Multan	4·5	4·6	2·2	4·9	1·3	5·3	...	...	...	...	4·7	3·5	6·8	8·6	3·7	7·4	6·1	12·2	...	...	...	...	6·3	4·5	VIII
IX	Deraját	2·5	1·6	2·5	3·3	17·2	0·0	...	...	...	...	2·3	1·2	3·1	3·3	3·1	7·3	11·9	35·8	...	...	...	...	2·8	1·8	IX
X	Pesháwar	3·6	3·3	17·0	28·0	0·0	0·0	...	...	...	...	3·2	2·5	6·8	13·2	27·5	96·1	13·4	26·8	...	...	...	...	4·8	4·4	X
I	Patiála	0·7	2·2	0·0	0·9	0·2	3·5	...	...	...	...	3·1	3·5	2·3	4·2	0·2	1·4	0·4	4·4	...	...	...	...	8·9	9·7	I
	Total Eastern Plains	0·8	1·9	0·1	0·9	0·4	3·1	...	...	...	...	2·7	2·7	1·9	3·8	0·3	1·6	0·8	4·3	...	35·2	...	...	8·5	10·1	
II	Baháwalpur	4·0	2·9	1·3	0·6	0·0	0·0	...	...	...	...	4·4	3·2	5·0	3·9	2·2	0·7	...	...	...	...	...	...	5·6	4·3	II
	Total Hill States	1·2	6·8	1·2	6·4	15·6	31·3	...	...	...	...	1·1	8·9	2·5	9·1	2·1	8·4	13·8	27·7	...	...	...	...	6·7	7·6	
	Total British Territory	3·4	3·3	1·4	2·6	2·9	6·6	8·0	8·0	...	...	4·2	2·8	7·1	9·7	2·8	6·1	6·3	9·0	11·3	11·3	...	...	6·6	4·9	
	Total Native States	1·4	3·1	0·6	3·0	0·4	3·1	0·0	23·0	...	...	3·4	3·0	2·5	4·9	1·0	4·0	0·9	4·4	...	22·0	...	...	5·8	5·9	
	Total Province	3·0	3·3	1·2	2·6	2·0	5·4	7·2	9·6	...	...	4·1	2·8	6·3	8·9	2·4	5·6	4·4	7·4	9·5	13·1	...	...	6·5	5·0	

Education.

The Buddhists come next; but here Mr. Anderson's qualification must be remembered that probably very many of these men can only read and not write. The monks which almost every Spiti family contains are taught to read in the monasteries; but as a rule they do not learn to write also. Mr. Anderson writes thus of education in Láhul and Spiti: "In Láhul a comparatively large number can read and write "Tánkri, Pahári, and also Tibetan. Education is more advanced there than in Kúlu. The Lámas can all read "the printed character, but they are not all able to write Tibetan. They do not as a rule know Tánkri. "The traders know both Tánkri and Tibetan. The fact of the Láhulis engaging generally in trade both with "Kúlu and with Ladákh and Tibet, may explain why the elements of education are more widespread among "them than in Kúlu. There is only one school in Láhul, and in it both Urdu and Tibetan are taught. Before "boys are admitted into the Urdu classes they have to pass through a course in Tibetan. Still here, as in "Kúlu, education is considered a species of *begár* (forced labour), and the father expects to be exempted "from carrying loads, &c., while his son is at school. In Kúlu there are two schools; but they would have "very few scholars were not the parents encouraged by exemption from *begár* to send their children. Edu-"cation in Spiti is at its lowest. Few can read and fewer still can write. Urdu is unknown, and an inter-"preter is kept to carry out or translate for the benefit of the headmen the few orders that relate to that "part of the sub-division. There is no school in Spiti."

Next to them come the Hindus, and here again their comparatively high position is due to the large proportion of them engaged in commerce, especially in the towns. The proportion of Hindus at school or already educated steadily rises from one division to another as the generally Hindu character of the population decreases; it is lowest in Dehli and the Hill States where Hinduism is most prevalent, and highest on the frontier where Hinduism is least general; and this is due to the fact that wherever the general population is Musalmán, the Hindus belong almost entirely to the mercantile classes. The proportion is naturally greater in the towns where commerce is most rife; and the difference between town and village is largest in this respect where Hinduism is most common, and where therefore the largest proportion of the rural Hindu population is agricultural.

Next follow the Sikhs, an almost purely agricultural and artisan population, with not much more than half the percentage for Hindus, and still less than that in the specially Sikh tracts; and here again the same points are observable as with the Hindus, for in the parts where Sikhs are few many of them are educated Khatris. Last of all come the Musalmáns with a uniformly low proportion of educated among the villages, but a much higher proportion in the total population of the eastern districts, where the Musalmán population of the towns consists very largely of educated persons.

District.	Hindus.		Musalmans.	
	Villages.	Towns.	Villages.	Towns.
Dehli	4·2	7·4	2.6	9·3
Karnál	2·2	8·4	0·1	3·7
Sháhpur	13·6	18·0	1·0	3·9

The educated percentages given in the margin of male population among Hindus and Musalmáns for Dehli, Karnál and Sháhpur, or two eastern and a western district, bring out these points very clearly.

Taking the total male population and adding the educated to those under instruction, we get the figures shown in the margin. The proportion between the numbers under instruction and the number able to read and write will be more conveniently examined when we come to discuss the progress of education.

Religion.	Educated percentage of male population.	Relative proportion.
All religions	6·10	100
Jain	43·48	713
Buddhist	15·06	247
Hindu	9·60	157
Sikh	5·82	95
Musalmán	2·87	47

811. The female figures can be disposed of very briefly. Here again the Jains are highest; but curiously enough the Sikhs come next both among rural and total population, and are ahead of the Hindus in almost all the divisions of the Province. The Musalmáns follow closely upon them, and surpass them in the eastern divisions so far as total population is concerned, falling behind in the west. Last of all excepting the Buddhists, who however are wholly illiterate, come the Hindus. But the most encouraging feature of the figures, if they are even approximately correct, is the proportion of scholars to educated adults, which would seem to show that the education of women is really making progress in the new generation. There are about three times as many women over 15 years of age as there are girls between 5 and 15; and even on the exaggerated assumption that the ordinary schooling of a native girl lasts from 5 to 15, if 8·9 per 10,000 of the grown-up women can read and write, only 2·97 should at the same rate be *under instruction*. Instead of this there are 6·3, or more than twice as many as there should be. In other words, education is twice as general among the girls of 5 to 15 years of age as it is among the women of over 15 years. The figures are small at the best; but so far as they may be trusted they show distinct progress.

812. Means and nature of education.—If I take the total attendance at Government and Aided schools for 1880-81 as classified according to religion by the Educational Department, and subtract it from my figures, the remainder will represent those children who are attending indigenous schools or are under private tuition. The number of these last is probably very small. I will first take the males, and I assume that Colonel Holroyd includes Jains among Hindus.

The figures come out thus:—

Religion.	Total male scholars (Census).	Government and Aided schools (Educational Department).	Indigenous schools, &c., (Difference).	Percentages.	
				Government schools.	Other schools.
Hindus and Jains.	77,283	50,874	26,409	66	34
Sikhs	9,458	7,719	1,739	82	18
Musalmáns	68,551	35,022	33,529	51	49
Total	155,292	93,615	61,677	60	40

According to these figures three-fifths of the male scholars of the Panjáb find education in our schools; but while 82 per cent. of the Sikhs and 66 per cent. of the Hindus attend them, nearly half the Musalmáns find their education elsewhere. The reason is obvious. The slightness of the connection which exists between creed and conduct in the case of polytheistic as compared with monotheistic religions has already been alluded to in section 210; and the same difference affects

their respective schemes of education. Among Mahomedans Arabic, the language of their scriptures, occupies the same position and for the same original reason as Latin and Greek, the languages of the Vulgate and the New Testament, have till lately occupied in the curriculum of Christian Europe, and in both cases education is almost entirely in the hands of the clerics. Among Hindus on the other hand, Sanskrit is studied only by the priests, while the elements of commercial education are often, if not generally, imparted by others.

813. The typical high Mahomedan education consists in reading the Qurán and its appended traditions in the original Arabic, learning their meaning to a certain limited extent, though without as a rule any study of the language itself, and acquiring familiarity in a greater or less degree with an Aristotelian system of logic which is curiously interwoven with the religion itself. The primary education of the Musalmán is confined to learning parts of the Qurán by rote, and perhaps being able to read, though never to understand it. In exchange for this the Mahomedans refuse to accept the purely secular education we offer; which however is to the Hindu or Sikh very much what he would receive in his own schools, but put in a better form. The result is that, especially on the frontier where Mahomedan bigotry is strongest, the greater number of Musalmán children attend schools held at the mosques by Mullás or *Tálib-ilms*, themselves often grossly ignorant, where they learn to read the Qurán and to repeat parts of it by rote but not to understand it, and thus at once begin and finish their education. In the Hindu indigenous schools the boys are taught to read, write, and cypher in the Mahájani or mercantile character of the locality. But even here the education, in the villages at least, is most inferior. It is thus described in the early settlement reports of the Province:—

"In 1852 A.D. I found that instruction of the most rudimentary character was being given to 1,922 boys, one-half of whom "were young lads training to be made Mullas, and of the remainder the majority were sons of Khatris and Brahmans learning "account-keeping. In two parganahs, Zaffarwál and Chálhar, only 100 lads were receiving instruction. Few could write their "names, while teachers were indigent and illiterate in the extreme." *Prinsep, Siálkot.*

"The paucity of educational institutions is very great; but what must be the character of such as there are, when the average "monthly pay of each schoolmaster is only R 2-7-4. This sum has been carefully enquired into, and small as it may appear, it is "I believe correct. It has been calculated from both money and grain payments. The class of schoolmaster is a very mean one. "The teachers are generally old men who derive but a partial support from their own exertions, the rest being made up by their "near relatives, who often go out to service, and when they become too aged for the active duties of life, return and succeed in the "school those to whom they have hitherto rendered pecuniary assistance." *Philip Melvill, Hushyárpur, 1852.*

"The native method of education, as it now exists, is very primitive. In the district there are some 60 schools where "the children of the mercantile classes receive the education necessary to enable them to carry on their trade. These schools are "very rude. The younger boys may usually be seen acquiring the rudiments of arithmetic with a finger for a pencil, and the sand "on the ground at the doorway for a slate." *Davidson, Ludhiánah, 1853.*

Mr. Wynyard's account of the schools of Ambála (*pages* 89, 90, *S. Ambála Report*) is too long for quotation. But he too describes the teachers as utterly ignorant, and the education as of the lowest possible type.

The figures for females cannot be treated in the same manner, for the very sufficient reason that we do not show as many female scholars as does the Educational Department. They show 3,224 Musalmán girls at school, and we show 3,224 Musalmán girls under instruction, or exactly the same number. But while they show 2,881 Hindus and Jains and 1,722 Sikhs, we only show 932 Hindus and Jains and 305 Sikhs. Even if we add our figures for those able to read and write, we are still short of Colonel Holroyd's figures for Sikhs. The only conclusion is that our figures for female education are, probably for the reasons given at the beginning of the chapter, wholly worthless. I suppose the Educational Department's figures are correct, and that there really is at the Government and aided schools of the Province one Hindu girl for every 17 Hindu boys, one Musalmán girl for every 8 Musalmán boys, and one Sikh girl for every 4½ Sikh boys; though the figures seem to me extraordinary.

814. Progress of education.—Abstract No. 129 (page 404) shows the numbers in each religion under instruction and able to read and write respectively, and the results are summarised on page 402. Now out of every 10,000 males in British Territory there are 1,238 of under 5 years of age, 1,394 between 5 and 10 years, 1,217 between 10 and 15 years, and 6,151 of over 15 years of age; so that if a boy begins to attend a primary school at about 7 years old on an average and stays there five years, there will be, roughly speaking, 1,800 too young to go to school, 1,300 of an age to go to school, and 6,900 who will already have received such education as they may be intended to have. This is, I believe, a fair average for the primary schools, which include the great mass of Panjáb scholars. Thus by finding the proportions which the numbers per 10,000 under instruction and able to read and write bear to 1,300 and 6,900 respectively, we shall have the percentage (1) of those who are of an age to be at school that are at school; (2) of those who are of an age to be educated that are educated. Separate figures for each religion calculated in this manner are given in the margin. Now if the number now at school bore the same proportion to the number now of an age to go to school, as the number educated bore to the number past the school age—in other words, if education were as general and no more so among the present generation of boys as it was among their living elders, the figures of columns 2 and 3 would be identical, and so would those of columns 4 and 5. Where the figures of the first column in each case are smaller than those of the second, it shows that education has retrograded during the present generation; where larger, that it has advanced. The figures show a very great falling-off in Jain education, chiefly in the rural districts; but I have already stated on other grounds that I do not believe that the Jain figures are correct. There is also a merely nominal falling-off among the rural Hindus. In every other case education is advancing, and among the Musalmáns it is making enormous strides. Allowing for all possible errors, and especially for the probability that in some cases, and especially among Musalmáns, boys who are learning to read only have been

1	2	3	4	5
Religion.	Males per cent.			
	Rural Population.		Total Population.	
	Under instruction.	Can read and write.	Under instruction.	Can read and write.
All religions	**7·7**	**5·0**	**10·9**	**6·8**
Hindu	8·5	8·6	13·1	11·4
Sikh	6·6	5·4	8·5	6·8
Jain	27·8	48·1	49·7	53·7
Buddhist	16·4	18·7	16·4	18·7
Musalmán	7·2	1·9	9·1	2·5

Education.

shown as under instruction, while men who have learnt to read only are not shown as educated, I think the figures still show steady and most satisfactory general progress, and that there has been a revival of education among the Musalmáns of late years.

815. There is another test which it should be possible to apply, and that is a comparison of the figures of this with those of last Census. But unfortunately the returns of last Census only give us the number "able to read and write;" and there is nothing to tell us what standard was adopted, whether boys at school who had learnt to read and write were included, and how boys still learning to read and write were treated. Indeed no instructions appear to have been issued on the subject, and it is probable that no uniform system was adopted. The figures for the whole British Territory compare as shown in the margin. Whichever standard was taken, the progress since last Census has been great. If boys at school were then excluded, the number of educated has increased by 22 per cent.; if they were included, by 62 per cent. Our female figures appear to be so untrustworthy that I do not pretend to draw any conclusion from them. Abstract No. 130 below gives the two sets of figures side by side for each district.

		Proportion per 10,000 souls. 1881.	1868.
Males	Under instruction	155	388
	Able to read and write	473	
	Total	628	
Females	Under instruction	7·1	12
	Able to read and write	9·7	
	Total	16·8	

Abstract No. 130, *showing* Male Education *in* 1868 and 1881 *for* Districts.

Serial No.	District.	Proportion per 10,000 males. Census of 1881. Total.	Under instruction.	Can read and write.	Census of 1868. Can read and write.
1	Dehli	614	187	427	473
2	Gurgáon	516	99	417	303
3	Karnál	475	81	394	554
4	Hissár	449	63	386	397
5	Rohtak	565	97	468	409
6	Sirsa	562	119	443	552
7	Ambala	561	105	456	452
8	Ludhiana	648	151	497	404
9	Simla	1,946	289	1,657	1,203
10	Jalandhar	679	170	509	317
11	Hushyárpur	687	168	519	365
12	Kangra	680	132	548	345
13	Amritsar	681	176	505	250
14	Gurdaspur	559	167	392	272
15	Sialkot	547	176	371	152
16	Lahore	735	192	543	380
17	Gujránwála	726	218	508	546
18	Firozpúr	518	94	424	306

Serial No.	District.	Proportion per 10,000 males. Census of 1881. Total.	Under instruction.	Can read and write.	Census of 1868. Can read and write.
19	Ráwalpindi	752	198	554	219
20	Jahlam	546	146	400	163
21	Gujrát	483	160	323	205
22	Shahpur	637	160	477	260
23	Multan	929	231	698	533
24	Jhang	842	170	672	664
25	Montgomery	628	141	487	443
26	Muzaffargarh	750	177	573	533
27	Derah Ismáíl Khan	641	128	513	606
28	Derah Ghází Khan	620	166	454	659
29	Bannu	499	117	382	298
30	Peshávar	795	248	547	269
31	Hazara	311	104	207	1,509
32	Kohát	482	126	356	237
	Total British Territory	**628**	**155**	**473**	**388**

Progress is apparent, even if we omit those under instruction, in every district except Dehli, Karnál, Hissár, Sirsa, Gújránwála, the two Derahs, and Hazára. The figures of 1868 for this last district, which show 15 per cent. of the population as educated, are evidently wrong. They should probably be divided by ten. If we include in the comparison our present figures for those under instruction, we show an increase in every district except Karnál and Derah Ghází Khán. In the Jálandhar, Amritsar, and Ráwalpindi divisions, the progress of education shown by the figures is enormous, and it is more than probable that the figures of last Census are too low. If, as suggested by Mr. Tolbort, our figures showed the character which each man could read and write, we should obtain a far more complete idea of the real progress of education; for, as Captain Bartholomew points out for Jhang, "probably something like nine-tenths of those shown as able to read and write are shop-keepers who can only write accounts in their books, and nothing more." The rapid advance which the Persian character is making, even among the mercantile classes, has already been alluded to in section 325 of chapter V.

Insanity.

CHAPTER X.

INSANITY, BLINDNESS, DEAF-DUMBNESS, AND LEPROSY.

816. Introductory.—At the Census of 1881 we recorded the number of insane, blind, deaf-mutes, and lepers; and the figures will be found in Tables XIV to XVII, Appendices A and B, classified according to religion, age, and sex. So far as intention goes I believe the figures to be correct. Mr. Wilson writes of Sirsa: "The figures for infirmities are probably almost quite correct. The people did not seem to try and "conceal such cases, which were well known in the village, though of course whatever error there be is not "on the side of exaggeration." I believe that this was the general experience, and that intentional mis-statement or concealment was exceedingly rare, among the male population at any rate. I do not feel quite so certain about the figures for females. But some of the infirmities recorded are not easily defined; and this difficulty did no doubt lead to error in some cases, which will be indicated in treating of the respective heads. To discuss statistics for infirmities instructively requires special professional knowledge, in which I am of course wholly lacking; and all I can attempt to do is to present the figures in a convenient form for examination. Dr. Townsend, our Surgeon-General, to whom I applied for assistance, informs me that to examine the figures thoroughly with the view of explaining the variations which they present would be a work of great labour, and would require very special study.

INSANITY.

817. Insanity in the various parts of the Panjab.—Table XIV of Appendices A and B gives the statistics for insanity. Here there is little room for doubt, and the figures are in all probability very fairly correct. No doubt they include idiots and various degrees of unsoundness of mind, but this was intended. The word *báwala* which was used in the vernacular instructions corresponds very fairly with "unsound mind," and includes both the mad and the idiot. At the same time the Civil Surgeon of Muzaffargarh points out that "there are "many beggars who pretend to be decayed in their minds, but who are really idle malingering vagabonds; "and perhaps these cases may have greatly helped to swell the total number returned as of unsound "mind." The observation is just, for the natives look upon the idiot with a special pity and almost with respect. Abstract No. 131 below shows the number of insane among every 10,000 of the population in each district and state, and gives also the corresponding figures for 1868.

Abstract No. 131, *showing the number of* **Insane,** *in* **1868 and 1881,** *for* **Districts and States,** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

NUMBER OF INSANE AMONG EVERY 10,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Serial No. of Tables.	District or State.	Persons.	Males.		Females.	
		1881.	1881.	1868.	1881.	1868.
24	Jhang	12	15	6	9	2
13	*Chamba*	*12*	*15*	...	*8*	...
26	Muzaffargarh	11	12	9	10	6
28	Derah Ghazi Khan	11	13	9	8	2
14	*Nahan*	*11*	*12*	...	*11*	...
23	Multan	10	12	12	7	5
22	Shahpur	9	10	10	7	4
25	Montgomery	8	10	6	6	2
12	Kangra	7	8	3	5	...
27	Derah Ismail Khan	7	9	7	5	4
11	*Bahawalpur*	*7*	*9*	...	*6*	...
19	Rawalpindi	6	7	8	5	5
20	Jahlam	6	7	8	5	4
7	Ambala	5	6	4	4	1
9	Simla	5	6	5	5	2
21	Gujrat	5	6	3	4	1
29	Bannu	5	6	8	3	5
30	Peshawar	5	7	3	3	...
31	Hazara	5	6	8	4	1
32	Kohat	5	6	9	3	8
7	*Kalsia*	*5*	*4*	...	*6*	...
10	*Loharu*	*5*	*4*	...	*5*	...
19	*Keonthal*	*5*	*6*	...	*4*	...
—	**Total Native States**	**5**	**5**	...	**4**	...
—	**Total British Territory**	**5**	**6**	**5**	**4**	**2**
—	**Total Province**	**5**	**6**	...	**4**	...
3	Karnal	4	5	5	3	2
5	Rohtak	4	4	4	3	1
6	Sirsa	4	5	4	4	1
8	Ludhiana	4	5	6	3	2

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Serial No. of Tables.	District or State.	Persons.	Males.		Females.	
		1881.	1881.	1868.	1881.	1868.
10	Jalandhar	4	5	5	3	2
11	Hushyarpur	4	5	3	3	1
16	Lahore	4	5	9	3	3
17	Gujranwala	4	5	2	3	1
1	*Patiala*	*4*	*5*	...	*3*	...
3	*Kapurthala*	*4*	*5*	...	*4*	...
4	*Jind*	*4*	*5*	...	*3*	...
8	*Dujana*	*4*	*4*	...	*3*	...
16	*Bashahr*	*4*	*6*	...	*1*	...
—	*Minor Hill States*	*4*	*5*	...	*3*	...
1	Dehli	3	4	5	2	2
4	Hissar	3	4	6	3	2
13	Amritsar	3	4	4	2	2
14	Gurdaspur	3	4	3	3	1
18	Firozpur	3	3	3	2	1
2	*Nabha*	*3*	*3*	...	*4*	...
5	*Faridkot*	*3*	*4*	...	*3*	...
6	*Maler Kotla*	*3*	*3*	...	*2*	...
12	*Mandi*	*3*	*5*	...	*1*	...
17	*Nalagarh*	*3*	*4*	...	*2*	...
15	Sialkot	2	3	3	1	1
9	*Pataudi*	*2*	*2*	...	*2*	...
18	*Suket*	*2*	*4*	...	...	...
20	*Baghal*	*1*	*2*	...	...	...
2	Gurgaon	...	...	4	...	2
15	*Bilaspur*	...	...	...	...	...
21	*Jubbal*	...	...	...	...	...
22	*Bhajji*	...	...	...	...	...

Insanity.

The figures bring out one fact with the most startling plainness; and that is, that insanity is most common in the south-western districts, next most common in the hilly districts, and less frequent to an extraordinary degree in the central and eastern plains of the Panjáb. There are 23 districts and states above the average of the Province. Of these the four districts of the Multán division with Chamba and Náhan stand highest in the list, all having 8 or more insane per 10,000 of both sexes and 10 or more among the males. Immediately below them comes Baháwalpur with 7 persons and 9 males; and of the remaining 16 districts and states above the average, every single one except Kalsia and Lohári has hills in it; while Kalsia lies immediately at the foot of the hills, and both it and Lohári are below the average if males alone be regarded. On the other hand, of the 32 districts and states which are below the average, only Hushyárpur, Bashahr, Gurdáspur, Mandi, and the petty Hill States include hills; while every single district or state of the centre and east of the Panjáb is well below the average, whether females or males be taken as the standard of comparison. If males alone be taken Bashahr rises to the average, and Hushyárpur and Mandi and the collective minor Hill States come only just below it. Some of the smaller Hill States indeed still stand low; but their population is exceedingly small, and their Census was probably less accurate than that of any other part of the Province.

818. One cause at least of this distribution of insanity is I believe well recognised. Cretinism, which is only one form of idiocy, is always found to accompany goitre; while goitre is known to be specially prevalent in the hills and in the south-western districts. Why it *should* be so prevalent in the south-western districts, far removed as most of them are from any chalk formation, is apparently not so well understood. In Jhang goitre is said to be most common in the north-east, and in Hazára in the lower portions of the district and on the banks of the Indus. The following extracts from Colonel MacMahon's Amritsar report and Mr. Coldstream's Hushyárpur report are interesting:—

"Goitre is extraordinarily prevalent in some parts of the Bajwát or tract under the Jammu hills. I resided in the Siálkot "district as Assistant Commissioner for five years, and frequently visited Bajwát between 1856 and 1861. Nowhere in so small "a space, not even in the worst valleys in Switzerland, have I seen so much goitre and cretinism. As these diseases show them- "selves nowhere else in the Siálkot district, as they are not found in the left bank of the Chanab, and as I was told by the Maharaja's "officials that they are not common in the low hills of Jammu above Bajwát, their presence in Bajwát itself is in all probability "due to physical causes. Bajwát is a swampy malarious tract and possibly the well water may be contaminated by injurious "mineral matter. If I remember right, the last view of the origin of goitre is that it is due to drinking water flowing through "magnesious lime-stone tracts impregnated with certain mineral substances of which iron pyrites (sulphide of iron) appears to be "considered especially injurious." (*Colonel MacMahon.*)

"Goitre or '*giller*' as the natives call it, is very prevalent in the villages of Dodial, Rampur, and Budhabar, and it is also "known in Sehowra. These are all villages situated in, or near to the base of the hills. The most intelligent natives with whom "I have conversed on the point attribute the disease to drinking the water of the ravines or "khads" as they are locally termed, and "it seems far most common, if not exclusively found in villages of which the inhabitants drink ravine water and not well water. No "doubt in Switzerland and Derbyshire also the people drink largely of the water of mountain streams, so possibly the disease in all "these places may be attributed to this one common proximate cause. What the particular element in this kind of water may be "must be left to time and physiological science to decide. I have on a previous occasion made an estimate that 5 to 10 per cent. "of those afflicted with goitre will be probably found more or less imbecile. The affliction is much more common in the Trans- "Beás Kangra district than it is here; so common indeed that when a betrothal is arranged with a bride of that quarter, there is "always an inquiry made as to whether or not she is affected with goitre." (*Mr. Coldstream.*)

There is another possible cause of insanity in the western half of the Panjáb, and that is the custom of marrying near relations which is there prevalent. In the eastern half of the Province, marriage even within the clan is absolutely forbidden by tribal custom to the mass of the population whatever may be their religion. But among the Mahomedans of the west the prohibition is not so general, and among the higher classes at least marriage of cousins is common. Whether this close breeding has really any share in accounting for the larger proportion of insane in the western districts, is a question for further examination by the light of professional knowledge.

819. Figures for insanity compared with those of last Census.—The figures of 1868 and 1881 given side by side in the Abstract above compare curiously. On the whole the proportion of insane is shown to have increased, and most largely in those parts where insanity now appears to be most prevalent, our figures often showing a decrease in the Eastern Plains. I suspect that the difference is chiefly due to greater accuracy of enumeration. The system of the last Census, at which the only question asked was, "Have "you any idiots in your house, and if so, how many?" was especially likely to lead to omissions; which are much less probable when the specific question is asked regarding each separate person, as it was on the present occasion, "Is he of sound mind, or insane?" The increase is largest in the hilly and frontier districts where we have already seen reason to believe that the Census of 1868 was least accurate. As regards females, I suspect that our figures are still somewhat in defect of the truth, and that those of 1868 were far more so. If the present figures are correct the proportion of insane is, in every single case except Kalsia and Lohári, markedly smaller among females than among males; and this is, I believe, exactly opposed to the experience of other countries.

820. Insanity among the several religions.—Abstract No. 132 (page 410) shows the number of insane per 10,000 of each religion in each division of the Province, omitting very small figures.

The figures are summarised in the margin. It will be seen that by far the largest proportion of insanity occurs among Musalmáns. This might be attributed to the influence of locality, the large Musalmán population of the south-western districts, where insanity is so prevalent, more than counterbalancing the Hindu population of the hills which share the unenviable pre-eminence. But it will be seen on examination of the figures that the proportion of insane is greater for Musalmáns than for Hindus in eight out of the ten divisions, and in the States of the Eastern Plains, so that this explanation fails. The disproportion is greatest in Peshawar; and the exciting influence of Mahomedan bigotry as compared with the easy laxity of Hinduism, is perhaps the real cause of the difference. Sikhs come still lower than Hindus, and the proportion is especially low in the Sikh tracts, and extraordinarily high where the Sikh population is almost wholly mercantile or military. Possibly the excitement of city life and commercial enterprise may have something to do with the difference.

Religion.	Insane per 10,000.		
	Males.	Females.	Persons.
All religions	**6**	**4**	**5**
Hindu	5	3	4
Sikh	3	2	2
Jain	2	1	2
Buddhist	—	—	—
Musalmán	7	4	6

Insanity.

Abstract No. 132, *showing* Insanity by Religion *for* Divisions.

Divisions.	All Religions. M.	All Religions. F.	All Religions. P.	Hindu. M.	Hindu. F.	Hindu. P.	Sikh. M.	Sikh. F.	Sikh. P.	Musalman. M.	Musalman. F.	Musalman. P.	Divisions.
	Number of insane among every 10,000 of each religion.												
Dehli	3	3	3	3	2	3	...	...	...	4	2	3	Dehli
Hissar	4	3	4	4	3	3	...	...	...	6	4	5	Hissar
Ambala	5	4	5	6	3	5	2	1	2	6	5	5	Ambala
Jalandhar	6	3	5	6	4	5	2	2	2	5	3	4	Jalandhar
Amritsar	4	2	3	5	2	4	3	1	2	3	2	2	Amritsar
Lahore	5	3	4	4	2	3	3	1	2	5	3	4	Lahore
Rawalpindi	7	5	6	5	4	5	9	4	6	7	5	6	Rawalpindi
Multan	12	7	10	11	5	8	...	...	...	13	8	11	Multan
Derajat	9	5	7	9	5	7	...	...	...	9	6	8	Derajat
Peshâwar	6	4	5	4	2	3	...	...	...	7	3	5	Peshâwar
Total British Territory	6	4	5	5	3	4	3	1	2	7	4	6	**Total British Territory**
Total Eastern Plains	4	3	4	4	3	4	3	2	2	6	4	5	Total Eastern Plains
Bahawalpur	9	6	7	10	5	8	...	...	...	9	6	7	Bahawalpur
Total Hill States	7	4	5	7	4	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	Total Hill States
Total Native States	5	4	5	6	3	5	3	2	2	7	5	6	**Total Native States**
Total Province	6	4	5	5	3	4	3	2	2	7	4	6	**Total Province**

821. Insanity at the several ages.—Abstract No. 133 below gives the distribution by age of every 1,000 insane in each division.

Abstract No. 133, *showing* Insanity by age *for* Divisions.

Distribution by age of every 1,000 insane of all ages.

Divisions.	Males. 0—	5—	10—	15—	20—	30—	40—	50—	60—	Females. 0—	5—	10—	15—	20—	30—	40—	50—	60—	Persons. 0—	5—	10—	15—	20—	30—	40—	50—	60—
Dehli	2	62	98	125	248	229	116	64	55	6	28	71	180	238	174	134	122	47	4	50	88	144	245	210	122	84	52
Hissar	13	70	79	113	272	146	132	76	99	17	39	72	110	254	165	155	83	105	14	58	77	112	265	153	141	79	101
Ambala	59	92	108	159	164	172	94	82	70	26	113	117	109	197	172	113	84	69	48	99	112	141	175	172	100	83	70
Jalandhar	29	96	116	85	230	146	112	104	82	20	92	115	158	165	132	145	89	84	26	95	116	110	208	141	123	99	82
Amritsar	17	68	104	169	186	165	119	81	91	16	53	135	139	185	139	107	107	119	17	63	114	159	187	156	115	89	100
Lahore	17	110	110	158	188	171	92	90	64	28	104	140	116	176	92	168	100	76	20	109	119	145	184	146	116	93	68
Rawalpindi	30	119	141	147	202	150	85	58	68	26	112	173	150	174	117	104	59	85	29	116	153	147	193	138	92	58	74
Multan	35	135	132	159	181	149	93	51	65	40	130	155	118	153	157	104	56	87	37	134	139	145	172	152	97	52	72
Derajat	35	118	134	110	204	182	111	41	65	42	126	148	105	162	144	91	77	105	37	121	140	108	190	169	105	52	78
Peshawar	48	122	120	149	216	146	89	55	55	44	132	172	201	162	122	94	39	34	47	126	136	164	199	139	90	50	49
Total British Territory.	30	106	121	139	203	161	101	68	71	28	102	138	136	178	139	118	77	84	30	104	126	138	195	154	107	71	75
Total Eastern Plains	13	63	98	146	244	159	111	98	68	23	41	101	136	172	159	148	90	130	17	55	99	143	218	159	124	95	90
Bahawalpur	21	124	149	117	213	156	81	57	82	35	91	126	91	175	181	112	91	98	21	113	141	108	201	169	92	68	87
Total Hill States	15	66	89	89	141	141	167	122	170	45	119	134	52	188	119	104	90	149	30	84	104	77	156	129	146	111	163
Total Native States.	15	79	108	126	213	154	117	93	95	31	69	114	108	175	156	130	90	127	21	75	110	120	200	155	121	92	106
Total Province	28	102	118	137	204	160	103	73	75	28	96	134	131	179	142	120	79	91	30	99	123	135	195	154	109	75	80

The results are summarised below:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Limits of Age.	Males. Figures for Age.	Males. Figures for Insane.	Females. Figures for Insane.	Females. Figures for Age.	Limits of age.	Males. Figures for Age.	Males. Figures for Insane.	Females. Figures for Insane.	Females. Figures for Age.
0—5	123	28	28	138	Under 5	123	28	28	138
5—10	137	102	96	137	" 10	260	130	124	275
10—15	121	118	134	105	" 15	381	248	258	380
15—20	89	137	131	85	" 20	470	385	389	465
0—10	260	130	124	275	" 10	260	130	124	275
10—20	210	255	265	190	" 20	470	385	389	465
20—30	170	204	179	179	" 30	640	589	569	644
30—40	136	160	142	136	" 40	776	749	710	780
40—50	100	103	120	101	" 50	876	852	830	881
50—60	66	73	79	62	" 60	942	925	909	943
60—	58	75	91	57	Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

Note.—This table may be read thus. Out of every 1,000 males 121 (column 2) are between 10 and 15 years of age. Out of every 1,000 insane males 118 (column 3) are of that age. Out of every 1,000 females 105 (column 5) are of that age. Out of every 1,000 insane females 134 (column 4) are of that age. Out of every 1,000 males 640 (column 7) are under 30 years old. Out of every 1,000 insane males 589 (column 8) are under 30 years of age; and so forth.

I have added the distribution by age of total population in columns 2, 5, 7, and 10, so that the distribution by age of total insane in columns, 3, 4, 8, and 9 may be compared with it. The above figures show how comparatively rare insanity is before 10 years of age in both sexes, and how largely it appears to develop between 15 and 20 in the case of males and between 10 and 15 in the case of females, which are about the period at which marriage, in the sense of cohabitation, takes place among the two sexes respectively. Also how shortlived the insane appears to be in comparison with the sane, though the discrepancy is greater in the case of females than in that of males. On the other hand, the figures for female insanity show a sudden increase as compared with those for males after 40 years of age, the critical period in female life. The figures of Abstract No. 133 seem to show that insanity appears earlier in life in the western than in the eastern and central divisions; and the similarity of the figures for males and females in this respect give some reason for believing that this is really the case. But the figures are too small for it to be possible to lay any great stress upon them.

BLINDNESS.

822. Blindness in various parts of the Panjab.—Table XV of Appendices A and B gives the statistics for blindness. Here again the figures are probably accurate. Perhaps some of those returned as blind were not absolutely deprived of sight, but no other cause of error suggests itself as probable; and it is possible that there was less tendency to conceal the blindness of females than there may have been to conceal their insanity. There is not much fear of those blind of one eye only having been included, as the vernacular word for persons so afflicted is different from that used for those blind of both eyes. Abstract No. 134 below shows the number of blind among every 10,000 of the population in each district and state, and gives the corresponding figures for 1868.

Abstract No. 134, *showing the number of* **Blind** *in* **1868 and 1881,** *for* **Districts and States** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

NUMBER OF BLIND AMONG EVERY 10,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.													
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Serial No. of Tables.	District or State.	Persons.	Males.		Females.		Serial No. of Tables.	District or State.	Persons.	Males.		Females.	
		1881	1881	1868	1881	1868			1881	1881	1868	1881	1868
8	Ludhiana	74	71	93	78	74	*3*	*Kapurthala*	*50*	*52*	...	*49*	...
3	Karnal	73	66	81	81	92	15	Sialkot	48	48	56	47	50
6	Sirsa	72	65	91	81	40	21	Gujrat	48	47	63	51	13
1	*Patiala*	*72*	*71*	...	*74*	...	*4*	*Jind*	*44*	*46*	...	*42*	...
22	Shahpur	68	60	74	76	66	*13*	*Chamba*	*44*	*37*	...	*52*	...
24	Jhang	65	58	51	71	65	*11*	*Bahawalpur*	*43*	*44*	...	*42*	...
26	Muzaffargarh	62	54	74	70	71		*Kalsia*	*42*	*46*	...	*38*	...
28	Derah Ghazi Khan	62	55	86	70	56	*8*	*Dujana*	*40*	*36*	...	*45*	...
6	*Maler Kotla*	*62*	*61*	...	*62*	...	*9*	*Pataudi*	*38*	*41*	...	*34*	...
2	*Nabha*	*61*	*58*	...	*63*	...	*14*	*Nahan*	*38*	*39*	...	*38*	...
5	Rohtak	59	52	64	66	73	20	Jahlam	35	33	38	38	47
10	Jalandhar	59	56	66	62	71	*10*	*Loharu*	*35*	*35*	...	*36*	...
25	Montgomery	59	59	67	59	67	32	Kohat	30	27	30	34	43
16	Lahore	57	56	69	59	54	30	Peshāwar	28	27	39	30	28
17	Gujranwála	57	58	40	58	22	29	Bannu	27	26	47	29	46
5	*Faridkot*	*57*	*66*	...	*54*	...	12	Kangra	24	22	27	26	14
7	Ambála	56	51	77	63	80	19	Rawalpindi	24	22	35	26	21
18	Firozpur	56	57	86	56	58	*16*	*Bashahr*	*23*	*25*	...	*21*	...
2	Gurgáon	54	45	72	63	75	9	Simla	21	22	35	20	44
4	Hissar	53	48	68	59	57	31	Hazára	18	18	20	18	6
11	Hushyárpur	53	49	62	58	64	*19*	*Keonthal*	*17*	*19*	...	*15*	...
—	**Total Native States**	**53**	**53**	...	**53**	...	*22*	*Bhajji*	*17*	*12*	...	*22*	...
14	Gurdáspur	52	51	60	54	50	*12*	*Mandi*	*16*	*18*	...	*15*	...
27	Derah Ismail Khan	52	47	41	57	37	—	*Minor Hill States*	*15*	*16*	...	*12*	...
—	**Total British Territory**	**51**	**48**	**61**	**54**	**54**	*18*	*Suket*	*14*	*12*	...	*16*	...
—	**Total Province**	**51**	**49**	...	**54**	...	*17*	*Nalagarh*	*12*	*12*	...	*12*	...
1	Dehli	50	44	69	57	80	*21*	*Jubbal*	*12*	*15*	...	*8*	...
13	Amritsar	50	55	59	45	52	*15*	*Bilaspur*	*10*	*12*	...	*8*	...
23	Multan	50	48	68	52	61	*20*	*Baghal*	*5*	*9*	...	...	...

Here again the order in which the districts and states stand in the list is very significant. All the districts whose area consists of open plains, often sandy, over which the dust-laden hot winds of the Panjáb sweep with unbroken violence and the dancing air seems to blaze with the glare reflected from the ground, stand at the head of the list; while all the hilly districts in which rainfall is heavy and tree-clad mountains subdue the glare and render dust-storms impossible, stand at the bottom. The only exceptions are Hushyárpur and Gurdáspur which stand high, and Multán, Jínd, and Baháwalpur which stand low. In the last three irrigation is extensive, while in Hushyárpur at least there is much sand. Now blindness in the Panjáb is generally due either to small-pox or to ophthalmia, and of the two ophthalmia is by very much the more frequent cause[1]; and dust, heat and glare cause ophthalmia[2]. It is curious that the proportion of blind should be so much larger among females than among males, and that in almost every district in the

[1] There were in the year 1881 no fewer than 91,000 cases of ophthalmia admitted to our hospitals, or nearly as many as the total number of blind persons in British Territory; and in Kohát no less than one-third of the whole admissions to the dispensary in 1880 were on this account.

[2] The natives commonly attribute blindness to the eating of frumenty made of bájra. Now bájra is sown only in sandy soil.

Province. One would think that men were, as leading a more exposed life, more likely than women to suffer from ophthalmia. Chetan Sháh, Civil Surgeon of Jhang, says that women suffer far more than men from inverted eyelashes, a common cause of blindness; and he accounts for their more often losing their sight, by their being exposed to the smoke and heat of the fires over which they cook their food. But if this were the cause, the proportion of blind among women should vary much less than that among men, and should not follow the same order of magnitude as the figures for males. The Abstract however shows that the fluctuation is even greater among females than among males, while the order of districts is much the same in both cases.

823. Figures for blindness compared with those of last Census.—The decrease of blindness among males since last Census is most marked. It appears in 29 out of the 32 districts, and in many is very large indeed. The spread of vaccination and the greater facilities now afforded for medical treatment, combined with the extraordinary faith the natives place in our operation for cataract and the eagerness with which they submit themselves to it, probably account for a great part of the decrease. Among females the decrease is not so well marked; and the reluctance which natives feel to bring their women to our dispensaries, or to allow operations to be performed upon them, perhaps explains the difference.

824. Blindness among the several religions.—Abstract No. 135 below shows the number of blind per 10,000 of each religion in each division of the Province, omitting very small figures.

Abstract No. 135, *showing* Blindness by Religion *for* Divisions.

Divisions.	All religions. M.	All religions. F.	All religions. P.	Hindu. M.	Hindu. F.	Hindu. P.	Sikh. M.	Sikh. F.	Sikh. P.	Jain. M.	Jain. F.	Jain. P.	Musalman. M.	Musalman. F.	Musalman. P.	Divisions.
	Number of blind among every 10,000 of each religion.															
Dehli	52	67	59	54	69	61	56	70	62	...	...	...	48	63	55	Dehli
Hissar	53	66	59	51	64	58	49	50	51	...	...	...	62	74	66	Hissar
Ambala	57	67	62	61	72	66	50	59	54	...	...	...	54	64	59	Ambala
Jalandhar	44	49	46	42	48	45	45	47	46	...	...	...	48	53	50	Jalandhar
Amritsar	51	49	50	55	49	52	34	30	33	...	...	...	52	54	53	Amritsar
Lahore	57	57	57	59	58	59	46	47	47	...	...	...	59	59	59	Lahore
Rawalpindi	38	44	41	34	42	38	22	27	24	...	...	...	38	45	41	Rawalpindi
Multan	55	62	58	51	55	53	23	23	23	...	...	...	56	64	60	Multan
Derajat	44	53	48	34	43	38	...	...	...	...	...	...	45	54	49	Derajat
Peshawar	23	27	25	12	28	19	...	...	...	...	...	...	25	27	26	Peshawar
Total British Territory	**48**	**54**	**51**	**51**	**58**	**54**	**41**	**43**	**42**	**18**	**16**	**17**	**47**	**53**	**50**	**Total British Territory**
Total Eastern Plains	63	64	64	67	68	67	59	62	60	42	69	55	61	61	61	Total Eastern Plains
Bahawalpur	44	42	43	45	34	40	...	...	...	...	...	...	44	44	44	Bahawalpur
Total Hill States	23	23	23	23	23	23	50	86	65	...	...	...	15	17	16	Total Hill States
Total Native States	**53**	**53**	**53**	**51**	**50**	**50**	**59**	**62**	**60**	**38**	**62**	**49**	**53**	**53**	**53**	**Total Native States**
Total Province	**49**	**54**	**51**	**51**	**56**	**53**	**47**	**50**	**48**	**21**	**24**	**23**	**48**	**53**	**50**	**Total Province**

The figures are summarised in the margin. The smallest proportion of blind is found among the Jains, which is probably a result of their almost wholly urban and indoor life which preserves them from the glare and dust of the Indian midday. There is but little difference between the Sikh, Musalmán, and Hindu, though they stand in that order. I should have expected the Hindus, so considerable a proportion of whom are commercial, to stand lower in the list. The figures for Hindus on the frontier and in the Salt-range Tract, where they are almost wholly mercantile, are indeed exceedingly small; but the high proportion in the east of the Province, where the Hindus are chiefly found, raises the total figures above the average.

Religion.	Blind per 10,000. Males.	Females.	Persons.
All Religions	**49**	**54**	**51**
Hindu	51	56	53
Sikh	47	50	48
Jain	21	24	23
Musalmán	48	53	50

825. Blindness at the several ages.—Abstract No. 136 below shows the distribution by age of every 1,000 blind in each division:—

Abstract No. 136, *showing* Blindness by Age *for* Divisions.

Divisions.	Males. 0—	5—	10—	15—	20—	30—	40—	50—	60—	Females. 0—	5—	10—	15—	20—	30—	40—	50—	60—	Persons. 0—	5—	10—	15—	20—	30—	40—	50—	60—
	Distribution by age of every 1,000 blind of all ages.																										
Dehli	21	50	68	58	104	111	126	181	281	19	33	37	37	80	110	152	201	331	20	42	51	47	91	110	140	192	307
Hissar	24	50	61	56	108	91	114	148	348	21	37	39	44	80	100	130	164	385	22	43	50	50	94	96	122	157	366
Ambala	21	37	47	56	106	112	140	167	314	20	29	35	36	83	111	144	189	353	21	33	41	46	95	112	142	178	332
Jalandhar	14	46	44	53	102	109	134	166	332	13	29	29	45	85	102	132	188	377	14	37	36	49	94	106	133	177	354
Amritsar	23	56	62	67	103	108	123	168	290	19	36	48	51	87	103	132	178	346	21	47	56	59	96	106	127	173	314
Lahore	24	44	52	50	99	92	117	158	364	18	35	44	49	74	93	128	167	392	21	40	48	49	87	93	122	162	377
Rawalpindi	26	51	50	47	88	100	113	154	371	19	36	40	43	63	87	118	159	435	22	43	45	45	76	93	116	156	404
Multan	22	50	47	40	80	79	101	155	426	16	33	33	34	60	80	110	164	470	20	41	40	37	71	80	105	160	446
Derajat	27	73	52	48	97	111	109	142	341	21	49	44	41	66	106	126	157	390	24	61	48	45	81	109	118	150	364
Peshawar	40	89	84	62	107	109	121	117	271	37	67	54	66	108	97	118	138	321	39	79	70	61	107	104	120	126	294
Total British Territory	**23**	**52**	**54**	**54**	**99**	**102**	**121**	**160**	**336**	**19**	**35**	**39**	**43**	**77**	**99**	**130**	**175**	**383**	**21**	**43**	**47**	**49**	**88**	**101**	**126**	**167**	**358**
Total Eastern Plains	17	43	52	58	88	93	128	189	332	14	33	35	36	81	92	132	194	382	16	39	44	48	85	92	130	191	355
Bahawalpur	18	42	37	33	75	114	118	118	445	22	38	36	30	70	67	117	110	510	20	40	37	32	73	93	118	114	473
Total Hill States	14	25	27	33	61	90	97	160	493	12	17	20	32	51	54	92	171	550	13	21	24	33	56	73	95	165	519
Total Native States	**16**	**42**	**48**	**53**	**84**	**95**	**124**	**178**	**359**	**15**	**32**	**34**	**35**	**77**	**86**	**127**	**182**	**412**	**16**	**37**	**41**	**45**	**81**	**91**	**125**	**180**	**384**
Total Province	**21**	**49**	**53**	**54**	**96**	**101**	**122**	**164**	**340**	**18**	**35**	**38**	**42**	**77**	**97**	**130**	**176**	**387**	**20**	**43**	**47**	**48**	**87**	**99**	**125**	**169**	**362**

Deaf-Dumbness.

The results are summarised below in the manner already explained in section 821.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	MALES.		FEMALES.			MALES.		FEMALES.	
LIMITS OF AGE.	Figures for Age.	Figures for Blind.		Figures for Age.	Limits of Age.	Figures for Age.	Figures for Blind.		Figures for Age.
0—5	123	21	18	138	Under 5	123	21	18	138
5—10	137	49	35	137	" 10	260	70	53	275
10—15	121	53	38	105	" 15	381	123	91	380
15—20	89	54	42	85	" 20	470	177	133	465
0—10	260	70	53	275	Under 10	260	70	53	275
10—20	210	107	80	190	" 20	470	177	133	465
20—30	170	96	77	179	" 30	640	273	210	644
30—40	136	101	97	136	" 40	776	374	307	780
40—50	100	122	130	101	" 50	876	496	437	881
50—60	66	164	176	62	" 60	942	660	613	943
60—	58	340	387	57	Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

NOTE.—This table may be read thus: Out of every 1,000 males 121 (col. 2) are between 10 and 15 years of age. Out of every 1,000 blind males 53 (col. 3) are of that age. Out of every 1,000 females 105 (col. 5) are of that age. Out of every 1,000 blind females 38 (col. 4) are of that age. Out of every 1,000 males 640 (col. 7) are under 30 years old. Out of every 1,000 blind males 273 (col. 8) are under 30 years of age, and so forth.

The late stage of life at which blindness develops is very marked, more especially among females, and the figures for the several divisions exhibit a wonderful uniformity in this respect. Blindness in early life seems to be far more rare among females than among males; but after 40 years of age the proportion changes. The figures would appear to show that more than half the living blind are over 50 years of age.

DEAF-DUMBNESS.

826. Deaf-dumbness in various parts of the Panjab.—Table XVI of Appendices A and B gives statistics for the deaf and dumb. Enumerators were instructed to enter "only those who have been both "deaf and dumb from birth." The congenital nature of the affliction was perhaps not too carefully inquired into. But as the heading of the column was "deaf-dumb," it is to be hoped that those, who were deaf only were seldom included; and I believe that dumbness other than congenital is not common. The examination of the figures made in section 829 shows that the statistics may be accepted as really including, as a rule at least, only the congenitally deaf and dumb. Abstract No. 137 below gives the number of deaf and dumb among every 10,000 of the population in each district and state. Unfortunately at the Census of 1868 those who were deaf and those who were dumb were recorded separately, and there is nothing to show whether those who were both deaf *and* dumb were included in both columns or not. But as the dumb are I believe almost universally deaf, I have taken the figures for the dumb as corresponding with those for deaf and dumb, and have given them by the side of my figures in columns 5 and 7, showing the figures for the deaf separately in columns 8 and 9.—

Abstract No. 137, *showing the number of* **Deaf and Dumb** *in* **1868 and 1881** *for* **Districts and States** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

NUMBER OF DEAF AND DUMB AMONG EVERY 10,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Serial No. of Tables.	DISTRICT OR STATE.	PERSONS.	MALES.		FEMALES.		DEAF ONLY IN 1868.	
		1881.	1881.	1868.	1881.	1868.	Males.	Females.
13	*Chamba*	*48*	*52*	...	*44*	...	...	...
12	Kangra	42	48	27	35	12	19	9
16	*Bashahr*	*38*	*47*	...	*29*	...	...	...
14	*Nahan*	*35*	*43*	...	*26*	...	...	...
21	*Jubbal*	*26*	*28*	...	*22*	...	...	...
9	Simla	25	27	19	22	11	6	3
15	*Bilaspur*	25	*34*	...	*15*	...	...	...
17	*Nalagarh*	25	*26*	...	*23*	...	...	...
—	*Minor Hill States*	25	*27*	...	*24*	...	...	...
7	*Kalsia*	*24*	*27*	...	*20*	...	...	...
18	*Suket*	*21*	*23*	...	*20*	...	...	...
19	*Keonthal*	*21*	*26*	...	*15*	...	...	...
14	Gurdaspur	18	21	17	14	9	21	12
22	Shahpur	17	20	8	13	3	12	6
11	Hushyarpur	15	17	16	12	9	13	7
20	*Baghal*	14	24	...	3	...	...	...
—	**Total Native States.**	**14**	**17**	...	**11**	...	...	...
7	Ambala	13	16	7	9	3	12	5
21	Gujrat	13	16	5	9	1	11	1
24	Jhang	13	16	8	10	4	17	10
1	*Patiala*	*13*	*16*	...	9	...	...	...
19	Rawalpindi	12	14	9	10	5	11	6
26	Muzaffargarh	12	14	8	9	6	18	5
12	*Mandi*	*12*	*15*	...	10	...	...	...
—	**Total Province**	**12**	**14**	...	**9**	...	...	...
15	Sialkot	11	12	8	9	4	10	8
23	Multan	11	14	10	8	6	9	5
8	*Dujana*	*11*	*11*	...	*11*	...	...	...
9	*Pataudi*	*11*	*15*	...	*6*	...	...	...
—	**Total British Territory.**	**11**	**13**	**8**	**9**	**4**	**13**	**7**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Serial No. of Tables.	DISTRICT OR STATE.	PERSONS.	MALES.		FEMALES.		DEAF ONLY IN 1868.	
		1881.	1881.	1868.	1881.	1868.	Males.	Females.
6	Sirsa	10	12	6	7	2	10	1
8	Ludhiana	10	13	7	8	3	20	7
13	Amritsar	10	12	4	8	3	14	7
20	Jahlam	10	12	10	8	5	8	5
32	Kohat	10	13	9	7	5	9	6
4	*Jind*	*10*	*13*	...	*7*	...	...	...
11	*Bahawalpur*	*10*	*13*	...	*6*	...	...	...
5	Rohtak	9	10	4	7	2	10	5
10	Jalandhar	9	10	6	8	4	12	9
25	Montgomery	9	12	7	6	4	8	3
27	Derah Ismail Khan.	9	10	6	7	6	21	20
28	Derah Ghazi Khan.	9	11	7	6	2	12	4
2	*Nabha*	*9*	*11*	...	*7*	...	...	...
22	*Bhajji*	*9*	*9*	...	*9*	...	...	...
16	Lahore	8	10	5	6	2	11	3
17	Gujranwala	8	9	12	6	7	11	10
29	Bannu	8	11	10	6	14	11	6
31	Hazara	8	10	8	6	2	9	3
2	Gurgaon	7	8	4	5	1	6	4
4	Hissar	7	9	5	6	3	7	5
30	Peshawar	7	9	7	4	2	10	9
18	Firozpur	6	7	5	5	2	15	7
3	*Kapurthala*	*6*	*7*	...	*5*	...	...	...
5	*Faridkot*	*6*	*8*	...	*3*	...	...	...
6	*Maler Kotla*	*6*	*7*	...	*5*	...	...	...
10	*Loharu*	*6*	*8*	...	*3*	...	...	...
1	Delhi	4	5	4	4	3	11	4
3	Karnal	4	5	5	3	3	15	13

Deaf-Dumbness.

Here again it is extraordinary how high the hilly and sub-montane states and districts stand. The only ones among them that are not above the average of the Province are Jahlam, Kohát, Bhajji, and Hazára; and in most of them the figures are enormously high. Of the plains districts, Sháhpur, Jhang, Muzaffargarh and Multán stand highest, while the Dehli division, Kapúrthala, Fírozpur with Farídkot, Pesháwar and Hissár come lowest. The central districts stand in the middle of the list; but the difference between the average and the lowest figures is as nothing compared with those between the average and the highest. The proportion of deaf mutes among males is on the whole half as high again as among females, and this disproportion is observable in every single district and state. It is just possible that the male are less correct than the female figures; but I know no reason for suspecting that such is the case, and I believe that the figures represent an actual fact.

827. Figures for deaf-dumbness compared with those of last Census.—Dr. Bellew, who kindly examined these figures for me, compares the number now returned as deaf and dumb with the total of the separate returns of 1868 for deaf and for dumb. This comparison shows a very considerable decrease, and he writes :—

"The decrease has been in both sexes of the population, and clearly indicates that causes are at work which are diminishing "the extent of deaf-dumbness in this country. This infirmity, it must be remembered, is confined chiefly to the poorer classes who, "when prostrated with fever or any other sickness, are unable through poverty to procure for themselves the most simple and "inexpensive of remedies; but now that aid is being given to them by the medical authorities, and greater attention paid to the "sanitary condition of their towns and villages, it is probable that this infirmity will continue to decrease in a still more marked "degree."

I am not quite satisfied however that the comparison is a just one. I suspect that the column in the tables for 1868 headed "deaf" included many persons who were not dumb, and that our figures should more properly be compared with those only of the column headed "dumb." If this be done our figures show an increase of more than 50 per cent. among males and more than 100 per cent. among females. The meaning of the figures of last Census is so uncertain that it is not worth while to go into the comparison more closely.

828. Deaf-dumbness among the several religions.—Abstract No. 138 below shows the number of deaf-mutes per 10,000 of each religion in each division of the Province, omitting very small figures :—

Abstract No. 138, *showing* Deaf-dumbness by Religion *for* Divisions.

Divisions.	Number of deaf and dumb among every 10,000 of each religion.															Divisions.
	All religions.			Hindu.			Sikh.			Jain.			Musalman.			
	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	
Dehli	6	4	5	6	4	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	4	5	Dehli
Hissar	10	6	8	11	6	9	9	5	7	...	...	...	9	6	8	Hissar
Ambala	16	9	13	16	9	13	9	4	7	...	...	...	17	11	14	Ambala
Jalandhar	24	17	21	30	22	26	7	6	6	...	...	...	13	10	12	Jalandhar
Amritsar	15	9	12	19	11	15	7	4	6	...	...	...	14	9	12	Amritsar
Lahore	9	4	7	8	5	7	5	2	4	...	...	...	10	6	8	Lahore
Rawalpindi	15	10	13	9	4	7	9	4	7	...	...	...	16	11	14	Rawalpindi
Multan	14	8	11	10	7	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	15	9	12	Multan
Derajat	11	7	9	8	5	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	7	9	Derajat
Peshawar	10	6	8	6	6	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	6	8	Peshawar
Total British Territory	**13**	**9**	**11**	**15**	**10**	**13**	**7**	**4**	**5**	**5**	**2**	**4**	**13**	**8**	**11**	**Total British Territory**
Total Eastern Plains	14	8	11	15	9	12	11	5	8	31	10	21	15	9	12	Total Eastern Plains
Bahawalpur	13	6	10	10	5	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	13	7	10	Bahawalpur
Total Hill States	32	28	28	32	22	27	...	...	...	...	...	...	35	36	35	Total Hill States
Total Native States	**17**	**11**	**14**	**20**	**13**	**17**	**11**	**5**	**8**	**27**	**9**	**19**	**15**	**9**	**12**	**Total Native States**
Total Province	**14**	**9**	**12**	**17**	**11**	**14**	**8**	**4**	**6**	**9**	**3**	**6**	**13**	**8**	**11**	**Total Province**

The figures are summarised in the margin. The proportion is much higher among Hindus than among Musalmáns, and smallest of all for Sikhs and Jains. But it is doubtful whether the difference depends upon religion so much as upon locality. It will be noticed from Abstract No. 138 that, speaking generally, and excepting cases where the numbers concerned are very small, the proportion is generally largest in each division for the dominant religion, at any rate as regards Hindus and Musalmáns; and great prevalence of deaf-dumbness in the hills naturally raises the figures for Hindus. Why those for Sikhs should in all cases be so small I do not understand; unless it be that, as Dr. Bellew says, deaf-dumbness is often due to low living and poverty, which would explain the fact, for the Sikhs are probably, taking them as a whole, in more comfortable circumstances than any other class of the community except the Jains.

Deaf and dumb per 10,000.

Religion.	Males.	Females.	Persons.
All Religions	**14**	**9**	**12**
Hindu	17	11	14
Sikh	8	4	6
Jain	9	3	6
Musalmán	13	8	11

829. Deaf-dumbness at the several ages.—Abstract No. 139 on the opposite page shows the distribution by age of every 1,000 deaf-mutes in each division.

Leprosy.

Abstract No. 139, *showing* Deaf-dumbness by Age *for* Divisions.

Divisions.	Distribution by age of every 1,000 deaf and dumb of all ages.																										
	Males.									Females.										Persons.								
	0—	5—	10—	15—	20—	30—	40—	50—	60—	0—	5—	10—	15—	20—	30—	40—	50—	60—	0—	5—	10—	15—	20—	30—	40—	50—	60—
Dehli	47	127	132	133	176	132	112	54	87	23	138	114	79	197	156	114	88	91	39	131	125	114	183	140	113	67	88
Hissar	35	101	126	88	183	122	88	106	151	45	150	150	74	142	97	129	92	121	38	118	134	83	169	114	102	101	141
Ambala	53	88	140	132	151	121	113	95	107	65	129	126	95	129	126	88	97	145	57	101	135	120	144	123	104	96	120
Jalandhar	71	157	181	130	192	117	65	45	42	85	178	176	138	147	115	65	51	45	77	166	179	134	176	116	65	44	43
Amritsar	35	113	144	112	158	133	103	79	123	42	102	138	100	142	138	99	103	136	37	110	142	108	152	135	101	87	128
Lahore	47	118	117	120	162	116	73	169	78	40	113	127	111	173	122	129	74	111	47	123	128	125	176	125	97	84	95
Rawalpindi	52	147	147	89	157	125	90	74	110	57	148	152	126	147	118	94	71	87	54	148	149	102	153	123	97	73	101
Multan	58	150	141	125	146	130	100	62	88	107	174	103	112	141	139	87	59	78	75	158	128	121	144	133	96	61	84
Derajat	58	153	101	106	138	143	136	67	98	95	167	110	101	156	135	87	63	86	71	158	104	104	144	140	119	66	94
Peshawar	98	195	134	107	122	115	75	54	100	96	245	129	96	139	76	70	63	86	97	210	133	104	127	103	74	57	95
Total British Territory.	**55**	**136**	**148**	**117**	**165**	**125**	**92**	**70**	**92**	**67**	**150**	**143**	**113**	**148**	**123**	**90**	**74**	**92**	**60**	**142**	**146**	**115**	**159**	**124**	**92**	**72**	**92**
Total Eastern Plains	30	105	94	100	158	136	108	99	170	29	99	95	89	143	132	132	119	161	29	103	95	96	154	135	115	106	167
Bahawalpur	45	113	101	91	154	154	106	73	163	55	129	104	74	104	104	148	110	172	49	117	102	86	139	139	118	84	166
Total Hill States	46	111	150	124	147	140	93	85	103	75	153	148	109	160	113	79	58	105	57	127	149	118	152	130	88	75	104
Total Native States.	**37**	**108**	**116**	**107**	**153**	**140**	**102**	**92**	**145**	**51**	**125**	**118**	**96**	**148**	**122**	**110**	**92**	**138**	**42**	**114**	**116**	**104**	**151**	**133**	**105**	**92**	**143**
Total Province	**52**	**130**	**140**	**115**	**162**	**128**	**95**	**74**	**104**	**63**	**145**	**138**	**109**	**147**	**122**	**93**	**77**	**106**	**55**	**134**	**139**	**113**	**158**	**126**	**95**	**76**	**104**

The results are summarised below in the manner already explained in section 821 :—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Limits of Age.	Males.		Females.		Limits of Age.	Males.		Females.	
	Figures for Age.	Figures for Deaf and Dumb.		Figures for Age.		Figures for Age.	Figures for Deaf and Dumb.		Figures for Age.
0—5	123	52	63	138	Under 5	123	52	63	138
5—10	137	130	145	137	" 10	260	182	208	275
10—15	121	140	138	105	" 15	381	322	346	380
15—20	89	115	109	85	" 20	470	437	455	465
0—10	260	182	208	275	Under 10	260	182	208	275
10—20	210	255	247	190	" 20	470	437	455	465
20—30	170	162	147	179	" 30	640	599	602	644
30—40	136	128	122	136	" 40	776	727	724	780
40—50	100	95	93	101	" 50	876	822	817	881
50—60	66	74	77	62	" 60	942	896	894	943
60—	58	104	106	57	Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

NOTE.—This table may be read thus: Out of every 1,000 males 121 (col. 2) are between 10 and 15 years of age. Out of every 1,000 deaf and dumb males 140 (col. 3) are of that age. Out of every 1,000 females 105 (col. 5) are of that age, Out of every 1,000 deaf and dumb females 133 (col. 4) are of that age. Out of every 1,000 males 640 (col. 7) are under 30 years old. Out of every 1,000 deaf and dumb males 599 (col. 8) are under 30 years of age, and so forth.

Now here we have at once a test which will show us how far our figures really include only congenital deaf-mutes. If they include none but those who were deaf and dumb from birth, the percentages of the deaf and dumb population for each age will vary from those for total population, only by such inconsiderable differences as might be caused by diversity in the respective death-rates of the two populations; and if, as it is fair to suppose, a native can hardly tell whether a child is deaf and dumb during the first few years of his life, yet the question must be solved at least by the time the child is 10 years old; so that the omission of deaf-mutes under 10 years of age should make the percentages for higher ages in columns 3 and 4 somewhat higher than they ought to be. Now considering the vague nature of the native ideas of age, I think the correspondence between the two sets of figures for age and deaf-dumbness in columns 2, 3, 4 and 5 of the table above is little short of extraordinary. The number of deaf-mutes for under 5 years is much too small, and that for males between 5 and 10 a little too small; and this is due to the omission of young children whom their parents were unwilling to set down in their own minds as permanently deaf and dumb while there was yet a hope of their speaking. And this omission raises all the other deaf and dumb percentages unduly. The correspondence is, as I say, very striking, and proves most clearly that we have succeeded almost entirely in excluding the merely deaf from our tables. The percentages for the last period of life are too high; and it is probable that a few old people who have grown hard of hearing from sheer age have been included; but the proportion they bear to the total number is wholly insignificant.

LEPROSY.

830. Leprosy in various parts of the Panjab.—Table XVII of Appendices A and B gives the statistics for lepers. Here again enumerators were told to enter as lepers "only those who suffer from real leprosy, (*juzám* or *kohr*), not those who have mere discoloration of the skin (*phúlbahri*)." But I believe that it is by no means easy in all cases for even a medical man to distinguish true leprosy from some of the skin diseases which imitate it most closely, and especially in its earlier stages; and there can be little doubt that the figures include many cases which are not really cases of leprosy at all. So far as intentional concealment goes, I doubt whether it has affected the figures. Leprosy appears to be almost confined to the lower classes, and

Leprosy.

as Mr. Wilson says, the cases are notorious to all. But in one respect the figures are misleading. There are leper asylums in certain districts of the Panjáb, and their patients are not wholly drawn from the districts in which these asylums lie, so that the existence of the asylums will unduly raise the numbers of lepers in those districts. I give the figures for 1880-81 in the margin. Besides this there is in the Jhang district a shrine of Pír Jahánia who is supposed to have the power of curing leprosy, at which the lepers of the countryside collect from some distance round and wait patiently, often for years, in the hope of a cure. Abstract No. 140 below gives the numbers of lepers per 10,000 of total population for each district and state, and also shows the corresponding figures of 1868 side by side with those of 1881 :—

Districts.	Total Lepers.	Lepers in Asylums.
Ambala	529	35
Jalandhar	243	67
Kangra	1,060	18
Amritsar	395	224
Sialkot	385	57
Rawalpindi	412	21

Abstract No. 140, *showing the number of* **Lepers** *in* **1868 and 1881** *for* **Districts** *and* **States** *arranged in* **order of magnitude.**

NUMBER OF LEPERS AMONG EVERY 10,000 OF TOTAL POPULATION.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Serial No. of Tables.	District or State.	Persons.	Males.		Females.		Serial No. of Tables.	District or State.	Persons.	Males.		Females.	
		1881.	1881.	1868.	1881.	1868.			1881.	1881.	1868.	1881.	1868.
14	*Nahan*	49	73	...	19	...	—	**Total British Territory**	4	5	9	2	3
13	*Chamba*	45	62	...	28	...	—	**Total Province**	4	6	...	2	...
21	*Jubbal*	41	54	...	21	...	3	Karnal	3	5	8	...	3
19	*Keonthal*	39	54	...	21	...	4	Hissar	3	5	8	...	4
9	Simla	31	37	40	17	26	5	Rohtak	3	4	8	1	2
22	*Bhajji*	26	41	...	4	...	8	Ludhiana	3	4	11	1	4
—	*Minor Hill States*	19	27	...	9	...	10	Jalandhar	3	4	9	2	3
16	*Bashahr*	17	24	...	10	...	18	Firozpur	3	4	10	1	3
18	*Suket*	17	26	...	5	...	3	*Kapurthala*	3	4	...	1	...
12	*Mandi*	16	22	...	9	...	6	Sirsa	2	2	3	...	3
12	Kangra	15	21	27	8	8	22	Shahpur	2	3	3	1	1
20	*Baghal*	11	16	...	4	...	26	Muzaffargarh	2	3	8	...	2
—	**Total Native States**	7	11	...	3	...	28	Derah Ghazi Khan	2	3	3	2	2
11	Hushyarpur	6	9	15	2	4	30	Peshawar	2	2	2	1	1
21	Gujrat	6	9	12	3	1	5	*Faridkot*	2	3	...	...	...
7	*Kalsia*	6	8	...	3	...	16	Lahore	1	1	2	...	...
7	Ambala	5	7	14	2	3	17	Gujranwala	1	2	4	...	2
19	Rawalpindi	5	7	14	4	6	23	Multan	1	1	6	1	3
15	*Bilaspur*	5	9	...	1	...	24	Jhang	1	2	2	...	1
17	*Nalagarh*	5	6	...	3	...	25	Montgomery	1	1	1	...	1
1	Dehli	4	5	9	2	1	29	Bannu	1	1	2	1	1
2	Gurgaon	4	6	14	1	3	32	Kohat	1	1	1	...	...
13	Amritsar	4	6	9	3	3	4	*Jhind*	1	2	...	...	...
14	Gurdaspur	4	5	10	2	3	6	*Maler Kotla*	1	2	...	...	...
15	Sialkot	4	6	10	2	3	8	*Dujana*	1	2	...	...	...
20	Jahlam	4	5	9	2	6	10	*Loharu*	1	1	...	...	...
31	Hazara	4	6	6	2	2	11	*Bahawalpur*	1	2	...	1	...
1	*Patiala*	4	6	...	2	...	27	Derah Ismail Khan	...	...	1	...	...
2	*Nabha*	4	6	...	2	...	9	*Pataudi*	...	...	...	...	...

The order of districts is very marked. We have, almost without a break, first the hills, then the submontane districts, then the Eastern Plains, and last of all the Western Plains. I do not know what doctors assign as the cause of leprosy. But there is one idea suggested to me by the order of the districts, which would be easily tested by classification of known cases of leprosy according to caste. The districts are roughly speaking arranged in this list in order, with respect to the number of the carrion-eating castes among the population. Is it possible that the feeding on dead animals and such beasts as jackals and foxes has anything to do with the disease? I believe that syphilis is sometimes assigned as the cause of leprosy, and this would explain the high place that the Hill districts hold in the list. But if this were the true cause we should expect to find more lepers among the Musalmáns than among the Hindus, the former being markedly more addicted to venery than the latter, and far more in the towns than in the villages; whereas exactly the reverse is the case. If my suggestion be correct both facts would be explained, as the outcast classes have for the most part been classed as Hindu, and they are not only more numerous in the villages than in the towns, but eat carrion more largely in the former than in the latter. Of course it may be the poverty and dirt in which these people live, rather than the nature of their food, that produces leprosy, if it be true, as I understand it is, that lepers generally belong to the lowest classes. The proportion of lepers is more than two and a half times as great among males as among females, and the disproportion is constant throughout the list; and this would appear to point to syphilis as the more probable explanation.

831. Figures for leprosy compared with those of last Census.—The figures show a very large decrease since 1868, both among males and among females, and the decrease is observable in every district.

It may represent a real decrease in the disease; or it may be due to the more careful discrimination at the present Census of real leprosy from mere dermal discoloration.

832. Leprosy among the several religions.—Abstract No. 141 below shows the number of lepers per 10,000 of each religion in each division of the Province, omitting very small figures.

Abstract No. 141, *showing* Leprosy by Religion *for* Divisions.

Divisions.	Number of lepers among every 10,000 of each religion.												Divisions.
	All Religions.			Hindu.			Sikh.			Musalman.			
	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	M.	F.	P.	
Dehli	5	1	3	5	1	3	...	...	...	6	1	3	Dehli
Hissar	4	1	3	4	1	3	...	...	...	3	...	2	Hissar
Ambala	7	2	5	7	2	5	2	1	2	8	2	5	Ambala
Jalandhar	11	4	8	13	5	9	4	1	3	8	2	5	Jalandhar
Amritsar	6	2	4	6	2	4	3	1	2	6	2	4	Amritsar
Lahore	2	1	2	3	...	2	3	...	2	2	...	1	Lahore
Rawalpindi	6	3	5	2	1	2	...	...	...	7	3	5	Rawalpindi
Multan	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1	Multan
Derajat	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	1	Derajat
Peshawar	3	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	1	2	Peshawar
Total British Territory	5	2	4	7	2	5	3	...	2	5	2	3	**Total British Territory**
Total Eastern Plains	5	1	3	6	2	4	3	1	2	5	1	3	Total Eastern Plains
Bahawalpur	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1	Bahawalpur
Total Hill States	36	13	25	37	13	26	...	...	...	...	...	...	Total Hill States
Total Native States	11	3	7	16	5	11	3	1	2	4	1	3	**Total Native States**
Total Province	6	2	4	8	3	6	3	...	2	4	2	3	**Total Province**

Religion.	Lepers per 10,000.		
	Males.	Females.	Persons.
All Religions	6	2	4
Hindu	8	3	6
Sikh	3	...	2
Masulmán	4	2	3

The results are summarised in the margin. The differences are apparently not wholly due to locality, as they are not constant throughout the divisions. Again the Sikhs are at the bottom of the list throughout the Province. Now the proportion of carrion-eaters among the Sikhs is exceedingly small, while among Hindus as classed for Census purposes it is exceedingly large as a rule. On the other hand in the western divisions the Hindus are almost wholly commercial, and include no carrion-eaters. The figures of Abstract No. 141 seem to lend some slight support to the suggestion made in section 830.

833. Leprosy at the several ages.—Abstract No. 142 below shows the distribution by age of every 1,000 lepers in each division of the Province.

Abstract No. 142, *showing* Leprosy by Age *for* Divisions.

Divisions.	Distribution by age of every 1,000 lepers of all ages.																										
	Males.									Females.									Persons.								
	0–	5–	10–	15–	20–	30–	40–	50–	60–	0–	5–	10–	15–	20–	30–	40–	50–	60–	0–	5–	10–	15–	20–	30–	40–	50–	60–
Dehli	2	15	29	37	114	209	251	204	139	...	58	58	41	132	173	199	207	132	2	22	35	37	117	203	242	204	138
Hissar	...	4	11	29	143	176	268	193	176	...	...	34	34	172	155	208	190	207	...	3	15	30	148	172	258	193	181
Ambala	4	12	29	59	128	232	240	148	148	7	15	29	58	102	175	256	175	183	5	12	29	59	123	222	243	153	154
Jalandhar	1	6	27	48	149	219	245	165	140	2	17	47	78	149	194	240	138	135	2	9	31	55	149	213	243	159	139
Amritsar	4	11	36	74	149	208	215	174	129	...	8	48	119	127	226	175	182	115	3	10	39	84	144	213	205	176	126
Lahore	...	7	...	30	167	250	208	193	145	43	29	14	29	174	174	291	72	174	9	12	3	29	169	233	225	169	151
Rawalpindi	3	6	35	46	152	210	195	173	180	3	17	20	60	133	216	209	173	169	3	9	31	50	147	211	199	173	177
Multan	27	40	74	87	161	148	181	128	154	15	15	46	121	121	136	168	136	242	23	33	65	98	149	144	177	130	181
Derajat	41	62	21	72	206	124	206	165	103	...	89	36	36	161	89	161	107	321	26	72	26	59	190	111	190	143	183
Peshawar	5	49	49	68	162	221	161	118	167	...	62	62	76	200	154	215	185	46	4	52	52	71	171	204	175	134	137
Total British Territory	4	12	30	52	146	212	226	170	148	5	23	39	73	140	190	216	160	154	4	14	32	57	144	207	225	167	150
Total Eastern Plains	...	6	15	46	150	209	238	198	138	...	20	13	60	132	205	192	246	132	...	8	15	49	146	208	231	206	137
Bahawalpur	...	57	94	57	170	132	113	94	283	...	56	56	56	277	111	56	55	333	...	56	85	56	195	127	99	85	297
Total Hill States	4	17	26	58	153	232	216	163	130	5	11	43	54	139	198	222	157	171	4	15	30	58	150	224	218	162	139
Total Native States	3	14	24	55	152	224	221	172	135	4	15	36	55	142	198	210	176	164	3	15	26	56	150	217	218	173	142
Total Province	4	13	28	53	148	215	224	170	145	4	20	38	68	141	192	214	165	158	4	14	31	56	146	210	222	169	148

Leprosy.

The results are summarised below in the manner already explained in section 821 :—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
LIMITS OF AGE.	MALES.		FEMALES.		Limits of Age.	MALES.		FEMALES.	
	Figures for Age.	Figures for Lepers.		Figures for Age.		Figures for Age.	Figures for Lepers.		Figures for Age.
0—5	123	4	4	138	Under 5	123	4	4	138
5—10	137	13	20	137	,, 10	260	17	24	275
10—15	121	28	38	105	,, 15	381	45	62	380
15—20	89	53	68	85	,, 20	470	98	130	465
0—10	260	17	24	275	,, 10	260	17	24	275
10—20	210	81	106	190	,, 20	470	98	130	465
20—30	170	148	141	179	,, 30	640	246	271	644
30—40	136	215	192	136	,, 40	776	461	463	780
40—50	100	224	214	101	,, 50	876	685	677	881
50—60	66	170	165	62	,, 60	942	855	842	943
60—	58	145	158	57	Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

This table may be read thus: Out of every 1,000 males 121 (col. 2) are between 10 and 15 years of age. Out of every 1,000 leprous males 28 (col. 3) are of that age. Out of every 1,000 females 105 (col. 5) are of that age. Out of every 1,000 leprous females 38 (col. 4) are of that age. Out of every 1,000 males 640 (col. 7) are under 30 years old. Out of every 1,000 leprous males 246 (col. 8) are under 30 years of age; and so forth.

The figures show very clearly that leprosy is almost unknown in the earlier stages of life, that it seldom develops before 20 years of age, and generally very much later. It does not appear to shorten life so far as we can judge from these figures. Nearly a third of the whole lepers of either sex are returned as over 50 years old. The figures for the Multán and Deraját divisions however form striking exceptions to this general rule.

BOOK II.

THE OPERATIONS OF THE CENSUS.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CENSUS OF THE PROVINCE.

PART I.—PRELIMINARY OPERATIONS.

834. **Territorial sub-division into Census units.**—The unit adopted for Census purposes was the area of which the Census was to be taken by a single *enumerator*. This was called the *block*. The blocks were grouped into *circles*, each of which was under a *supervisor*, and the circles were again grouped into *charges*, with a *superintendent* over each. These charges were arranged by tahsíls, a gazetted officer being placed, wherever possible, in charge of each tahsíl. A map of the tahsíl showing the village boundaries was taken, and the population of each village according to the Census of 1868 marked upon it. With the help of this map it was easy to fix all blocks which consisted of integral villages, to decide roughly how many blocks each of the larger villages should be divided into, and to mark out the rural circles and charges. In fixing these, established boundaries, such as those of police and patwári's circles, zaildár's circuits, wards in towns and the like, were followed as far as possible. Patwáris' circles were found especially convenient, the patwári being often appointed supervisor of his circle.

The sub-division was strictly one of *area;* that is to say, wherever a village was divided into two or more blocks, the lands attached to it were also divided. Thus the collective blocks of a tahsíl included the whole of its area; and it was carefully explained to each enumerator that he was responsible for the enumeration, not only of persons present in the portion of the village site that was under his charge, but also of all such as might be present in the fields or other area attached to it. The directions laid down that in making this division, well-defined lines, such as roads, canals, streams, and the like, should be followed. This was one of the points to which too little attention was paid, the boundary not unfrequently consisting of an imaginary line drawn across the area, which had no tangible existence.

835. **The index-register and circle-map.**—As the blocks were roughly marked off, an index-register (Census Form A, General Letter A, Appendix D) was drawn up which served as an index to the Census sub-divisions of the tahsíl, showing the relation which they bore to the various villages, the number of houses, the population by last Census for each, the names of the Census staff, and so forth. Perhaps the most important columns in this form, and the ones which needed most insistance to ensure their being properly filled up, were columns 5 and 6 headed "Subsidiary parts." In these columns were shown all the minor hamlets and groups of houses or temporary huts which are so often scattered about the village area, and which, without some such record, were so likely to escape enumeration. The Deputy Commissioner of Ambála took upon himself to omit these columns as useless. But it seems to me that they are absolutely essential; and especially so in the Multán and Deraját divisions and the hill tracts, where tiny hamlets are dotted about all over the district. Some suggestions for facilitating the preparation of this form will be found in the section on Difficulties and Suggestions.

The register, when the rough entry of blocks was complete, was compared with the list of survey villages which is kept up in the tahsíls, to ensure that no portion of the area had escaped inclusion in some one block or other. Each supervisor was then furnished with a copy of so much of the register as referred to his circle, together with a rough sketch-map of the circle showing the village boundaries and the rough division into blocks; and he was then sent into his circle to conduct the house numbering, and to finally demarcate the blocks where these latter consisted of portions of villages or towns.

836. **House-lists and block-maps.**—The next step was to prepare a rough sketch-map of each block, showing its boundaries and the position of every house included within them. Together with this was prepared a house-list (Census Form B, Appendix D), the two standing to each other in the relation of the settlement field map and register. In this house-list was entered a detail, not only of the houses of the block, but also of the families dwelling in each house. This detail enabled the supervisor to complete the demarcation of blocks, finally fixing their limits in towns and in those villages which were too large for a single enumerator to deal with. Each house then had a separate number allotted to it, the numbering being consecutive within each block, and following the order in which it would be most convenient for the enumerator to visit the houses on the night of the Census. In Kúlu the houses were numbered downhill beginning from the highest point, to which the enumerator climbed up during the day, and so had no uphill work after he had once begun his enumeration. This was a capital device which should be followed in all hilly tracts.

It was laid down that each homestead (*ábádi*) should have a separate series of house numbers, except in the case of towns, in which each *muhallah* was to be numbered separately. These directions did not work well. The small scattered hamlets of which in some parts of the Province the village consists often include only four or five houses; while in many towns the *muhallahs* are not wards, but streets or quarters consisting of dwelling-houses as opposed to shops, and do not include the bazaars at all; and even where there are true *muhallahs,* they are often too large for the purpose, as only one numbering party can work at a time in the unit which is to bear a continuous series of numbers. The best plan would probably be to keep to one series of numbers throughout the whole of a village or Census circle, whichever might in each case be smaller.

Part I.—Preliminary Operations.

The number allotted to each house was marked on it in a conspicuous manner, so as to be easily visible by the enumerator when he made his rounds on the Census nights. The method of affixing the numbers varied from place to place. Quite the worst plan I know of was to write the numbers on pieces of paper stuck up on the wall. In Talagang wooden pegs were driven into the wall, the ends white-washed, and the numbers painted on them. But unless the pegs were extraordinarily large the numbers would be too small to be conspicuous. The plan of marking the numbers on boards hung up on the houses is probably the best for towns; for though the boards cost something (less than one anna each in Rohtak) yet they can be kept up as permanent numbers, and can be shifted as new houses are built or old ones pulled down. For sheds and gipsies' huts boards must be used; but in villages the best plan is to paint a white square on the wall, near the door-post and under the shelter of the eaves, and to paint the number on it in red (*geru*), both the white and red paints being mixed with *linseed* oil boiled with a little resin (*rál*); as if they are mixed with water or if the oil is not boiled, the paint runs and the rain washes it off. The numbers should be so conspicuous that it would be difficult to pass the door without noticing them; and where Nágri-writing enumerators are employed they should be written in both Nágri and Persian.

837. In deference to the opinion of Mr. Elliott, who thought that the preparation of the map showing the houses was unnecessary, I eventually allowed these maps to be dispensed with where they had not already been made. But in most districts the Deputy Commissioners found them so useful and so easy to make that they did not avail themselves of this option. I do not think they are absolutely essential, if sufficient care is taken that no house be omitted from the house-list. But I believe them to be *most* useful; not only as rendering such omission less likely, but still more as a diagramatic guide to what would otherwise be a bare list of houses, which, in towns, often lie one within one another in a confusion which is almost inextricable without some such aid. In parts of the Province also where the houses are much scattered, they are especially valuable. Mr. Anderson of Kúlu writes:—

"Sketch-maps giving the positions of houses and homesteads in the blocks were prepared in all cases. They occupied the pat-"wáris and gumáshtas for some time at the commencement of operations, but the time was not thrown away and I did not avail my-"self of the permission given to dispense with these maps. I can speak of their great use from my own experience in testing the "work. In Kúlu where the houses are very scattered, or rather where there are so many houses (Dogri or Sharan) lying away from "the homestead which is itself compact enough, it was of great benefit to have these maps, however rough, to refer to. The supervi-"sing officials could detect an omission at once. Without these maps I should certainly not have been so sure of the great accuracy "of the enumeration as I am."

Major Lawrence of Kángra writes to a similar effect; Mr. Dames of Dera Ismáíl "found them of great "use;" Colonels Minchin and Hall, Commissioners of Hissár and Ráwalpindi, both of whom saw much of the work while in camp and took a most active interest in it, consider them most useful. Mr. Frizelle of Sháhpur says they "were in no case omitted, and added greatly to the certainty of the work;" while Mr. Wilson of Sirsa says that both himself and the other officers engaged in the work "found them most "useful, and that they did not take long to make." On the other hand, Mr. Hawkins of Amritsar considered them unnecessary, and did not prepare them; Mr. Steedman of Ráwalpindi made them, and found them "not very useful;" and Mr. Benton of Karnál says "I prepared them for the whole district. But I do not think them necessary and worth the trouble of making; though by means of them the house-numbering could be checked without going to the spot." They were certainly not intended to serve this last purpose. Again Mr. Stogdon of Lahore writes:—

"As a matter of fact I doubt whether the maps are of much practical utility. They are not required in villages where patwáris "and lambardárs are well acquainted with every dwelling-house, and in the case of large towns like Lahore their preparation is a "work which requires practical knowledge. To the best of my recollection some of the maps of the more tortuous and involved portions "of Lahore were so badly made that they had to be rejected. Many houses were left out altogether. On the other hand, a careful su-"pervisor who knows the locality cannot leave out many houses. If he omits a few in the first instance he is obliged to become so "thoroughly acquainted with the circle during the course of the preliminary enumeration that he must find them out eventually.

"With regard to future operations I think it would be a good thing to prepare sketch-maps of towns showing all the "houses and their numbers. Such maps could easily be prepared by municipal overseers, and they should be from time to time re-"vised and brought up to date. Numbers should also be affixed to the houses, and the proprietors or tenants be held responsible for "supplying them if necessary."

It must be remembered that what is wanted is, not a map to scale, but the merest diagram of relative position. Thus I found that some of these maps were made on enormous sheets of paper in order to show the outer boundaries of the block area. This was quite unnecessary. The limiting lines of the block external to the homestead should either be represented by lines marked with the name of the road or other feature for which they stand without regard to scale, or, perhaps a better plan, be separately shown as a small sketch-map drawn in the corner of the house-map of the homestead.

838. Definition of a house.—This was a much disputed point; and I think that the definition finally adopted caused a great deal of difficulty and confusion, and led to the inclusion of some very meaningless figures in our Census tables. We find five units in existence in the Panjáb:—

(1) The *enclosure*, including one or more buildings communicating with the public road by a common door or gateway:

(2) The *building or edifice*, a structural unit which is generally easy of identification and can be shown on a map:

(3) The *quarters*, consisting of any such portion of an edifice as has a separate means of access from without. For instance, in towns the ground floor of a building is often a shop open to the street; the first floor occupied by prostitutes with a staircase of its own; the second floor occupied by artisans with another and separate street-door and staircase, perhaps leading into an entirely different street, and so forth:

(4) The *household*, consisting of several families nearly related to each other, and occupying either common or adjacent rooms or buildings, but not being in commensality with each other:

(5) The *family*, consisting of a commensal group, denoted by a separate hearth, and occupying rooms, a room, or a portion of a room.

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With respect to these five units, of which the first three are structural and the two last social, two points have to be determined :—

(*a*) Which is the unit to which a separate number can most conveniently be attached for the purposes of enumeration, and as a guide to the enumerator :

(*b*) Which units should be separately recorded for statistical purposes.

It by no means follows that the answer to these two questions is one and the same.

The Committee appointed in 1877-78 to consider the arrangements for the late Census recommended that the enclosures should be numbered, and that within the enclosures, which they called houses, families should be enumerated separately. The Government of India at first decided not to recognize enclosures, "the experience of the last Census having shown that the use of the term was either confusing or "impracticable," and adopted the house at its unit, defining it sometimes as "indicating the homestead "where members of a family live in commensality, and as comprising also the resident servants of such "family," and sometimes as "the several dwelling-rooms which go to make up the homestead, whether such "rooms are occupied by one or more joint families." But in its final instructions it abandoned commensality as a test, and decided that "house" should simply mean "a building to which a separate number has been "affixed," suggesting at the same time that each "dwelling-place of one or more families with their "servants, having a separate principal entrance from the public way," should be separately numbered. This was practically equivalent to adopting the "enclosure" as its unit, but retaining the term "house" by which to describe it; and much confusion resulted.

In the Panjáb the staff were told to number as a separate house (translated by *áháta*, which really means enclosure) "any group of dwelling-houses, whether one only or many, which have a common "separate principal entrance from the road or street, however many families it may include;" while the family (translated by *ghar*) was defined as "including all the people, whether one only or many, who eat "together at one common table (*chúlha*), together with such of their servants as reside with them and any "visitors who may be staying with them." At the same time it was pointed out to the superior staff that, while the outer door leading into the street would ordinarily be the sign of a house, which would include all the dwellings to which that door might lead, yet there were in many towns large caravanserais, courts, or collections of quarters entered by a common gateway, which it would be impossible to treat as single houses. The letter continued as follows[1]:—

"On the one hand the house, as now defined, no longer possesses any great statistical importance; and is, in fact, little more "than a convenient unit to serve as a basis of enumeration. On the other hand, just because it is that unit, and because the "enumerator will be told that the house is a building separately numbered, it is extremely important that each house so separately "numbered and recorded in the house-list should be very clearly demarcated. Thus, where the definition in the rule leaves it open "to doubt what should be taken to constitute a house, or where the letter of the definition would give an unmanageably large house, "the following are the chief considerations by which you must be guided.

(1) "That the house should be clearly defined by obvious existing boundaries, so that there may be no possibility "of mistake as to what it does or does not include;

(2) "That it should not include an unwieldy number of families, as its doing so might lead to great confusion "or error in the actual enumeration."

It will be observed that these instructions drew no distinction between the edifice and the quarters; in fact I was not then aware how often the same building has several street-doors, leading respectively to its separate floors or quarters.

839. The result was that the house in the Panjáb Census had a signification which was by no means constant. In the villages of the greater part of the Province, where the enclosure generally coincides with the dwelling-place of a household including not more than two or three families, this was the unit most often numbered as a separate house. In parts of the Multán division and in the hills, where the rule is that each family lives in an isolated building, this latter was what was numbered. In the towns the building or edifice was in some places adopted as the unit, in others the quarters, less frequently the enclosure. In all cases, the limits of size beyond which a single enclosure was broken up and its included buildings treated as separate houses, varied immensely from place to place. But I regard this result as at once unavoidable and unobjectionable, so far as the unit to be adopted for the guidance of the enumerator is concerned. In this connection the only question is one of practical convenience; and the variety and complexity of the conditions met with is so infinite, especially in towns, that it is impossible to lay down any uniform rule which shall work well. If the staff once understand that the one object is to number as a separate house what will be most obvious and unmistakeable to the enumerator and most convenient as a unit for his enumeration, they will have little difficulty in dealing with any conditions they may meet with.

In fact, I believe the great fault in the Panjáb instructions to have been that they did not leave sufficient discretion in the matter. In those huge courts or quarters (*katra* or *kúchabandi*) often found in large towns, where scores or even hundreds of separate houses are surrounded by a common wall and have only a single gateway as the means of access, the mere necessity of the case compelled the supervisor to number each building as a separate house. But the use of the word *áháta* in the translated instructions, and the fact that the definition given in the rule made the common entrance the index of a house, led the staff to feel far too great hesitation in splitting up enclosures into several houses; and I often found, more especially in towns, courts containing many detached dwelling-houses numbered as single houses; while, in order to distinguish the several dwelling-houses, and especially in order to provide for the entry of such of them as might be temporarily vacant, and which would otherwise, not being "houses" and including no family, have found no place whatever in the house-list, a series of subordinate numbers had been affixed to the buildings within the so-called house, thus causing unnecessary complication and possibility of confusion and error. So in the villages, where the supervision was necessarily less intelligent, I often found that quarters inhabited by

[1] General Letter B, section 3, Appendix D.

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the whole menial population of the village had been treated as single houses, simply because they were separated from the village homestead by and included within walls with only one gateway.

840. Suggestions for the future.—If I had to frame rules again on the point, I should adopt the "enclosure or house" as my unit to be numbered, translate it by "*áháta, makán, yá ghar*" (taking *chúlha* as my translation of family[1]), and explain that what was wanted was, to ensure that the enumerator should easily find the number and should be certain what was covered by it, and that these were the only points to be considered. This plan would of course leave the staff at liberty to select in each case that one of the three structural units mentioned in section 838 which might seem most convenient. But this is exactly what is wanted. The other two of the five units, the household and the family, are obviously unsuitable; for, depending on social relations and not on physical structure, they cannot have numbers painted on them as such, though they may of course, and often do coincide with one or other of the structural units. And of the three structural units, the enclosure is the most convenient in the case of a family homestead, the building in the case of separate houses opening upon a common courtyard or of isolated houses, and the quarters with its separate street-door in the case of town houses let in flats. At any rate I see no third alternative but, either to allow the discretion I propose, or to adopt the old double classification of enclosure and house which is said not to have worked well on former occasions. I think that something approaching to this double classification might still be usefully employed in the case of those small courtyards often found in towns, where the separate buildings included in them are let on hire to tenants who are constantly changing, and where, while it may be convenient to number the court as a single house, the entry of families in the house-list is but an unsatisfactory guide to the details. Here I would use subordinate or *zimmani* numbers; and, the court being house No. 154, would call the included buildings $\frac{154}{1}$ $\frac{154}{2}$ $\frac{154}{3}$ and so forth. But to prescribe a similar complication in all, because it happens to be the simplest alternative in a few cases, would I think be a mistake.

841. Occupied and unoccupied houses.—There is another aspect of the house question which gave rise to more difficulty than I could have supposed possible; and that is, the question of the degree of human occupation or of the probability of human occupation on the night of the Census, which should qualify a building to rank as a house. The instructions were that "buildings used for human occupation, whether by day only or by both day and night, and even though they be but huts or sheds," and temporarily vacant dwelling-houses, should be reckoned as houses; but not "ruined buildings, cattle pens, stalls, outhouses, godowns, and other buildings not occupied by man." But in many parts of the Province the buildings occupied by the family and by the cattle respectively are very similar in style; and if guests arrive the cattle are turned out of one and the guests take their place, while somebody always sleeps with the cattle in their shed as a precaution against thieves. Again, small sheds are scattered all over the fields and at the wells, which serve as a protection against the sun in the daytime, and are almost always occupied at night by the men who watch the crops to guard them against wild animals. Both these classes of buildings were very commonly entered as houses. Both were certainly used for human occupation, by night at any rate; and probably the entry was technically correct under the rules. But as the men sleeping in them at night would, under section 6 of the instructions to enumerators, be enumerated as if they were at home with their families and not in these buildings, there was no real need to enter the buildings; and it would have been better to have excluded them, not only because to include them in the statistics for houses was misleading, but also because there was a danger that the men sleeping in them might be enumerated twice over. Perhaps in a future Census the existence of a hearth (*chúlha*) would be the best test of human habitation in doubtful cases. But exceptional cases will occur for which no rules can provide. I reproached one Tahsíldár for entering a tank as an inhabited house; but he justified himself successfully by explaining that a faqír was sitting in the middle of it up to his waist in water, who avowed his intention of remaining there till after the Census.

842. Halting-places and camping grounds entered in the house-lists.—As the house-list formed the basis of the enumerator's schedules, the only method of securing that any spot likely to contain human beings on the night of the Census should be visited by him was to enter and treat it as a house. Almost every village has a well or grove close to it at which way-farers commonly encamp at night; while cartmen or men travelling with animals usually encamp in the bare space immediately surrounding the homestead. Accordingly I directed that all such spots, all encamping-grounds and recognised halting places for travellers, and such *ghâts* and mooring-places for boats as were not large enough to be treated as separate blocks, should be added at the end of the house-list and treated in every way as houses. In one tahsíl I found that almost every well in each village had been entered as a separate house, lest somebody should be sleeping at it. This misunderstanding might be guarded against in a future Census.

Thus the figures for houses include a good many buildings to which the term would hardly apply; but they are almost all included among "unoccupied houses," so that even if these figures possessed greater statistical value than in my opinion they do, the error would not be very important.

843. Entry of families.—The definition of family given in section 838 is so familiar to the native mind, that no mistake should have arisen in this respect. But the difficulty described in section 839, which was felt chiefly in towns, sometimes led the Census staff into error. They had enclosures, buildings, and families to deal with. The house-list showed two units only, houses and families. Following the rules, they entered the enclosure in the house column. Where the several buildings were permanently occupied by members of the same household the entry of families was a sufficient guide. But where they were occupied by very temporary tenants, wholly unconnected with each other, and who were not unlikely to have changed

[1] Captain Bartholomew of Jhang suggests *tabbar*, and Mr. Perkins the Commissioner agrees. The word is not used in the east of the Province. If it is better known in the west than *chúlha*, both words might be given. In the east *kúrhi* is the common word; but *chúlha* would be understood, I think, by all.

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before the Census night, and especially where some of these buildings were temporarily vacant, the staff felt that a list of families would be no sufficient guide to the enumerator, and not infrequently availed themselves of the column for families in which to distinguish the several buildings included within the enclosure. And the use of the terms *ghar* for "family" and *ghar ábád* for "resident family" was unfortunate, as they do no doubt apply to the structure as well as to the family which inhabits it. I had wished to use *kúrhi*, which is certainly the word for the Eastern Panjáb; but it is doubtful whether it would be generally understood, and I think *chúlha* would be the best word to use in future.

The result of the tendency I have just described was, that the entries in columns 7 and 8 of the house-lists [1] sometimes referred to buildings rather than to families, dwelling-houses which were vacant at Census being shown in them with their owner (not occupier) as the head of the family, while a building which might contain several families had only one entry. So again the chief to whom a rest-house (*hujrah*) in a frontier village belonged was often shown as the head of a family residing in it. Again I found that people sleeping only in the building, as in the cattle sheds and field-huts mentioned in section 841, and shop-keepers who, while owning separate houses where their families lived and at which they took their meals, slept in their shops for the greater security of their goods (an apparently very common practice in towns), were often entered as families resident at their sheds or shops, whereas their real families were separately entered in their homes. This not only meant a double entry of families, but also danger of a double enumeration of persons. The use of the word *chúlha* for family would render such error unlikely.

844. Statistical units to be recorded.—But after it has been decided what units are most convenient for purposes of enumeration, the question remains whether it is worth while for statistical purposes to separate any other units in our record. Of course the house, as defined above in section 840, possesses no statistical value whatever. And I doubt much whether it is worth while collecting statistics for any *structural* unit in the Panjáb. In the villages the family homestead and in the towns the edifice coincides most nearly with the English house. But in both it is impossible to draw a line for practical purposes between the family-enclosure containing only small buildings in which the members of a household live, and the larger enclosure which includes many houses occupied by independent households. And the structural complexity which is often found in towns is most extraordinary and perplexing. It is not uncommon to find one or more houses built inside another, the last having originally had a large courtyard, but having fallen into the hands of owners too poor to be able to afford the convenience, and who have allowed others to build within it.

As for the household, the figures would be interesting if they could be easily obtained, as they would give the same statistics for the collective groups of families as the figures for the family give for the individual families comprised in those groups. But the difficulty of obtaining trustworthy figures seems insuperable. There is no outward visible sign by which the unit can be recognised; and it would be hopeless to expect that the investigation into social relations which alone could determine its limits should be profitably carried out at Census. Mr. Elliott verbally proposed to me to attempt something of the sort, by ruling that the buildings within an enclosure should be numbered as separate houses when they were occupied by independent households, but that the enclosure should be treated as a single house when the included buildings were occupied by the families of a single household. But I believe that the mixed cases, in which some of the buildings would be occupied by allied and others by independent families, would be, in towns at any rate, so common as to destroy the value of the figures; and I am convinced that the only unit that can be usefully prescribed for the purposes of numbering must be a purely structural one.

The family is, of course, a unit of the highest statistical importance. And the *chúlha* or hearth affords an easy and universally recognised means of distinguishing it. But I think that the house-list, and not the schedule, is the paper from which the most valuable statistics of families could be obtained. I had, indeed, intended to take my figures for families from this paper; but I abandoned this intention because, as already pointed out, the defect in the definition and treatment of "house" led to the family column in the Panjáb house-lists being not unfrequently filled up incorrectly. But the definition I propose would remove this difficulty; and nothing would then be easier than to obtain an absolutely correct record of resident families. If a family includes three sons, one of whom is going on a visit and is enumerated in a hostelry, another is travelling with his cart and encamped by a village on the Census night, while a third is in his boat at the time, the schedules will, unless special precautions are adopted, show four separate families. This is not what is wanted. What is wanted is a record of family *foci* or hearths; and this the house-list, and the house-list only, will give us.

845. Demarcation of urban limits.—Few expressions are more indefinite or capable of more various interpretations than "the town of so and so." There is the city, often included within walls; the houses built immediately under and outside those walls; the surrounding waste lands, which are seldom wholly free from buildings; the outlying suburbs, often very extensive; the small hamlets located for convenience of cultivation in the revenue-paying area attached to the town, and included within the boundaries of the *mauzah* or survey village; the Civil lines or cantonments, generally at some distance from the town itself; while not uncommonly the town is made up of two or more large villages or towns lying close to each other, but still sufficiently distinct the one from the other. The papers of the Census of 1868 do not enable us, except in the rarest instances, to say with certainty what the limits were which included the population returned for each town; and it is therefore difficult to compare the town population of 1868 with that of 1881. I have attempted, but not with complete success, to ensure that at the next Census a similar uncertainty shall not be felt with regard to the limits now adopted. In my first instructions (see sections 6

[1] Form B, Appendix D.

and 7, General Letter A, Appendix D) I directed that limits were to be fixed for each town, cantonments, and Civil lines, which should include all suburbs and areas in or upon which people found on the night of the Census would properly be included in the population of the town. I pointed out that in the case of municipalities, municipal limits would ordinarily suffice; while in that of cantonments, cantonment limits should be followed. I directed that where the town had arable land attached to it and constituted a revenue-paying estate, the area included within the urban limits just described should be treated throughout as quite separate from the remaining village area, and from any hamlets that the latter might contain. Subsequently, at Mr. Elliott's desire, I stated that the urban limits of municipalities should correspond with municipal limits except under very special circumstances.

These instructions were, I am glad to say, not carried out; at least not in the manner intended by me. I had meant that limits were to be fixed for the urban area of the town of Dehli, for instance; and that everything within that area was to be labelled "Town of Delhi" without further specification. But this would have deprived us of all details of population for suburbs; and thus, while we should have been saved an immensity of trouble in compilation, we should have lost much very valuable information. It may be, even now, that the limits of certain towns and the population returned for them may include suburbs for which it would have been well to have had separate figures. But a glance at the Appendix to Table XIX for British Territory will show that such a case, if it occurs at all, is at least the exception.

846. The way in which I would treat the matter on a future occasion is this. The external urban limits in each case would be governed by the principles to be presently laid down in the section on Tabulation. Within those limits I would fix the boundaries of (1) the town proper, (2) each suburb or group of suburbs for which it was desirable to have separate figures, separating as a general rule every suburb that bore a distinct name, and which it was at all possible to separate. The town proper might be taken by wards, if such divisions existed. The limits of each section should include all encamping grounds, waste land, or other urban spaces which properly attached to it, so that the area of all the sections taken together should include all that would be included within the external urban limits.

I would then make my Census blocks follow these sections, so that no block should as a rule contain any part of more than one section. If a block contained two small sections I would have a separate book of schedules for each, and cases where boundaries crossed would be similarly provided for. For instance, part of the Ambála Civil lines lies within and part without municipal limits; and, as I have not separate figures for the two parts, I have had to treat the population of the whole as part of the population of the municipality in the present Census. In this particular case the error is absolutely insignificant; but it and similar cases would be met by having separate books of schedules for the intra and extra-municipal portions. The arrangement above described would give us separate figures for every separate group of houses which could possibly be considered as falling within the limits of the town.

The question which of these groups should be reckoned to form part of the town could then be dealt with at leisure. I shall discuss the principles on which I think it should be decided when treating of the classification of population as urban and rural in the section on the Tabulation of the figures.

847. Size of Census sub-divisions.—At the Panjáb Census of 1868 each block included 100 families (then called houses), and each circle 20 blocks in towns and 10 to 15 in scattered village areas. The Committee of 1877-78 recommended that each block should not contain more than 60 families, or 300 souls; and that a circle should not contain more than 10 blocks, supervising agency being still further strengthened on the night of the Census. I pointed out that the agency available and the distribution of the population would vary so greatly that no hard-and-fast rule could be laid down; but that the "limits "for a block prescribed at the last Census should not ordinarily be exceeded; while the supervisors should be "appointed as nearly as possible on the scale recommended by the Committee." I also recommended that not more than four circles should be placed under a single superintendent. Abstract No. 143 on the opposite page shows the average number of people included in each town and village block respectively, and the average area of the latter in each district in the Panjáb. Column 9 shows the area per block after deducting the waste lands belonging to Government, which are not indeed wholly uninhabited, but of which the nomad pastoral population is exceedingly scanty, and required special arrangements for their Census.

I had hoped that district officers would avail themselves fully of the license I gave them in my circular, and would work up to the full limits of 500 souls per block. But I find that they almost universally speak of 300 souls as "the prescribed limit," while the table shows that they did not take me at my word; and in one district I found small hamlets of only 8 or 10 houses made into separate blocks, and villages of less than 400 inhabitants divided between two enumerators. This I had altered at once; and in fact the figures of the Abstract, representing as they do the final number of blocks, do not adequately represent the degree of sub-division which was at first attempted; for blocks which had at first been separated were in many cases thrown together before the Census, owing either to my representations or to the impossibility of finding enumerators for them. Of course in hill districts like Simla, Kángra, Hazára, and Kohát, where the population is distributed over small hamlets lying at considerable distances from each other, and where travelling is exceedingly difficult, it is unavoidable that each block should include only a small number of people. And generally, distance is a very important factor. But there seems no sufficient reason why the average population of a village block should have been below 300 in Hushyárpur and Muzaffargarh, and below 350 in Dehli and Gurdáspur; or that of a town block below 300 in Lúdhiánah, Hushyárpur, Gurdáspur, Multán and Dera Ismáíl Khán, and below 350 in Dehli, Jálandhar, Siálkot, Gújránwála Ráwalpindi, Gújrát, Sháhpur, Montgomery, Muzaffargarh, Derah Ghází Khán, Peshávar, and Hazára.

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Abstract No. 143, *showing the* Number and Size of Census Blocks *for* Districts.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	1
District.	Number of Blocks.			Average number of persons per block.			Average area of village block in acres.		District.
	Villages.	Towns.	Total.	Villages.	Towns.	Total.	Total area.	Corrected area.	
Dehli	1,288	653	1,941	341	312	332	634	634	Dehli
Gurgaon	1,307	115	1,422	436	628	451	949	949	Gurgaon
Karnal	1,052	180	1,232	517	435	505	1,457	1,457	Karnal
Hissar	1,050	181	1,231	408	421	410	2,158	2,158	Hissar
Rohtak	1,134	250	1,384	400	398	401	1,022	1,022	Rohtak
Sirsa	713	75	788	312	413	321	2,697	2,697	Sirsa
Ambala	2,040	319	2,359	454	440	452	806	806	Ambala
Ludhiana	1,532	295	1,827	350	282	339	574	574	Ludhiana
Simla	84	118	202	250	187	213	137	137	Simla
Jalandhar	1,767	414	2,181	369	331	362	479	479	Jalandhar
Hushyarpur	3,268	285	3,553	253	260	254	427	427	Hushyarpur
Kangra	3,098	109	3,207	228	225	228	1,874	1,874	Kangra
Amritsar	1,602	441	2,043	440	426	437	629	629	Amritsar
Gurdaspur	2,260	344	2,604	328	237	316	516	516	Gurdaspur
Sialkot	2,171	247	2,418	428	340	419	577	577	Sialkot
Lahore	1,331	443	1,774	541	462	521	1,754	1,547	Lahore
Gujranwala	1,655	219	1,874	329	329	329	1,000	906	Gujranwala
Firozpur	1,454	154	1,608	402	429	405	1,211	1,211	Firozpur
Rawalpindi	2,816	284	3,100	261	300	265	1,105	898	Rawalpindi
Jahlam	1,528	135	1,663	346	453	354	1,638	1,421	Jahlam
Gujrat	1,664	130	1,793	389	326	384	759	759	Gujrat
Shahpur	1,023	163	1,186	362	317	355	2,935	2,095	Shahpur
Multan	1,360	297	1,657	341	297	333	2,767	1,352	Multan
Jhang	880	84	964	407	440	410	4,147	1,522	Jhang
Montgomery	937	69	1,006	430	342	424	3,807	1,352	Montgomery
Muzaffargarh	1,430	63	1,493	221	347	227	1,405	1,188	Muzaffargarh
Derah I. Khan	1,344	209	1,553	293	229	284	4,427	3,855	Derah I. Khan
Derah G. Khan	709	135	844	453	320	431	4,077	3,687	Derah G. Khan
Bannu	589	55	644	520	469	516	4,203	4,038	Bannu
Peshawar	1,130	391	1,521	411	329	390	1,418	1,418	Peshawar
Hazara	1,361	62	1,423	285	303	286	1,429	1,315	Hazara
Kohat	452	35	487	361	519	373	4,018	3,911	Kohat
Total	**46,029**	**6,954**	**52,983**	**357**	**350**	**356**	**1,487**	**1,256**	

848. Taking the Province as a whole, I think that the blocks were too small; and more especially in towns, where the average number of souls per block is even smaller than in villages. I attribute the fact partly to a common disinclination, which I found to exist in many districts, to include two villages in one and the same block. It is of course absolutely necessary that the block should be of such a size, both as regards the number of people included within it and the distance between the points to be visited, that a single man can easily visit and correct the entries for every house in it on the night of the Census. But so long as this precaution is duly observed, the larger the blocks the better. An excessive number of blocks increases the difficulty of finding enumerators, compels recourse to uneducated agency writing strange and illegible characters, renders supervision more difficult and uniformity less easy of attainment, increases the labour and expense of compilation, and obliges the Government to call upon a larger proportion than necessary of the non-official population to perform a very irksome duty. In many districts the very greatest difficulty was experienced in finding enumerators for the outlying tracts; and in not a few cases men unacquainted with the locality and its inhabitants had to be sent out from the towns, and their expenses paid from district funds. Yet in those very districts I not unfrequently found that two blocks had been made where one enumerator would have been amply sufficient. In the towns themselves qualified agency existed in plenty; but here the houses lie so close together that it would have been well, by increasing the size of the blocks, to reduce as much as possible the demand upon private individuals for assistance in the operations. I found that, in the City of Lahore, the enumerators in the portions which I visited had generally finished their work by 10° 30′ or 11° on the night of the Census; and I believe that where the houses lie in a compact mass, a single enumerator can easily manage 500 to 600 people, for he has not to take their Census *ab initio*, but merely to check and correct a Census already taken at the preliminary enumeration. Where the houses lie far apart, as in the case of scattered hamlets and villages, the distance to be travelled, and not the number of houses to be visited, is the most important fact. Mr. Stogdon of Lahore, Major Plowden of Kohát, and Colonel Parsons of Jahlam would increase the size of the block, Mr. Stogdon remarking that "it is difficult to get enumerators, and it is better to have intelligent enumerators and large blocks than enumerators of no capacity and small blocks." Major Parker of Hissár, Mr. Hawkins of Amritsar, and Mr. Frizelle of Sháhpur are of opinion that a block should include at least 100 to 125 families "which a single man could easily visit and correct the entries of; while where the block lies wholly in one town or village it might safely include 125 houses irrespective of families." Mr. Benton of Karnál writes:—

"A large number of the enumerators, such as the patwáris lately employed in the settlement and many others, were admirably "qualified for the work, and although to meet the attainments of men generally available, it is no doubt desirable to keep the

Part I.—Preliminary Operations.

"average size of blocks low, I do not hesitate to say that such men could easily perform the duties satisfactorily on the night of "the final enumeration for 200 or 300 houses, provided they were all together.

"I would retain the average size of block at 60 houses or 300 persons as suited to enumerators of the meanest capacity, but I "would make it optional to make over two or three of such blocks to properly qualified persons, because so long as preliminary enu- "meration is had recourse to, an active and intelligent man could easily attest 1,000 entries, when the houses are contiguous, in three "or four hours. The work of enumeration was almost completed in Pánípat before moonrise, that is to say before 8° 20' P.M."

Mr. Gardiner of Gújránwála indeed would decrease the size of the block if he could get enumerators enough; but he gives no reason for his opinion.

The statement of Census agency given on the opposite page shows that the proportion of supervisors to enumerators was as a rule largely in excess of that suggested in my instructions, in many cases being more than twice as great, and only in Lahore, Montgomery, and the villages of Derah Ismáíl Khán falling materially below it. The number of blocks placed under each supervisor was on an average—

In the villages . . . . $8\frac{1}{2}$
In the towns . . . . $7\frac{1}{4}$
In the Province . . . . $8\frac{1}{3}$

The average number of circles allotted to each superintendent was—

In the villages . . . . $3\frac{3}{4}$
In the towns 3
In the Province . . . . $3\frac{2}{3}$

Here again, the agency was most numerous in the towns; and this was I think right; for the town enumerators, while or rather because more highly educated, are less intimately acquainted with the people they have to enumerate, more satisfied with their own ignorance, and less inclined to follow instructions, while the population they have to deal with is far more varied and complex. Thus supervision, while easier to exercise, is far more necessary in the towns than in the villages.

849. Statistics of Census agency.—Abstract No. 144 on the opposite page shows the number of the Census staff, and the sources whence they were drawn.

The results may be abstracted as follows :—

		Villages.	Towns.	Total.
Number of	Superintendents	1,444	314	1,758
	Supervisors	5,440	959	6,399
	Enumerators	46,029	6,954	52,983
	Total	52,913	8,227	61,140
Official Staff	Superintendents and Supervisors	2,419	750	3,169
	Enumerators	3,670	1,748	5,418
	Total Official	6,089	2,498	8,587
Village accountants.	Supervisors	3,067	81	3,148
	Enumerators	4,223	100	4,323
Village headmen	Enumerators	2,759	59	2,818
	Total Semi-official	10,049	240	10,289
Shop-keepers	Enumerators	10,958	342	11,300
Schoolboys	Enumerators	3,084	859	3,943
Other non-officials.	Superintendents and Supervisors	1,398	442	1,840
	Enumerators	21,335	3,846	25,181
	Total Non-official	36,775	5,489	42,264

To furnish so large an agency, every class of the community which had any pretensions to education or intelligence was called upon to contribute. Almost every official in the district was employed in Census duties, the supervising staff being chiefly drawn from this class; while private individuals formed the great mass of the enumerating agency. The superintendents were for the most part *Munsifs*, Náib Tahsíldárs, Qánúngos and their Assistants, Deputy Inspectors of Police, superior office staff, Chief *Muharars* and head-masters of schools, Assistant Surgeons, *Daroghas*, members of committees, Government pensioners, Honorary Magistrates, merchants, *Zaildárs*, *Jágírdárs*, and rural notables and men of influence. The supervisors were drawn from the classes mentioned above, supplemented by officials from the district revenue, judicial, and municipal establishments, sergeants of police, district school and post masters, native doctors, village accountants and headmen, jágírdár's factors, intelligent pupils from the higher schools, respectable traders, and land-owners and others of intelligence. The class of enumerators comprised every clerk or similar official who could be spared and whose services had not already been utilised in the higher grades; and to these were added a vast body of non-official agency, stamp-vendors, petition-writers, candidates for employment, pensioners of sorts, retired *Patwáris*, merchants' clerks, *Jágírdárs'* servants, *dharwáis*, senior school-boys and monitors, *Pandits*, *Maulvis*, village *Mullás* and *Qázis*, shop-keepers, village headmen, and land-owners who could read and write. The services of even illiterate but intelligent *zamíndárs* were often utilised by attaching to them school-boys as amanuenses.

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Abstract No. 144, *showing* Census Agency *for* Districts.

VILLAGES.

Serial No.	Name of District.	No. of Superintendents. Officials.	Non-officials.	Total.	No. of Supervisors. Village Accountants.	Other officials.	Non-officials.	Total.	No. of Enumerators. Village Accountants.	Village Headmen.	Other officials.	Village Shop-keepers.	School-boys.	Other non-officials.	Total.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	Dehli	56	14	70	209	44	32	285	110	32	138	518	104	376	1,288
2	Gurgaon	30	7	37	59	49	26	134	243	72	153	273	137	429	1,307
3	Karnal	23	4	27	55	38	14	107	171	36	141	99	49	556	1,052
4	Hissar	25	5	30	70	21	22	113	141	36	74	396	36	367	1,050
5	Rohtak	45	8	53	148	28	8	184	75	22	118	425	82	412	1,134
6	Sirsa	18	...	18	16	92	4	112	106	45	307	153	18	84	713
7	Ambala	...	...	...	24	165	57	246	193	62	170	109	541	965	2,040
8	Ludhiana	48	...	48	76	99	6	181	254	68	212	448	242	308	1,532
9	Simla	2	...	2	4	6	2	12	1	10	10	...	10	53	84
10	Jalandhar	61	6	67	168	28	18	214	175	114	103	149	193	1,033	1,767
11	Hushyarpur	76	25	101	233	132	54	419	141	181	387	154	342	2,063	3,268
12	Kangra	65	7	72	158	98	61	317	11	369	63	1,384	40	1,231	3,098
13	Amritsar	32	51	83	153	4	53	210	271	51	109	141	79	951	1,602
14	Gurdaspur	23	57	80	234	26	23	283	145	183	133	990	46	763	2,260
15	Sialkot	32	56	88	224	6	48	278	142	137	91	958	54	789	2,171
16	Lahore	24	4	28	38	48	27	113	229	57	124	228	92	601	1,331
17	Gujranwala	33	5	38	52	70	49	171	198	47	71	283	51	1,005	1,655
18	Firozpur	42	12	54	54	33	98	185	227	32	51	323	55	766	1,454
19	Rawalpindi	64	28	92	160	66	77	303	134	332	90	964	56	1,240	2,816
20	Jahlam	49	13	62	182	13	10	205	37	110	72	115	100	1,094	1,528
21	Gujrat	32	11	43	117	14	35	166	75	109	99	645	101	635	1,664
22	Shahpur	28	3	31	98	17	9	124	38	69	81	276	53	506	1,023
23	Multan	33	8	41	71	24	47	142	171	83	95	438	58	515	1,360
24	Jhang	19	7	26	17	37	39	93	133	27	53	30	67	570	880
25	Montgomery	35	7	42	5	47	32	84	138	38	55	90	80	536	937
26	Muzaffargarh	58	7	65	135	19	14	168	45	83	115	112	73	1,002	1,430
27	Derah I. Khan	28	2	30	72	38	14	124	122	87	84	224	153	674	1,344
28	Derah G. Khan	11	11	22	11	23	44	78	117	62	83	40	12	395	709
29	Bannu	5	...	5	14	38	14	66	132	22	57	43	25	310	589
30	Peshawar	23	4	27	74	17	28	119	217	103	61	586	20	143	1,130
31	Hazara	27	25	52	114	1	46	161	3	71	40	292	103	852	1,361
32	Kohat	10	...	10	22	21	...	43	28	9	220	72	12	111	452
	Total	1,057	387	1,444	3,067	1,362	1,011	5,440	4,223	2,759	3,670	10,958	3,084	21,335	46,029

TOTAL VILLAGES AND TOWNS.

Serial No.	Name of District.	No. of Superintendents. Officials.	Non-officials.	Total.	No. of Supervisors. Village Accountants.	Other officials.	Non-officials.	Total.	No. of Enumerators. Village Accountants.	Village headmen.	Other officials.	Village Shop-keepers.	School boys.	Other non-officials.	Total.
1	2	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
1	Dehli	60	32	92	212	63	116	391	111	35	187	519	222	867	1,941
2	Gurgaon	34	7	41	60	55	29	144	247	73	188	278	146	490	1,422
3	Karnal	28	6	34	60	50	18	128	175	42	196	99	61	659	1,232
4	Hissar	32	6	38	75	34	25	134	145	37	130	403	79	437	1,231
5	Rohtak	58	8	66	157	50	10	217	84	32	176	454	133	505	1,384
6	Sirsa	23	...	23	16	102	4	122	108	46	348	154	27	105	788
7	Ambala	...	...	...	25	195	70	290	198	63	228	126	580	1,164	2,359
8	Ludhiana	63	1	64	76	132	21	229	254	68	290	448	320	447	1,837
9	Simla	7	...	7	4	23	3	30	1	10	40	...	19	132	202
10	Jalandhar	78	10	88	178	59	47	284	186	118	163	180	223	1,311	2,181
11	Hushyarpur	85	27	112	238	152	63	453	146	184	464	169	388	2,202	3,553
12	Kangra	71	8	79	159	104	66	329	12	370	87	1,403	49	1,286	3,207
13	Amritsar	44	56	100	153	69	90	312	271	51	157	141	100	1,323	2,043
14	Gurdaspur	34	66	100	238	53	39	330	148	185	236	994	75	966	2,604
15	Sialkot	42	62	104	229	24	55	308	143	138	152	982	64	939	2,418
16	Lahore	32	22	54	42	85	32	159	235	60	276	236	113	854	1,774
17	Gujranwala	39	10	49	54	74	69	197	201	51	119	334	75	1,094	1,874
18	Firozpur	45	12	57	54	51	103	208	230	32	120	334	80	812	1,608
19	Rawalpindi	75	30	105	161	83	94	338	136	333	145	1,009	86	1,391	3,100
20	Jahlam	54	14	68	187	20	14	221	38	113	106	124	132	1,150	1,663
21	Gujrat	37	11	48	120	21	38	179	76	110	136	666	107	699	1,794
22	Shahpur	34	4	38	104	25	14	143	39	70	119	299	73	586	1,186
23	Multan	38	14	52	72	45	59	176	172	83	180	447	132	643	1,657
24	Jhang	24	7	31	18	43	42	103	139	29	87	30	85	594	964
25	Montgomery	36	11	47	5	52	36	93	140	38	80	91	83	574	1,006
26	Muzaffargarh	62	8	70	136	28	14	178	46	83	132	112	95	1,025	1,493
27	Derah I. Khan	37	6	43	73	59	21	153	125	89	172	224	176	767	1,553
28	Derah G. Khan	22	11	33	12	41	50	103	124	63	150	40	14	453	844
29	Bannu	6	...	6	14	42	15	71	136	24	89	44	28	323	644
30	Peshawar	33	8	41	77	27	54	158	226	107	173	596	32	387	1,521
31	Hazara	31	26	57	115	10	46	171	3	72	59	292	113	884	1,423
32	Kohat	11	...	11	24	23	...	47	28	9	233	72	33	112	487
	Total	1,275	483	1,758	3,148	1,894	1,357	6,399	4,323	2,818	5,418	11,300	3,943	25,181	52,983

Part I.—Preliminary Operations.

850. Aid afforded by independent Departments.—At the very commencement of operations the Panjáb Government issued a circular to all Heads of Departments[1] pointing out that "every available "officer in every department of Government who can be relied on for efficiently conducting supervision "will be expected to render assistance; and Heads of Departments are requested to place the services of "their staff unreservedly at the disposal of the District Officers for this purpose, so far as may be compatible "with the conduct of necessary business." The manner in which these orders were carried out varied much in various Departments and parts of the Province. In those districts where a settlement was in progress, *viz.*, Sirsa, Lúdhiána, Jálandhar, Hushyárpur, and Ráwalpindi, the settlement establishment afforded a ready-made supervising agency of the utmost value. The Deputy Commissioners and Settlement Officers came to an agreement about the division of the work in each case; and the most practical plan was that by which the latter undertook, in communication with the former, the whole of the purely village Census, leaving the remainder to the district staff proper. The Forest Officers rendered most valuable assistance in the difficult mountain tracts in which their duties lie; and the Customs officials in Gurgáon worked most zealously for us. The staff of the Western Jamna Canal was of great use in the final Census of some districts; while the postal, educational, and medical departments as a rule responded cordially to the call made upon them. But complaints of want of willingness to help in the work are not altogether absent. The Panjáb Northern State Railway refused to assist; in Gurdáspur the Canal staff formed a solitary exception to the willingness of other Departments; in Gújrát the educational officers were obstructive; while in Jahlam little aid could be obtained outside the district staff. In Peshávar, the staff drawn from other Departments "did little, and never made any attempt to learn the working of the Census machinery." Major Nisbet writes from Simla:—

"One of the weakest points in the general arrangements was, the little assistance that could be obtained from other Depart- "ments for Census work, notwithstanding the orders Government promised to issue on the subject. The usual excuse was, that "office hands were generally fully employed in their own special duties. On a future occasion it might be well for Government to "ascertain beforehand the assistance obtainable from different offices, and determine the sufficiency of excuse offered for neglecting "to afford such aid."

I think it would have been well had Government issued a second circular early in December, again insisting upon the importance of help being cordially rendered. And much can be done by the Deputy Commissioner to make matters easy for other Departments. Mr. Benton of Karnál for instance used the Canal staff as enumerators only. He required them to attend at their blocks from 26th December to 2nd of January and again from 15th to 18th February, and he had the supervisors ready on the spot with the papers to explain their duties to them. In any case the brunt of the work must fall upon the Deputy Commissioner and his subordinates. I called for returns from the districts showing the amount of assistance rendered by other Departments; but unfortunately the figures are rendered meaningless by the fact that most of the Deputy Commissioners have included under that heading the district staff in the Police, Educational, Medical, Jail, Registration, and similar departments, which, being directly subordinate to the Deputy Commissioner, should have been counted as District Staff. The Government of India forbade us to employ the rank and file of the police on Census duty; and though the exception deprived us of the services of a large staff distributed all over the country, yet I think it was absolutely necessary.

851. Preparation of the preliminary record by village accountants.—It will be noticed that of the village accountants, nearly half were utilised in supervision. As a fact the great mass of the preliminary records in the villages was I believe made by these men, whether as supervisors or as enumerators. At an early stage of the operations I pointed out[2] that two classes of agency would be employed for the work of filling up the schedules, as it would sometimes be impossible to obtain for the preliminary record the services of the man who was to conduct the final enumeration on the Census night, and the staff which prepared the former would have to be supplemented for the latter operation. I had wished to put the point more strongly, and to say that in villages this would very generally be the case; but the Panjáb Government was of opinion that the objections to having the preliminary record prepared by one man and the final Census taken by another were so great that, though such a course would doubtless be unavoidable in some cases, yet it was well to treat it as a quite exceptional and deplorable necessity.

In the towns it is not only necessary but easy to arrange that the same man shall perform both operations. But in the villages this is not the case; and everything I have seen and heard in connection with this Census has convinced me that it is better to prepare the preliminary record by the best available agency, and where necessary to this end, to sacrifice the advantage of having the same man make and finally correct the entries. Of course it is most advisable that, where a really competent agent can be secured for the final enumeration, he shall also fill up his schedules *in the first instance*, as he thus obtains an intimate knowledge of his block and its inhabitants. But in the villages it is too often simply impossible to obtain really good men in sufficient numbers to take the final Census. The fact that of 46,000 village enumerators, 11,000 were village banyas, 3,000 village headmen, 3,000 school-boys, and 21,000 non-officials resident (for the most part, at any rate) in the villages, speaks for itself. For the preliminary record on the other hand, which is made more or less at leisure, it is comparatively easy to obtain a sufficient and competent staff: in fact the village accountants might almost prepare it unaided. Now the preliminary record is, in the villages at least, the very backbone of the Census; in fact it might almost be said to be the Census itself. I do not believe that the alterations made on the night of the Census affected 5 per cent. of the village population. But supposing the proportion to have been double this, and that in a village of 500 souls, the enumerator cut out 25 as having died or gone away, and entered 25 new men as having been born or come to the place since the preliminary record, I would prefer to have the 500 entries correctly made in the first instance, and to take the chance of the enumerator making a mess of his 25 new entries—the 25 excisions he could not well go wrong with—rather than have

[1] Section 3 of Secretary to Government's No. 7, dated 27th August 1880, Appendix D.
[2] Section 11, General Letter A, Appendix D.

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the original 500 entries made by a bungling old banya in a hand-writing which he could not read himself, much less anybody else, with all the attendant difficulty of supervision, alteration, recopying, and the probability of error in the end. He would at any rate have correct entries to guide him in entering the newcomers; and where they were members of families already entered he could hardly go wrong, even in recording them. Of course I would insist that where any other than the final enumerator made the preliminary record, he should take the enumerator over his block before the night of the final Census, visit every house with him, and read out and explain to him each entry in the schedules. This was done in the present Census; and, as I have said, from what I have heard from Deputy Commissioners and others, as well as from the final reports from the districts, I believe that the village schedules were very generally filled up in the first instance by the village accountants. In a future Census I would have this done wherever a thoroughly competent enumerator could not be found.

852. I append below opinions on the subject by several district officers. Many others make incidental remarks in support of my proposal. Mr. Wilson of Sirsa, however, thinks that it is better that the enumerator should himself make the preliminary record, as he thus understands the entries better :—

Dehli (Mr. T. W. Smyth).—"At first, following the instructions, patwáris were appointed as supervisors and superintendents, "and in this capacity they refrained from taking an active part in filling up the schedules when the preliminary enumera on "commenced. It would have been better if their services had been utilised as enumerators and they had been made to understand th at "this was their principal duty. This was done to a large extent after the inspecting officers began to move about and check the work."

Kangra-Kulu (Mr. Alex. Anderson).—"Two systems were followed in this sub-division for writing the schedules. In Kúlu "the enumerators were made to fill up the schedules, while in Plách this was generally done by the patwári. The enumerators in "Kúlu were more intelligent, and sooner understood what was wanted; still the entries were all made in the presence of the supervi-"sor or patwári. In this way they required no more instruction for the final enumeration than they had got; and I found that in "Kúlu they understood what to do. At first the work was done much more slowly, but the enumerators became more proficient. In "Plách on the other hand, I found that many of the enumerators had exceedingly vague ideas of how the schedule was to be filled in, "and up to the last every effort had to be used to instruct them. The Kúlu system had one great disadvantage; the books were scarce-"ly legible even by the enumerators themselves, while in Plách they were well written and any one could read them. Translations "had to be largely made and this caused delay in sending in the returns. I think it is more satisfactory to make the enumerator write "his schedules, even though he writes to another's dictation, than to have the books written by another."

Hushyarpur (Mr. Coldstream).—"As regards the work of preliminary grouping and numbering Mr. Kensington thinks that, "had it been done gradually by a very much smaller staff, the mass of the enumerators being kept for the final enumeration only, "it would have been (in this district as under settlement particularly) much more efficiently controlled, more correct in the first in-"stance, and done in at any rate not longer time. 'As it was, the mass of enumerators rushed at it with an excess of zeal which "'defied supervision and necessitated its being in many instances done all over again, at an expenditure of labour altogether dispro-"'portionate either to the amount or difficulty of what was really required.' The preliminary work would no doubt have been done "better by a better trained staff (even of smaller numbers) and the necessity for much supervision and correction and recorrection "would have been saved. I think the whole of the preliminary arrangements such as demarcation and numbering might with advantage "have been done by the settlement establishment alone. But there would have been a serious danger in using enumerators for the "final enumeration who had not been trained to do the kind of work required, and to use the forms to be used on the final night: "and perhaps the best way to teach them was to employ them in preparing the schedules. I admit, however, that the plan adopted "cost the enumerators and supervising staff much time and labour. It may be hoped that by the time another Census comes round, "there will be little difficulty in securing the services of competent enumerators, for education will then have largely spread, but they "will not be such a *cheap* agency as the present one.

"One of the most energetic and efficient of my supervising officers reports on this point that throughout the police division of "Tandah there was not a single circle of which the supervisor had not himself to write the papers of one or more of the enumerators."

Shahpur (Mr. Frizelle).—"A great many of the entries in the more rural and backward circles, or wherever the enumerators "were of inferior qualifications, were in the supervisor's handwriting; and the main use of enumerators was to check the entries and "record alterations on the night of final enumeration, but these additions or omissions were again checked by the supervisors on the "day following the final enumeration. Supervisors being in the main patwáris, and a better trained and educated (though less trust-"worthy) class in this district than is usual elsewhere, being previously well acquainted with the names and conditions of all persons "residing in their circles, and the Census *halkas* being largely identical with patwáris' circles, the burden of the work naturally fell "on patwáris; it came easy to them, and was I believe well performed by them.

"In no case were the sketch-maps of homesteads omitted, and these I think added greatly to the certainty of the work. Where "patwáris were not supervisors but only enumerators in consequence of better educated supervisors being easily available, the sketch-"maps and I believe sometimes the house-lists and portions of the index-register were prepared by patwáris for places outside their "blocks but within their ordinary official circles, as they were better practised at such work than non-patwári supervisors; and this "was the only slight departure, if it can fairly be called a departure, from the principles laid down by the Deputy Superintendent. "Perhaps a great part of the preliminary record being in some instances in the handwriting of supervisors may also be considered a "departure; but this was unavoidable once it was determined to adopt only the Persian character, and it threw no undue labour on "supervisors, especially as the blocks and circles were small and patwári supervisors already knew all about their circles. Such "entries were always made in the presence of, and were fully understood by the enumerators, and their being in the patwáris' hand-"writing in my opinion only adds to the value."

Gurdaspur (Mr. Browne).—"*Suggestions.*—I have only to suggest that in special tracts like this, on future occasions it would "be a great relief to the agency employed if they were drawn from the residents, and I would propose that each tikkali form a block: "the preliminary record be prepared during a period of about a month by the patwáris, and after check a list on separate paper for "each tikkali be given in the Thakari character to the enumerator. It would be his duty on the date fixed for final enumeration "to add to or subtract from that list in Thakari, while one man accompanying the patwári afterwards as translator, would enable "him in presence of the enumerator to correct his Persian schedule accordingly. I believe men competent for this work could be "found on the spot; they all know their own tikkali bounds, and the hardship of sending up men from the plains to work over 10 or "15 *kos* of hilly ground more than once whilst living at their own cost would be avoided; unquestionably this has caused a certain "amount of resentment."

Rawalpindi Division (Colonel Hall).—"Many of the enumerators were men of defective education and could not be "trusted, except under close supervision, to do the work, which led to the schedules being prepared by the supervisors.

"This was particularly the case in the Ráwalpindi and Sháhpur districts. The main use of the enumerators of inferior "qualifications in both districts was to check and alter the schedules on the night of the final enumeration.

"In this as well as in the other districts it has to be remarked that the supervisors did most of the work of enumeration. The "non-official enumerators had first to be trained to their duties.

"The final result may however be considered eminently successful, and it is therefore worthy of consideration whether in a "future Census the number of persons employed could not be considerably reduced, and the work of enumeration be entrusted from "the commencement to persons thoroughly able to do it."

Lahore (Mr. Stogdon).—"Nominally an enumerator was appointed to each block, and the probability is that almost "every one of them could read and write the Persian character; but many of them were men of little intelligence and no experience, "and it would have been quite unsafe to have left the work of making the preliminary record to them. It would have been illegible

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"and full of the most absurd mistakes and inconsistencies. As a matter of fact the patwáris made the preliminary record in very "many instances, and the enumerators accompanied them and made themselves acquainted with the condition of their blocks, so "that they were well able to make the final enumeration on the night of the Census."

Jahlam (Colonel Parsons).—"Many of the enumerators were so inefficient that their preliminary record had to be made "by the supervisors. It is probable that in rural circles the more extensively the patwáris are employed in the work of enumera-"tion, with such aid in the way of assistants as may be available, the better the work will be performed."

Karnal (Mr. Benton).—"Generally speaking I devolved the whole duty of preparing the house-lists, plans of villages, and pre-"liminary records on the revenue establishment, or on other officials subordinate to myself, as I was afraid to trust more than I could "help to other departments. The officials of other departments, and in many cases also non-officials, had the preliminary records "and other documents already complete made over to them; they had only to study them and make themselves acquainted with the "locality in the last days of December, and to make the necessary corrections on the night of the final enumeration."

Peshawar (Mr. Lawrence).—"The preliminary record was almost entirely made by patwáris who for the most part were "supervisors. The enumerators though able to read and write could not be entrusted with this work. Their writing was so bad, "and their ignorance of detail as to religion, caste, clan, and family, became evident from the trial sheets which were given them to "fill. Hence we have had to depend on the patwáris for the preliminary record and the result has been successful, and eminently so "in the Utmán Bolák tahsil."

853. **Non-official agency.**—It will be seen from the table on page 429 that, including village headmen, 1,850 out of 8,150 superintendents and supervisors, and 45,000 out of 53,000 enumerators were non-official. Of these last 3,950 were school-boys; excluding whom we employed on Census duty 36,500 out of a literate population of 298,800 in the villages, or one in eight, and 4,700 out of a literate population of 183,300 in the towns, or one in thirty-nine [1]. Of the non-official staff only 1 superintendent and 3 supervisors in the Teri jágír of Kohát, and 37 supervisors and 390 enumerators in the city of Amritsar were paid. In a few instances one or two rupees were given to defray actual expenses of men sent to a distance from their homes for the final enumeration; and in the city of Dehli and the Lambagráon jágír in Kángra the house-lists were prepared by paid agency. With these exceptions no payments of any sort were made on account of Census operations. The district officers bear unanimous testimony to the willing cheerfulness with which all classes assisted in the Census; and in many districts the individuals selected do not appear to have even attempted to escape from the duty. But that that duty was most irksome is beyond dispute. Every man employed on the supervising staff had to devote to the work a not inconsiderable portion of his time for from two to three months; every man employed as an enumerator had to learn his work, fill in his preliminary record, go over his block with inspecting and revising officers, and take the final Census; all had to conduct an inquisition which, though made as little distasteful as possible, exposed them in towns at any rate to the risk of insult and abuse. Practically no payment of any sort was made for the service rendered; and though the certificates issued after the work was over were much valued, yet they were no real equivalent for the duties to the effective performance of which they testified. I quote below the remarks of some district officers on the subject. Further testimony to the willing help afforded by the non-official classes will be found in abundance in the paragraphs on the attitude of the people in the section on Subsidiary Matters:—

Dehli (Mr. T. W. Smyth).—"In fact the services of every available male adult who could write legibly and "was willing to assist were utilised, according to his fitness, either as a superintendent, supervisor, or enumerator: their "services were as a rule willingly rendered, and all took an interest in the duties assigned to them. Although every "effort was made to employ Census officers in the neighbourhood of their head-quarters, yet of necessity many were "required to work at a distance from their houses and at great personal inconvenience to themselves. The operations, "including the preliminary preparations, the rough and final enumerations, extended over a period of nearly three months. The "work was to some extent onerous, as the inspection of the superior officers was frequent and conducted occasionally at unexpected "times, and every one employed was required to be constantly at his post."

Jhang (Captain Bartholomew).—"In conclusion as suggestions have been invited for future use, I would express the opinion "that in no country but India could such a thoroughly efficient Census be performed by a practically unpaid staff. Large "numbers of private individuals were pressed into the service and a great portion of their time for months was used by Government "without any remuneration."

Hushyarpur (Mr. Coldstream).—"There was a great deal of gratuitous work done, and done on the whole I believe won-"derfully cheerfully and well. The wish of Government was sufficient, there were those found who could undertake the work, and "I heard I think no repining of any sort as I went about the district.

"Of the total number of agents 1,292 were unpaid. On one occasion in the hills I called the enumerators of a circle together "and found they were some 30 Brahmins who could write Hindi and who with wonderful cheerfulness were serving Government for "nothing. The amount sent by Government for remuneration of these men is very small,[2], and would give if equally distributed but "annas 14 pie 1 for each. This sum has been supplemented from District and Municipal Funds, and it seemed but justice that some "recognition of their services should be made, and the sum which after these local contributions it was possible to give them was but "a very scant remuneration for the great pains they took.

"It was undoubtedly a difficulty even in many parts of this district (in which preliminary education is perhaps more forward "than in most) *to find competent enumerators.*

"That the work had to be done practically without remuneration greatly increased the difficulty. The exigencies of the situation "necessitated the employment of enumerators in a manner which differed in no respect from *begár* labour except that the subjects had to "labour with head and pen, and not with hand and spade. This was a real difficulty and should in fairness be mentioned here. It has "been very partially met by the apportionment by Government of a small cash allotment and by contributions towards payment of the "enumerators from District and Municipal funds. I think it would have been well if Government had from the commencement direct-"ed District Funds and Municipal Committees to set apart R5,000 or R10,000 (the sum being regulated according to population and "area) of the budget allowance for the year to defray the expenses of the Census in each district. This matter has been alluded to by "several of the supervising officers. The Tahsíldár and Munsiff of Dasúyah wrote 'the impressed enumerators considered the work "as '*begár*, but they paid attention when *admonished, and came to know that an Act had been passed.*'"

Commissioner, Jalandhar (Mr. Tremlett).—"When the next Census occurs it may well be questioned whether larger sums "ought not to be raised, probably from local sources, for the remuneration of those employed. If the people are being educated to "regard it as discreditable and wrong when a private individual 'useth his neighbour's service without wages and giveth him not "for his work,' surely the State itself should not set a bad example and be thought to exact '*begári*' labour."

Simla (Major Nisbet).—"The large number of voluntary enumerators employed was recruited principally from the native "shop-keepers of Simla and other large places, many of whom undoubtedly ought to have been paid. It might not always be

[1] See Table No. XIII for British Territory, Appendix A. But a part of the agency employed in the villages was drawn from the towns.

[2] This grant was not intended as *remuneration*, but as *rewards* to those who had done well; and great stress was laid upon this distinction in my circular on the subject.

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"possible for the district officer to induce persons to volunteer for the work, as it is difficult to imagine any person not actuated by "some other motives than a mere wish for employment undertaking a duty which occupied several weeks and involved considerable "physical labour and serious responsibility, while carrying with it no other remuneration than barren thanks.

"There is no question that district officers were hardly dealt with in having to do all this extra work of a complex and difficult "character without funds being placed at their disposal for necessary and reasonable expenses[1]; and on any future occasion I think, "in taking a Census of India, greater liberality in incurring necessary expense must be shown."

854. I do not for a moment agree with those officers who condemn the policy which demanded these gratuitous services from the more or less educated classes. I think it is well for the people in general to have it brought home to them that they are liable to be called upon to assist Government on occasion, and that they themselves must take a share in operations which concern the public weal. But these duties, while of a distasteful nature, carried with them no corresponding privileges or status; and I think that every effort should be made to keep within as narrow limits as possible the numbers from whom they must necessarily be demanded. If the larger limits of blocks which I recommend in section 848, and the scale of supervising staff laid down in the instructions were followed, we should have:—

	Villages.	Towns.	Total.
Population	16,410,907	2,439,530	18,850,437
Number of blocks and enumerators	32,822	4,066	36,888
Number of circles and supervisors	3,282	407	3,689
Number of charges and superintendents	820	102	922

and, taking the official and semi-official staff actually employed as still available, we should have—

	Villages.	Towns.	Total.
Official superintendents	820	102	922
,, supervisors	1,615	407	2,022
Village accountants, supervisors	1,667	...	1,667
Official enumerators	3,670	1,992	5,662
Village accountants, enumerators	5,623	181	5,814
Village headmen ,,	2,759	59	2,818
Non-officials employed	20,770	1,834	22,594

which would release nearly half the non-officials employed in the villages and two-thirds of those employed in the towns from Census duty. Of course the real effect would not be quite so great as this, as many of the officials cannot, consistently with their ordinary duties, be employed at any great distance from their head-quarters. But the figures show that a good deal could be done without, as I believe, injury to the work, to reduce the burden thrown upon the educated non-official population.

855. With regard to the composition of the non-official staff, there is not much to be said. There are 34,000 villages in the Panjáb, and probably at least 80,000 village headmen; and the fact that less than 3,000 of these were utilised for Census purposes shows how few of them must be able to read and write. The village shop-keepers probably formed as competent an agency as could be obtained in many cases, as they at least know the village and the people. The figures of Abstract No. 145 show that at least 7,450 out of the 11,300 village shop-keepers employed as enumerators wrote the Persian character; a result so surprising that I made special inquiries as to the accuracy of the figures. It appears that the new generation of shop-keepers very generally learn Persian in the Government schools. Where this is the case there can be no possible objection to their employment. But where they do not write Persian I think they should be avoided, even at the cost of sending out school-boys at some little expense. In such cases they are wholly unable to read the instructions issued; the character they are pleased to employ is often a mere system of mnemonic symbols only moderately intelligible to the writer; while their mental capacity is not seldom of the meanest. Shop-keepers ignorant of Persian were most largely employed in Rohtak and Kángra, and somewhat less largely in Dehli, Hissár, and Fírozpur. In other districts they were not made much use of.

Where school-boys were utilised in the villages, an intelligent headman or other person on the spot was often made responsible for the Census, the school-boy practically acting merely as his amanuensis. But several district officers remark that a sharp school-boy made a better enumerator than almost anybody else, as he was proud of his duties, active, and intelligent, and yet willing to learn and to obey orders. In many cases the more intelligent youths from the higher schools in the towns were sent out into the villages and their expenses paid from district funds. They were most largely employed in Ambála where they constituted one-fourth, and in Lúdhiána where they formed one-sixth of the whole staff of enumerators, and in Dehli, Derah Ismáíl Khán, Gurgáon, Rohtak, Simla, Jálandhar, and Hushyárpur. In almost all these districts their use might have been, to some extent at least, avoided by raising the block to a normal size. As regards the use of non-official agency in general, in Kángra only 73 out of 3,098 enumerators and in Hazára only 43 out of 1,361 were official, while in Ráwalpindi and Jahlam some thirteen-fourteenths of the enumerators were non-official. In Simla, Gurdáspur, Síálkot, Gújrát, Sháhpur, and Muzaffargarh, all with the exception of Simla districts where the blocks were unnecessarily small, the proportion of non-officials is large, while in Kohát it sinks to less than half, and in Gurgáon, Karnál, Lúdhiánah, and Bannu it is only about two-thirds.

856. Characters used by the enumerators.—Abstract No. 145 on page 434 shows the characters written by enumerators.

[1] Major Nisbet submitted no application for a grant. Under the peculiar circumstances of the Simla district, such an application would probably have been sanctioned if he had sent one up.

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Abstract No. 145, *showing* Characters written by Enumerators *for* Districts.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	2	1
		TOWNS.						VILLAGES.						TOTAL.							
		Number of Enumerators writing						Number of Enumerators writing						Number of Enumerators writing							
Serial No.	Name of District.	English.	Persian.	Nágri.	Mahájani.	Gurmukhi.	Total.	English.	Persian.	Nágri.	Mahájani.	Gurmukhi.	Total.	English.	Persian.	Nágri.	Mahájani.	Gurmukhi.	Total.	Name of District.	Serial No.
1	Dehli	3	646	4	...	...	653	...	1,006	282	...	...	1,288	3	1,652	286	...	...	1,941	Dehli	1
2	Gurgaon	...	115	...	...	...	115	...	1,077	229	1	...	1,307	...	1,192	229	1	...	1,422	Gurgaon	2
3	Karnal	...	171	9	...	...	180	...	760	292	...	...	1,052	...	931	301	...	...	1,232	Karnal	3
4	Hissar	...	177	4	...	...	181	...	469	559	22	...	1,050	...	646	563	22	...	1,231	Hissar	4
5	Rohtak	...	233	16	1	...	250	...	634	284	216	...	1,134	...	867	300	217	...	1,384	Rohtak	5
6	Sirsa	...	66	9	...	...	75	...	487	111	115	...	713	...	553	120	115	...	788	Sirsa	6
7	Ambala	...	319	...	...	...	319	...	2,004	36	...	...	2,040	...	2,323	36	...	...	2,359	Ambala	7
8	Ludhiana	1	294	...	...	...	295	...	1,405	127	...	...	1,532	1	1,699	127	...	...	1,827	Ludhiana	8
9	Simla	4	114	...	...	...	118	...	37	47	...	...	84	4	151	47	...	...	202	Simla	9
10	Jalandhar	2	412	...	...	...	414	...	1,767	...	...	...	1,767	2	2,179	...	...	...	2,181	Jalandhar	10
11	Hushyarpur	...	285	...	...	...	285	...	2,738	485	5	40	3,268	...	3,023	485	5	40	3,553	Hushyarpur	11
12	Kangra	...	66	21	...	...	109*	...	361	375	52	1	3,098*	...	427	396	52	1	3,207*	Kangra	12
13	Amritsar	3	438	...	...	...	441	...	1,602	...	...	...	1,602	3	2,040	...	...	...	2,043	Amritsar	13
14	Gurdaspur	6	338	...	...	...	344	...	2,229	28	1	2	2,260	6	2,567	28	1	2	2,604	Gurdaspur,	14
15	Sialkot	10	237	...	...	...	247	...	2,171	...	...	...	2,171	10	2,408	...	...	...	2,418	Sialkot	15
16	Lahore	7	436	...	...	...	443	...	1,331	...	...	...	1,331	7	1,767	...	...	...	1,774	Lahore	16
17	Gujranwala	1	218	...	...	...	219	...	1,655	...	...	...	1,655	1	1,873	...	...	...	1,874	Gujranwala	17
18	Firozpur	10	144	...	...	...	154	2	1,346	16	77	13	1,454	12	1,490	16	77	13	1,608	Firozpur	18
19	Rawalpindi	22	261	...	...	1	284	...	2,792	...	13	11	2,816	22	3,053	...	13	12	3,100	Rawalpindi	19
20	Jahlam	...	135	...	...	...	135	...	1,525	3	...	...	1,528	...	1,660	3	...	...	1,663	Jahlam	20
21	Gujrat	...	130	...	...	...	130	...	1,664	...	...	...	1,664	...	1,794	...	...	...	1,794	Gujrat	21
22	Shahpur	...	163	...	...	...	163	...	1,023	...	...	...	1,023	...	1,186	...	...	...	1,186	Shahpur	22
23	Multan	5	291	1	...	...	297	...	1,300	...	59	1	1,360	5	1,591	1	59	1	1,657	Multan	23
24	Jhang	...	84	...	...	...	84	...	880	...	...	...	880	...	964	...	...	...	964	Jhang	24
25	Montgomery	...	69	...	...	...	69	...	937	...	...	...	937	...	1,006	...	...	...	1,006	Montgomery	25
26	Muzaffargarh	...	63	...	...	...	63	...	1,430	...	...	...	1,430	...	1,493	...	...	...	1,493	Muzaffargarh	26
27	Derah Ismail Khan	...	209	...	...	...	209	...	1,154	...	190	...	1,344	...	1,363	...	190	...	1,553	Derah Ismail Khan	27
28	Derah Ghazi Khan	1	134	...	...	...	135	...	692	...	17	...	709	1	826	...	17	...	844	Derah Ghazi Khan	28
29	Bannu	...	55	...	...	...	55	...	589	...	...	...	589	...	644	...	...	...	644	Bannu	29
30	Peshawar	27	364	...	...	...	391	...	1,100	...	16	14	1,130	27	1,464	...	16	14	1,521	Peshawar	30
31	Hazara	4	58	...	...	...	62	...	1,335	...	26	...	1,361	4	1,393	...	26	...	1,423	Hazara	31
32	Kohat	...	35	...	...	...	35	...	452	...	...	...	452	...	487	...	...	...	487	Kohat	32
	Total	106	6,760	64	1	1	6,954	2	39,952	2,874	810	82	46,029	108	46,712	2,938	811	83	52,983	Total	

* NOTE.—Including 2,331 writing Pahári (2,309 in villages and 22 in towns). The schedules of Spiti were written in Tibetan and then translated.

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The figures are summarised in the margin. Of these characters, the only ones that are fairly constant in their character and at the same time generally intelligible are the three first. Mahájani or Landa, the character in which the shop-keepers keep their accounts, is quite impracticable: and it would have been difficult or impossible to find men to read the Gurmukhi or Pahári cursives. Consequently except in Kángra, where the proportion of Pahári writers was necessarily exceedingly large, and where a staff of patwáris who could read the character was available for employment in tabulation, no schedules were allowed to be sent to the compiling offices in any one of these three characters. Every effort should be made to avoid enumerators writing any other character than English or Persian. The Deputy Commissioners report very generally that the use of other characters caused the greatest difficulty, the enumerator being unable to read the instructions and the supervisors to read the schedules, while the last were generally exceedingly illegible even to the man who wrote them. By far the best plan, where the enumerator wrote an inadmissible character or one not understood by the supervisor, was to write the original entries in the schedules very far apart, and to fill in an interlinear transliteration. The supervisor then repeated in the Persian text all alterations or additions made by the enumerator in his original, and the former alone was used for compilation; the latter however being immediately available for comparison in case of doubt. Where this plan was not followed it was necessary to make a duplicate copy of the book of schedules in the Persian character, and this greatly increased not only labour but also risk of error.

	Villages.	Towns.	Total.
Enumerators writing English . .	2	106	108
,, ,, Persian . .	37,643	6,738	44,381
,, ,, Nágri . .	2,874	64	2,938
,, ,, Mahájani . .	810	1	811
,, ,, Gurmukhi . .	82	1	83
,, ,, Pahári . .	2,309	22	2,331

The Pahári character was used in Kángra alone; the Gurmukhi in Hushyárpur, Fírozpur, Ráwalpindi and, curiously enough, Pesháwar. The Mahájani was chiefly made use of in Rohtak, Sirsa, the Bhakkar and Leiah tahsíls of Derah Ismáíl Khán, and to a less extent in Kángra, Fírozpur, and the Mailsi tahsíl of Multán. Nágri was employed most largely in Hissár; but generally to a considerable extent throughout the Dehli and Hissár divisions and in Sháhpur Kandi of Gurdáspur, and not at all in the western parts of the Province. Here again characters other than Persian were often used in districts where the average block was unnecessarily small; but in some cases no doubt, the two phænomena are both due to a scattered and illiterate population inhabiting an outlying tract difficult of access. It is not impossible that some of the men entered as having used the Nágri character may really have written in Mahájani, as the latter is sometimes, but incorrectly, called Nágri. Schedules were printed in Persián, Nágri, and Gurmukhi (the last at the Lúdhiánah Mission Press). Such as were used in Mahájani and Pahári had to be prepared by hand in the districts in which they were used, as the character varies from district to district.

The highly educated enumerator is a mistake; and though it is necessary that the supervising staff should be men of education, yet a great deal of trouble was given and inaccuracy caused by their pride of learning. An educated Hindu or Musalmán has strong theories, derived from the scriptural authorities of his religion, as to how things ought to be; and is not content to record them as they are, or to believe that each man himself knows better than any outsider, however greatly his superior in education, what are his caste, clan and religion. Mr. Stogdon of Lahore says:—

"A considerable amount of tact was needed in dealing with such a large number of voluntary enumerators, many of whom "considered that they were conferring a favour on the authorities by undertaking the work, and looked upon themselves as abler "men than their supervisors and superintendents. The most difficult kind of enumerator to deal with was the self-opinionated one "who worked on a method of his own and was above instruction or correction. In a few instances it was necessary to dispense "with the services of such men altogether. They were worse than useless."

A flagrant instance of the harm which educated men may do with the best intentions is quoted in section 37.

857. Progress of the work.—I took up my appointment as Deputy Superintendent of Census on the 4th August 1880, and the preliminary Government circular issued on the 7th of the same month. My instructions for the demarcation of Census units and the selection of agency were dated the 31st of August; while instructions for the preparation of house-lists were issued on the 15th, and for the preliminary record on the 23rd of September. The preliminary record began on the 27th of December 1880, and was completed during January 1881. The instructions for the final enumeration, which could not be issued till the Government of India had issued orders for the Railway and Military Census, were dated the 20th January 1881, and the Census was taken on the night of the 17th of the following month. The record of progress is continued at the end of Part II of the next Chapter.

PART II.—THE ENUMERATION OF THE PEOPLE.

858. The form of schedule.—The form of schedule prescribed by the Government of India for use throughout the Empire was as follows:—

*District*_________ *Sub-Division** _________ *Village*_________ *Name of Enumerator*_________
*No. of House*_________

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
					Religion.						
Serial No. of each inmate.	Name.	Condition, *i. e.*, whether married, unmarried, widow, or widower.	Sex.	Age last birth-day.	Religion.	Caste if Hindu, Sect if of other religion.‖	Mother tongue.	†‡§ Place of birth.	¶ Occupation of men, also of boys and females who may do work.	*Education.* 1. Under instruction. 2. Not under instruction but able to read and write. 3. Not under instruction and not able to read and write.	*Infirmities.* 1. Unsound mind. 2. Deaf mutes from birth. 3. Blind. 4. Lepers.

* Title to be varied according to circumstances.
† If a European British subject, add British subject.
‡ If a foreigner, state of what country.
§ If of mixed European and Asiatic parentage, add Eurasian.
‖ In this column such details of tribes, clans and septs, as the Local Government may direct, should be introduced.
¶ Boys at school, girls, small children, and women who perform no regular work should not be shown at all under col. 10.

The form finally adopted for the Panjáb is given below:—

*Tahsil*_________ *Village* *Circle No.*______ *Block Letter*_________ *Name of Enumerator*_________
*House No.*_________ *Description.*_________

1	2	3	4		5	6	7			8	9	10	11	12
						Religion, Caste or Tribe, Clan, Got, &c.								
Serial No. of Inmate.	Name.	Condition, *i. e.*, whether married, unmarried, widow or widower.	Male.	Female.	Age last birth-day.	Religion and sect.	Original Caste or Tribe.	Clan.	Got or Family.	Mother tongue.	*†‡ Place of birth.	Occupation of men; also of those boys and females whose work is brought regularly to market.	*Education.* (1) Not under instruction but can read and write. (2) Under instruction.	*Infirmities.* (1) Unsound mind. (2) Deaf mutes from birth. (3) Blind. (4) Lepers.

* If a European British Subject, add British subject. † If a foreigner, state of what country. ‡ If of mixed European and Asiatic parentage, add Eurasian.

As the Panjáb schedules were roughly stitched up into books, the name of the district was transferred from the schedule to a label on the cover with the following headings: Name of District and Tahsíl, No. of Circle, Letter of Block, Name of Enumerator, No. of pages in the Book, Signature of Supervisor. I think that there was no need to repeat the names of the Tahsíl and the enumerator on each schedule; and that the name of the village should have been shown on the label as well as on each page.

859. The original proposal of the Census Committee was to devote a page to each family (or, as they called it, house). In the Panjáb, however, the schedules were filled in straight away, a short line being drawn below each family in the column of names to facilitate checking, and a space being left at the end of each house in which to enter any newcomer on the night of the Census. Under these circumstances I think the decision to write the No. and description of house across the middle of the page was a mistake. It led in some cases to the entry being omitted altogether for all houses save that at the top of each page, and in others to space being wasted by a whole opening being devoted to the single house entered in the top heading. I would add a column at the beginning of the schedule, headed "No. and description of House."

Column 2, Name.—In column 2, Name, the directions were to write simply the word "female" or "infant" where there was any objection to giving the name, or where a child had not yet been named. It was found in Peshâwar that this caused difficulty in checking where there were several women so entered. I think it would be better to write "wife," "daughter," "daughter-in-law," &c., as the case might be, giving the woman's relation to the head of the family. There would, I conceive, be no objection to give this information. Mr. T. W. Smyth of Dehli would record the relationship of each person enumerated to the head of the family. He writes:—

"It might be an improvement to have an additional column in the schedule showing the relationship of the several members "to the head of the family, such as wife, son, daughter, mother, and so on. This would assist the enumerator when recording the "names, and would prevent omissions which are likely to occur if the names are not taken down in some recognised order. The "enumerator's first question should be 'Who is the head of this family?' This would be followed by 'Is he married, and if so "what is the name of his wife?' 'Has he any sons, if so what are their names?' 'Has he any daughters, if so what are their

Part II.—The Enumeration of the People.

"names?' 'Are there any other relations residing in the family, mother, brother, sister, &c.; if so, what are their names?' "Are there "any visitors in the house, if so what are their names?' and so on. If the family is a large one the names of some of the members "are likely to be omitted if they are simply taken down, without any questions being put by the enumerators similar to those "noted above."

What he says is doubtless true; but I fancy there might be some difficulty in recording relationship generally, especially where concubines are kept; it is on general grounds well to keep the number of columns to be filled up as low as possible; and I would confine the entry of relationship to the cases where the name was not given.

Column 3, Civil Condition.—In the column for civil condition we had to translate "Married or unmarried" by *kwárá yá kwárí* (virgin), and frequent references were made as to how unmarried prostitutes were to be entered. I cannot suggest any better translation; but I think the point might be noticed in the instructions to enumerators. Captain Bartholomew suggest *ná-biáhí*, a mongrel word not in use. Mr. Perkins very justly remarks "here strict etymology yields to custom. The use of *kwárí* for an un- "married prostitute is not more absurd than the usage whereby a married girl of 5 years old is *not* a *kwárí*."

Column 4, Sex.—The column for sex was split up into two columns headed male and female respectively. The entry was made by simply writing the word *ek* (one) in the appropriate column. But I think it would have been better to have a single column headed "male or female," and make the enumerator write the proper word opposite each entry. The former plan saved a little trouble in compilation; but we found that in many cases the word "one" had been written in the wrong column, as was apparent from the name of the person. There would be much less risk of the wrong word being written. It would have been well to state in the instructions to enumerators that eunuchs were to be shown as males. The native does not apply the word *mard* to them, and much doubt was felt in the matter. The Patiála State added a third sub-column for them under the head of sex.

Column 5, Age.—By some extraordinary perversity of circumstances, we were instructed to record the number of years completed by each person on the birthday immediately preceding the Census. In the first place this upset the understanding of every villager of whom the question was asked; for every native calls himself 22 years old directly after he has completed his 21st year. In the second place we were directed, in the case of infants under one year of age, to enter their age in months, though no detail of age involving months was tabulated. In the Panjáb we ordered the number of months to be written in words instead of numbers, with the word "months" after them; but it is no doubt possible that the number of months was in some cases entered or read as years. The age on the *next* birthday should on another occasion be entered in the schedules; and if for instance it is wished to make the figures in the column of the age tables headed "5 to 9" include those who have finished their 5th, but not completed their 10th year, all that would be needed would be to tabulate the schedule entries from 6 to 10 instead of from 5 to 9, as would be done in England, and enter the result. This would enable children under one year of age to be entered as one year old, and so prevent the possiblity of confusion between months and years.

Columns 6 and 7, Religion and Caste.—These are the columns in filling up which the Panjáb enlarged most widely the Government of India scheme. The Government of India directed us to record the caste of Hindus and the sect of members of other religions. But caste, used in any wider sense than the somewhat mythical and practically obsolete fourfold division of Manu, is mainly a matter, not of religion, but of tribal descent or occupation. Under the instructions received, only 1,907,732 out of the 3,564,519 Jats and 325,215 out of the 1,436,058 Rájpúts in the British Panjáb, or just over half of the one and not one-quarter of the others, would have been shown as Jats or Rájpúts, the remainder appearing as Musalmáns of either the Sunni or Shíah sect. Accordingly we transferred sect to its proper place under religion. In another Census it should, I think, have a separate column or sub-column to itself. It is a great mistake ever to enter two distinct facts in one and the same column, for it leads to difficulty and error in tabulation, if not in enumeration.

Having thus left column 7 clear for caste or tribal divisions, we divided it into three sub-columns headed respectively "original "caste or tribe" (*asl qaum*), "clan" (*zát yá firqah*), and "*got* or sept" (*got yá shákh*). The whole question of the classification thus adopted, its merits and defects, and the best course to be adopted in future, is discussed in the Chapter on Castes at pages 188 to 190 of the Report. It was suggested that we might direct the enumerators to record only certain specified tribes and clans, selecting such as were administratively important. But I believe that such a course would be fatal to accuracy. It is true that we may hope to have before next Census classified tables of clans, from which it would be easy to select in each case those which alone appear of sufficient importance to be worth recording. But such a list would be far too bulky for practical use. Besides, I am certain it would be fatal to tell the enumerators to record clans in some instances and not in others. And a native who, if asked what his clan was, would give a perfectly correct answer, would, if asked to which of a certain number of specified clans he belonged, almost certainly name one of them, though he might really belong to none. The only practicable plan is that adopted at the present Census, namely to record everything, and to select and reject at the compilation and not at the enumeration stage.

Column 10, Occupation.—In the vernacular schedules this column was headed "Occupation of men, and of those boys and "females whose work contributes to the family income" (*Peshah mard báligh ká, wa un larkon wa larkion wa auraton ká ki jin ki mihnat se ámdani húá karti hai.*) This was in accordance with the original instructions issued by the Government of India, but not with the amended form in which Mr. Elliott framed them (see section 718 *supra*), and which, though followed in our instructions to enumerators, was received too late to alter the heading of the schedule. I am of opinion that it would be far better to head the column with the single word "Occupation," leaving all details for the instructions. If it led to any error, it would only be the very unimportant one of recording an occupation which was not wanted, and which could be rejected at compilation. There is one strong objection to the use of the word *peshah* for occupation; namely that, where used with reference to females, it commonly means prostitution. But *rozgár*, which seems almost the only alternative, also means income; and the answer to "What is "your *rozgár*?" might be "R30 a month." Perhaps the phrase "*Guzára kis tarah se hotá hai?*" would have been better, especially as it was determined, after the schedules had been printed, to record source of income where the person had no occupation.

Column 11, Education.—In this column we had only two entries "Under instruction" (*likhna parhna síkhta hai*) and "Not "under instruction but can read and write," (*likh parh jánta hai*). Where a person was neither literate nor under instruction the column was simply left blank; a better plan, I think, than entering him as "Not under instruction, and not able to read and "write," as proposed by the Government of India. The entries in this column are unfortunately few; and our plan saves much trouble in tabulation.

860. The enumerators' books.—The schedules were printed across half-sheets of royal Bally paper, the half-sheets being doubled across the middle and bound up into books measuring 12½ by 10 inches, the schedule being 12½ inches across, and the books opening like a banya's account-book, with one set of headings to each opening which ran parallel to the back of the binding. The bindings were simply two separate limp boards made of glazed calico pasted over country paper, and were made up at the Central Gaol, Lahore, at an inordinately high rate. This was a mistake. They could have been made by contract in the districts for half the money; and the heavy cost of carriage, often by post, would have been saved. But in any case sample-books should be sent to each Tahsíl, as was done in the Census, to show them how to make up their books; as incredible ingenuity is often displayed in misunderstanding written instructions. As for the form of book, I think it could hardly be improved. The loose schedules and covers were supplied to the supervisors, and they stitched up the books according to the size of their respective blocks. If it was found that there were not enough pages in the book, or that it contained spare schedules which were wanted elsewhere, the stitching was easily undone, schedules added or taken out, and the book stitched up again.

The plan adopted was to have one book for each block, the entries for different villages included in the same block being separated by a blank leaf. I think it would be better in another Census to have a separate book for each of two or more villages in the same block. It would save much trouble in tabulation

and render error less likely to have every village with a book or books of its own. The label outside the book, described in section 858, would then show the name of the village.

Each book of schedules contained at the beginning a copy of the instructions to enumerators, a set of questions which the enumerator was to ask in each case, and three pages of sample schedules filled up by way of specimen. At the end two or three blank pages were kept in case of need on the Census night.

861. Preliminary practice of enumerators.—The blocks having been finally marked out, the houses numbered, the house-lists prepared, and the enumerators appointed, the next thing was to teach them their duties. This was effected by each supervisor collecting his enumerators at his head-quarters about a week before the date fixed for the preliminary record, and making them take a Census of a portion of the town or village, each man taking his share of the work. As each man showed that he thoroughly understood the instructions and method of work, he was sent back to his block to await the day for beginning the preliminary record. In some cases I found that the Tahsíldár had caused the enumerators to take a Census of the whole Tahsíl a month or more beforehand by way of practice. This ought to be strictly forbidden; both because it entails unnecessary labour upon the staff and unnecessary worry to the people, and because there is a great danger of the enumerators using the papers so prepared for their preliminary record instead of going over the ground again.

862. The preliminary record.—The instructions were that the preliminary record was to be begun on the 27th December and finished by the 25th January. It was to be finally tested and declared correct and complete by the 7th February, leaving 10 clear days for preparation before the Census night. I think the record might have been begun later. The curious effect upon the age-statistics of separating the mass of the entries from the date of the final Census by a considerable interval, has already been discussed in the chapter on Age. But besides this, the larger the interval which separates the preliminary record from the actual Census, the greater will be the number of alterations which have to be made on the latter date. Thus while I am convinced that for an Indian Census, it is absolutely imperative that the entries should in the first instance be made and tested at leisure, leaving for the night of the Census nothing more to do than to bring them up to date,—and this, not only because the type of intelligence enjoyed by the average enumerator is so low that most minute supervision and examination of the entries is necessary, but also because it would be impossible to obtain a sufficiently numerous staff to make the record *ab initio* in a single night,—yet it is on several grounds advisable to reduce the interval between the two operations as much as possible. Now a fairly active enumerator will complete the preliminary record of his block in three or four days. Supposing that my plan of making the patwáris prepare the record was accepted (section 851, *supra*), the outside that a patwári could possibly have to do would be ten blocks; and in that case, he being himself the supervisor, no time need be allowed for examination of the entries. I think that the best form the instructions could have taken would have been the following: the preliminary record not to be begun in any case before the 7th January, and to be completely tested and corrected in all cases by the 7th February; subject to this latter condition, the later it is begun the better. This would leave a certain discretion as to the date of beginning, and would allow sufficient time for practising the enumerators who had not themselves made the preliminary record. It is true that the preliminary record in Hissár was begun on 25th December and not finished till 10th February; but I am sure so long need not have been taken. In Sirsa it was all done within 18 days. Mr. Frizelle of Sháhpur writes as follows on this subject:—

"Indeed I may say that the great fault committed in this district was that the preliminary record and the testing of it by "supervisors was over too soon, so that before the final day came the ardour of the great body of the staff and the interest they took "in their duties had somewhat cooled down, they had probably forgotten a good many facts in the mean time, and more alterations "were necessary in the entries in the schedules than would otherwise have been the case."

And Mr. Lawrence of Pesháwar says:—

"I would suggest that the preliminary record be completed in 10 or 15 days. In this district during Census operations the "drought continued. Had rain fallen in January the greater part of the preliminary record of the Hashtnagar, Mardán, and Utmán "Bolák Tahsíls would have had to be corrected, for the Gújar population would have left Hashtnagar for Yúsufzai. As it was the "preliminary record had to be corrected, for in the month allotted to this work there were many changes."

When the enumerator began the preliminary record he went round his block with the house-list in his hand, and entered all residents for the time being, whether permanent or visitors only (save in hotels, hostelries, encamping grounds, and the like, where only permanent residents were entered) for each house, and, within the house, for each family. I think it was a mistake to enter mere temporary visitors. The preliminary record must necessarily be separated from the final Census by an interval of some weeks; and the rule followed caused a good deal of needless excision on the Census night, while it greatly increased the danger of double enumeration. I would not enter visitors whose stay was not intended to exceed two or three days. In fact I suspect such persons were very often not entered at all, the rule to the contrary notwithstanding. Mr. Stogdon of Lahore notes that wedding processions present at the village at the time of the preliminary record were not entered.

Every house, whether empty or not, was entered in the book, a note being recorded where necessary that the house was unoccupied or only occupied by day, and a small space being left for possible inhabitants on the night of the Census. So where the residents were to be allowed to give in their own schedules, the house was entered and a note made to the effect that a private sehedule had been sanctioned for it. The large number of shops, and the cattle-sheds and field-huts mentioned in section 841 wasted a good deal of room; but unless every house had been entered the house-list would have been no check upon the enumerator, and I think the plan adopted was the right one. The method of entry of houses and families is described in section 859.

While the preliminary record was in progress the supervisors were constantly moving about their circles, inspecting and testing the entries. When the supervisor had satisfied himself of the correctness of the entries on any page, he signed it at the top or foot. In some cases the enumerators were so incompetent that their schedules had to be wholly recopied after correction by the supervisor; and this was always

done with any schedule which was much cut up by corrections, the stitching being opened and the schedule replaced by a new one. When the preliminary record was complete and correct for any block, the supervisor numbered each page above his signature, entered the total number of pages in the label on the cover, and signed the label.

863. Date of the final Census.—The precise date of the final Census was fixed by the Government of India with reference to the various conditions of the several provinces of the Empire. They determined that it should be some time in February; the necessity for a moonlight night confined the choice within still narrower limits; and the consideration which dictated the choice of the 17th as the night of the Census was the advisability of avoiding any days on which large masses of people would be assembled at fairs, where their enumeration would have been most difficult. In the Panjáb the only fairs of any importance that took place between the 10th and 18th of February are shown in the margin.

11th—Dehli	. 50,000;	Siálkot .	. 4,000
12th—Dehli	. 25,000;	Siálkot .	. 13,000
13th—Dehli	. 3,000;		
14th—Dehli	. 3,000;	Amritsar	. 15,000

But it may be noted that, supposing it to be impossible to avoid a date on or about which large fairs were held, it would probably be better to take the actual date of the fair itself than the day immediately preceding or following it. The difficulties of enumerating a large number of people collected at a fair would doubtless be great. But they would not be insuperable, and they would at least be known exactly, and could be provided for beforehand. But on the night before or after a large fair there would be a great number of travellers scattered about the villages and roads in the neighbourhood; it would be quite impossible to foretell where they would be found; and local agency might be insufficient to meet the unexpected demand upon it, while there would be a danger of such travellers escaping enumeration altogether. Mr. Hawkins of Amritsar writes:—"A large local fair was to take place in the village of Khatra in the Ajnála "Tahsíl on the night of the 17th; but it was put off to the 28th by order of the Deputy Commissioner, and "no difficulty whatever was experienced in the matter, as timely notice had been sent out to the "neighbouring Districts of Lahore, Siálkot, and Gurdáspur, from which the people come to the fair." This procedure might usefully be adopted in other cases if necessary.

But there is another consideration which apparently escaped notice altogether. Certain days are *lagan*, or auspicious dates for the celebration of Hindu weddings. They vary much in the degree of pre-eminence attached to each. But it is evident that, were a first-class *lagan* chosen for the night of the Census, a considerable proportion of the Hindu and Sikh population of the Province might be absent from their houses at wedding processions; and it would be necessary to cut their names out of the preliminary record, and add them in the schedules of the place where the wedding was taking place. This consideration is not so important in the Panjáb as in the North-West Provinces, first because a much larger proportion of the population is sufficiently Islamized not to attach any importance to *lagans*, and secondly, because weddings are forbidden for three only out of the twelve months in the greater part of the Panjáb, instead of seven as in the North-West Provinces. But it is a point which should be borne in mind on future occasions. So again, Thursday is a usual day for Mahomedan marriages, and some Thursdays especially; and the day before or after a *lagan* is almost as objectionable as the *lagan* itself, as wedding processions often have to make more than a day's journey. In the Dehli territory a good deal of trouble was caused by wedding processions on the Census night.

Mr. Benton of Karnál remarks that in Pánípat much of the work was finished before the moon rose (8° 39′ P.M. local time); and that a day on which the moon rose earlier would have suited better.

It may be noted that, in the vernacular instructions, the time for the Census should be described as "the 17th of February, after the lamps are lit," and not as "the night of the 17th of February," which many natives would understand to mean what we call the night of the 16th.

864. The final Census.—During the ten days which intervened between the 7th and the 17th February, the Census staff were busy in making preparations for the final event. Enumerators who had not themselves made the preliminary record had to be taken over their blocks in detail; supervisors had to satisfy themselves that the enumerators understood exactly what was required of them; red ink had to be distributed through the supervisors to the enumerators; proclamations had to be issued; and arrangements (to be described hereafter) had to be made for the Census of nomad population, and of travellers by road and river. The supervisors had to satisfy themselves, during the 15th and 16th and 17th, that every enumerator was at his post, and had his preliminary record complete and everything in readiness for the final Census. Immediately before the Census a proclamation was issued requesting the people to go home early and stay there as far as possible on the night of the 17th; and directing the head of each family to remain awake and keep a lamp burning till the enumerator had visited him. Village headmen and watchmen were also warned that they must accompany the enumerator on his rounds.

On the 17th of February, as soon as the cattle had gone home from the fields and the lamps were lit, the enumerator went out on his rounds to visit every house in his block. After he had finished them, he examined the space round the village, and all spots where travellers were likely to be encamped. During the day he had ascertained whether there were any gipsies or squatters camped in the area of his block; and if so he had to visit them also. The cardinal rule for his guidance was, that he was not to alter any entry made in the preliminary record save by scratching out the whole of the entries appertaining to persons who had died or gone away. This was absolutely necessary, as all the entries had been carefully tested by the supervising staff, and an ignorant and conceited enumerator might have played great havoc with them. He was also, of course, to add anybody who had been born or come to the place since the preliminary record was made. It would be interesting to know how many excisions and additions were made on the night of the Census; but this information has not been collected.

Newcomers were added at the end of the house, when they were staying in a house already entered, without reference to the family to which they belonged. To have left a blank space for their entry at the

Part II.—The Enumeration of the People.

end of each family would have wasted much room and served no useful purpose. On this subject Mr. Wilson of Sirsa writes:—

"I think that too much importance is given to the 'house,' which is often an accidental conglomeration of families, and too "little to the 'family' which is bound together by natural ties of great force. For instance if a baby was born after the preliminary Census and before the 17th February, it was then entered at the end of the house, perhaps a long way from the entries "relating to its father and mother and below entries relating to a totally distinct family. I would class individuals into families, "and for this district at least would not attempt to class them into houses."

I agree with him as to the relative statistical importance of houses and families. But the record of families is taken from the entries of the preliminary record; and the addition of the baby at the end of the house did not affect the figures. Moreover, I propose (in section 844) to take these figures in future from the house-lists, and not from the schedules. If however it is desired to take statistics for families from the schedules, it would be well to direct the enumerator, in cases where whole families had come to the house since the preliminary record, and especially in hostelries and the like, to separate off such families from isolated individuals in the new entries made on the Census night by two lines across the name column, just as families are divided off at the preliminary record. This would make the record of families more accurate; but the primary object of distinguishing families in the schedules is, not to obtain statistics, but simply to facilitate checking.

All excisions and entries made on the night of the Census were made in red ink. Mr. Elliott feared that some difficulty would be experienced in supplying this to the enumerators; but this was not found to be the case. The common magenta aniline dye (*shíshah ká rang*) is cheap, sufficiently permanent for the purpose, goes a long way, and is procurable in the bazaar of any considerable town. One Deputy Commissioner estimated for some hundreds of rupees worth, enough to dye all his enumerators scarlet; but this was unnecessary. The colour was distributed through Tahsíldárs to the supervisors and by them to the enumerators. And the use of red ink on the Census night was exceedingly valuable, as it enabled the supervisors to distinguish at once the entries of the preliminary record, which he had already tested, from those of the final Census which he had still to test, and prevented enumerators from playing tricks with the entries.

865. It was proposed, at a late stage in the operations, to instruct the enumerators to distinguish residents from visitors in the schedules. The late date of the proposal would of itself have prevented its adoption in the Panjáb. But in any case I do not think it a good one. The permanent population of any town or village=its population on any night+absentees on that night—visitors on that night. Now, though it would be easy enough to distinguish the visitors, yet it would be practically impossible to obtain any record of the number of absentees under any system compatible with a synchronous Census, in which each person is enumerated wherever he may happen to be on a given night. In large towns and even in villages, save under special circumstances such as the occurrence of a fair, the visitors and absentees would be about equal in number at any given time; and the numbers actually present on the Census night would probably give a far more accurate idea of the normal population of the town than would those numbers after the exclusion of visitors. If it were really desired to obtain an enumeration of the permanently resident population of each place, the proper plan would I think be, to accept my proposal that temporary visitors should not be entered at the preliminary record (see section 862), and further to direct that all persons only temporarily absent should be entered as if at home in the preliminary record. These last would of course be cut out again at the final Census if they had not returned meanwhile; but if the number of excisions and additions made in red ink on the Census night were tabulated, they would give by a very simple sum the permanent population as it stood at the time of the preliminary record, births and deaths occurring between that time and the final Census not being taken into account. The only danger would be that the names of persons temporarily absent at the preliminary enumeration might be left standing at the final Census, although they had not returned meanwhile.

On the night of the Census the supervising staff were strengthened wherever possible (chiefly, I suspect, in the towns) and each enumerator was visited while at work wherever distance would allow of its being done. Where this was impossible, the supervisors were instructed to direct their attention to the larger villages with miscellaneous populations, and to those on frequented roads where many travellers might be expected to stop. Next morning they started off to go round their circles and test on the spot every excision or entry that had been made on the Census night. They were allowed to cut out or add any person who appeared from enquiry to have been wrongly left in or omitted; but they were not to alter the details recorded concerning any person rightly entered, and who was not before them, unless they could make perfectly sure of what should have been recorded.

This completed the operations, so far as they concerned the enumeration of the people.

PART III.—SPECIAL MEASURES.

866. Municipalities.—The Census of the Municipalities, which embrace almost all the towns with more than 5,000 souls, and many with smaller populations, was taken through the Municipal Committees. In the large Municipalities the arrangements were most thorough and complete; and in several cases advantage was taken of the opportunity to prepare permanent maps and house-registers. The cost of the Census up to the time that the books were sent to the tabulating offices was borne by the municipal funds in all Municipalities of the first and second classes, and in such of those of the third class as had at the Municipal Census of 1875 a population of not less than 10,000 souls; forms and instructions, however, being supplied at Government expense. But even here, where funds were available, it was not found necessary to employ paid agency save for the preparation of house-lists in the city of Dehli, and for the whole operations in the city of Amritsar. Agency was, of course, easy to procure; and the only respect in which the Census of the large cities was not specially accurate was the entry of religion, caste, and clan. Here the educated city enumerators knew far too much to record accurately; and from what I saw and heard, I suspect that the poorer classes in cities do often lose in a far greater degree than do those in the villages, their regard for and memory of caste distinctions. A not inconsiderable proportion of them often consists of a miscellaneous collection of low-caste men from the North-West Provinces who are indifferently classed as Púrbias by the people of the Panjáb; and they themselves seem in many cases to have grown to consider the classification as sufficient.

867. Cantonments.—The Census of cantonments was taken through the Cantonment Magistrate; and the cost was borne, as in Municipalities, by cantonment funds. The degree of success with which the work was done varied immensely, and depended wholly upon the character of the Cantonment Magistrate. Some of the very best work I saw was in cantonments. In other cases the Magistrate was lazy and indifferent, the greatest pressure had to be put upon him to induce him to move at all, and in one cantonment at least the Census would hardly have been taken at all if the district officers had not stepped in at the last moment and done the work themselves. In others again no care was taken in selecting the agency, no supervision of any sort was exercised, and the staff had to be threatened with criminal proceedings before anything could be done. The position is a difficult one. The Cantonment Magistrate is subordinate to the district officer only in his judicial and not in his executive capacity, while the Cantonment Committee which control his action in the latter capacity is of course wholly independent. But, as the appointment of the Magistrate rests with the Panjáb Government, I think on a future occasion a lazy and indifferent man might be given clearly to understand that the work had got to be done, and that he must do it, and do it properly. In Jahlam, Talágang, and Naushahra the whole work, excluding of course the Census of military limits, was done by the district staff with the consent of the cantonment authorities, who placed the cantonment staff at their disposal. Where this arrangement is agreed to nothing could be better. Messrs. Beckett and Lawrence of Peshawar both recommend that either the work should be made over absolutely to the civil authorities, or that they should be relieved of all responsibility for it. Probably the best way would be to empower the Deputy Commissioner, in case proper arrangements are not made by the cantonment authorities, to do the work himself by paid agency and charge the cost to cantonment funds. The population of cantonment bazaars is more mixed than any other population in the Province, and its Census presents very peculiar difficulties as to the entries in some of the columns. It is, however, insignificant in extent.

868. Military Census.—It was, of course, absolutely necessary to take the Census of troops through their own officers. At the same time it was advisable to throw as small a burden as possible upon the military authorities. It was therefore decided that the Census of only "regimental lines, quarters, barracks, or other premises in which troops or others subject to military discipline are quartered" should be taken by the military authorities; "that of regimental and sadr bazaars, and of all parts of cantonments except "the quarters just mentioned, being taken by the civil authorities acting through the Cantonment Magis- "trate." Civil officers were directed to fix, in consultation with the military authorities, the limits within which each was respectively responsible for the Census. A proposal was made to define the several responsibilities of the two departments by making the military authorities answerable for the Census of certain specified *classes of persons*, and of them alone. And in the Railway Census I found a similar standard proposed in one case, whereby to distribute the responsibility for the Census among the several departments into which the railway staff was divided. I am convinced that any such rule must result in confusion and error. Where two persons have to take a Census side by side, the only safe plan is to fix *topographical boundaries*, and to make each responsible for the enumeration of all persons of whatever description found within his limits. At the same time, to reduce the risk of error, the military authorities were requested to clear all military limits, between sunset and sunrise of the Census night, of all persons not temporarily or permanently living within them; and this, I think, was useful.

869. The general plan of preliminary operations was somewhat simplified for the military Census. The rules on the subject will be found in Appendix D. Military quarters had been treated as houses in the general Census of cantonments, and entered as such in the house-lists [1]. This, as Mr. Elliott pointed out, was a mistake; and it would have been better to have treated them as blocks. It had not been decided, when I issued the instructions, within what limits the military Census should be confined; but in future it might be explained to the civil authorities that the military Census would be confined within the narrow limits already described, and that such limits should be treated as blocks for the Census of which the military authorities would be responsible. No separate index-register was prepared by the Military Department;

[1] Section 9, General Letter A, and Rule 6, Part I, Instructions to Supervisors, Appendix D.

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no maps were needed; and a simplified form of house-list was used. But of course the schedule and the instructions for filling it up were the same as those used elsewhere, and a preliminary record was made. As soon as the entries of the Census night had been finally examined and corrected, the schedules were made over to the district office, and the military authorities had no further concern with them. Troops on the march were censused by their officers, the schedules being sent, in the case of a detachment to the regimental headquarters, and in the case of a regiment to the station at which they were last cantoned. The schedules of a regiment on its return from service beyond the frontier, which was censused at Karnál, were included in the population in that place. This was done by order. I should have preferred to include them in the population of the nearest cantonment.

A European civil officer was appointed in each case to advise the military authorities, and to exercise such general supervision over their operations as was necessary to secure uniformity in the results. It was found exceedingly difficult to get the authorities to move in time. It was not that they were indifferent or neglectful; in fact as far as I can judge (and I have examined all the English schedules page by page) the Census of military lines was carefully taken; far more so than that of many cantonments. But the military Census was such a simple matter that the whole of the work might have been done within the week immediately preceding the Census night. Thus the preliminary arrangements were put off to the last. But printed forms and instructions had to be provided; and in some cases the indents for these had not been received by the beginning of February, and I had to estimate the probable requirements as well as I could, and send off such a supply as I thought would certainly be sufficient. I at least, if no one else, should have been saved much anxiety if the operations had not been so delayed, that not till the day before the Census did I receive news of the completion of the preliminary record for the Province.

870. The Khaibar troops.—At the last moment Mr. Elliott informed me that he had, in consultation with the Government of India, decided to include the troops and camp-followers then lying in the Khaibar Pass in the Census of the Indian Empire; as, though situated beyond British Territory, they formed an integral part of its population. I accordingly sent them schedules and instructions. When the schedules were returned to the tabulating office it was found that for the most part only four columns, namely those showing name, sex, religion, and occupation, had been filled in. The military authorities informed the Deputy Commissioner that they had authority for thus curtailing the entries; but, though I reported the fact, I am unaware what orders had been issued on the subject. In my tables the Khaibar has been treated as an eleventh division, and its people included in the population of the British Panjáb whence they were for the most part drawn. Where the entries in the schedules were left blank, the numbers are shown as "unspecified."

871. Public institutions and gangs of workmen.—The Census of all public institutions, such as gaols, police-lines, dispensaries, hospitals, asylums, and the like, and of gangs of workmen employed on railways, canals, &c., was taken through the officers in charge. They were treated as single houses in the house-lists [1]. Mr. Elliott was of opinion that they would better have been treated as blocks; but I think that except where very large, they were best treated as houses of which the occupier filled up his own private schedule. Schools and other similar institutions, and police, canal, forest, customs, and other outposts were treated in a similar manner. Gaols [2], outposts, and similar buildings were entered as houses in the general house-list of the blocks in which they were situated, and their resident families recorded therein. Separate house-lists were prepared for gangs of workmen on large works. In both cases the preliminary record was deferred to within a few days of the Census on account of the unstable nature of the population.

872. Private schedules.—The Government of India directed that private schedules, to be filled up by the householder himself and not by the enumerator, were to be given only to "highly-educated people and members of the European community," as it had been found at previous Censuses that they were often filled in most correctly. They were also distributed to all schools, outposts, and similar houses mentioned in the preceding paragraph. They had instructions for filling them up printed on the back, and a specimen will be found in Appendix D. The number of houses to which they were given in each district is shown in Abstract No. 146 on the opposite page; but the figures are somewhat misleading, as in some districts the schedules given to police posts and the like have, contrary to my express instructions, been included in the return.

I found that Deputy Commissioners had not in all cases observed the direction to prepare lists of the houses for which private schedules were sanctioned at an early stage of the operations. This was a mistake; as till the enumerator has an extract from this list for his block, he cannot tell what houses he is to exclude from his enumeration. The schedules were distributed two or three days before the Census night, the headings having been first filled up in the district office. On the morning after the Census the enumerator collected all the private schedules for his block, carefully examining and correcting and completing the entries in each. He then stitched them into the end of his book, and the supervisor, after testing and signing them, added the number of new pages on the outside label. It was originally proposed that the householder should enter in his private schedule all persons residing in his compound. But at a late stage of the proceedings I succeeded in procuring sanction to the rule that he should enter only the residents of his bungalow; the native servants being enumerated in their outhouses by the ordinary enumerator of the block. This was, I am convinced, the right rule to work upon. It would be hopeless to expect an officer of a Queen's regiment or a European tradesman to enter correctly the particulars regarding his native servants. But of course the distinction should in future be drawn in the first instructions issued to enumerators. Several Deputy Commissioners bear testimony to the good effect which the rule had upon the correctness with which the schedules were filled up, and point out that the chief difficulty experienced was where officers in camp, for instance, had to fill up the schedules for Natives as well as Europeans. In many cases these had to be returned for correction or completion.

[1] Section 9, General Letter A, and Rule 6, Part I, Instructions to Supervisors, Appendix D.
[2] Section 11, General Letter B, No. 257 of 16th November 1880, Section 11, Part I, Instructions to Supervisors, Appendix D.

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Abstract No. 146, *showing* issue of Private Schedules *for* Districts.

1	2	3	4	5
Serial No.	Name of District.	No. of Houses to which private schedules were given.		
		English.	Persian.	Total.
1	Dehli	59	1	60
2	Gurgaon	14	13	27
3	Karnal	15	7	22
4	Hissar	14	48	62
5	Rohtak	10	30	40
6	Sirsa	10	5	15
7	Ambala	196	...	196
8	Ludhiana	17	43	60
9	Simla	206	...	206
10	Jalandhar	60	12	72
11	Hushyarpur	9	27	36
12	Kangra	70	30	100
13	Amritsar	64	224	288
14	Gurdaspur	71	58	129
15	Sialkot	71	31	102
16	Lahore	122	70	192
17	Gujranwala	16	2	18
18	Firozpur	91	40	131
19	Rawalpindi	291	106	397
20	Jahlam	40	9	49
21	Gujrat	6	142	148
22	Shahpur	7	2	9
23	Multan	112	21	133
24	Jhang	7	12	19
25	Montgomery	7	6	13
26	Muzaffargarh	7	19	26
27	Derah Ismail Khan	33	1	34
28	Derah Ghazi Khan	37	138	175
29	Bannu	29	33	62
30	Peshawar	155	4	159
31	Hazara	46	85	131
32	Kohat	23	44	67
	Total	1,915	1,263	3,178

873. The private schedules issued to natives appear to have been as a rule correctly filled up. And it is curious how little desire seems to have been felt to claim the privilege of self-enumeration. In the whole of Dehli only one private schedule was asked for or granted to a native. In Lúdhiánah private schedules were offered to several natives and refused by them, as they preferred the enumeration to be made in the ordinary way; and in Gurdáspur these schedules were almost wholly confined to the district head-quarters, "where the native officials encouraged applicants." On the frontier, where the *pardah* feeling is exceptionally strong, one would have thought that the privilege would have been eagerly sought after. But in Hazára the Deputy Commissioner notes that the schedules arrived somewhat late, and meanwhile many of the houses had been censused in the ordinary way by enumerators without any sort of difficulty or objection. Mr. Dames of Derah Ismáíl Khán writes :—

> "Private schedules were issued to European residents and to officers in camp. But few were issued to Natives as they expressed no desire for them. Most of the leading families reside in Derah Ismáíl Khán, and as they are well represented on the committee they preferred to have their Census taken through it, which was done without interfering with their privacy. One was issued to the household of the Nawáb of Tánk and one to Nawáb Alla-Dád Khán, Extra Assistant Commissioner at Bhakkar."

and Mr. Lawrence of Pesháwar says :—

> "It was determined not to issue private schedules to any one in the district. We had taken measures to appoint men of family to act as enumerators for villages in which the Arbábs and Kháns reside, and the enumeration took place without any obstruction. In this district it would have been very hard to draw the line, and much discontent and ill-feeling would have resulted from using private schedules."

It almost seems that there would be no difficulty in refusing private schedules altogether to natives if thought advisable. At the same time the Deputy Commissioner of Síálkot is of opinion that their employment "lightened the work;" and Mr. Hawkins of Amritsar writes "the grant of private schedules saved "the establishment, and the entries made were as a rule correct. They might have been more largely "used with advantage."

But the English schedules were as a rule very badly filled up, especially by military and non-official Europeans. The Pesháwar authorities report most unfavourably of the inaccuracies which characterised these returns. Colonel Jenkins of Kángra writes :—

> "The same cannot be said regarding the English schedules, the majority of which were wrongly filled in. At least this was the case regarding the schedules distributed in the Dharmsála Civil Lines and Cantonments, which were collected by Mr. Tucker. It is perhaps to be regretted that those distributed to the planters scattered over the valley were not subjected to some sort of scrutiny. It would have been easy for them to have been sent to the Sadr, and no great delay would have been occasioned thereby. Indeed though the greater part of the arrangements for the Census have been so elaborate and excellent, there appears to be considerable room for improvement with respect to Europeans.
>
> "It must be remarked that the distribution of private schedules in no way lightened the amount of labour, but that the contrary was the case."

and Major Nisbet of Simla says :—

> "In taking the Census of a considerable town like Simla, and that of the non-official European and Eurasian population of the hill cantonments of Kasauli, Dagshai, and Sabáthu, the number of private schedules issued no doubt appears very small. It will be remembered, however, that a Census of the town of Simla was taken so recently as 20th September 1878; and profiting by the experience then gained, I felt it was useless to trust many Europeans and Eurasians to furnish correct Census returns, if private schedules were made over to them to fill up. In the case therefore of a majority of families, the Census returns were filled up and prepared for them on the night of the Census by English-speaking enumerators specially engaged for the purpose."

It is, however, absolutely necessary that private schedules should be used for a large portion of the European population, as native enumerators would be treated by them with neglect, if with nothing worse. I shall presently make some suggestions on this subject.

874. Officers in camp.—Officials who were in camp on the night of the Census enumerated the whole of their camps in private schedules obtained from the nearest Deputy Commissioner. Their camps were held for Census purposes to be included in the block in which their head-quarters lay; and where two officers had a joint camp, the head-quarters of the senior officer were taken for this purpose.

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875. European Census in general.—I believe it is the experience of all Indian Censuses that the Census of the European community is much worse done than that of any other portion of the population; and certainly the Panjáb Census of 1881 was no exception to the rule. The mere enumeration was no doubt accurate enough. But it appears hopeless to expect the average European house-holder to read the instructions for filling up the schedules; and the proportion of Native to European population in any given block is so overwhelming that the enumerators and supervisors are necessarily chosen for their knowledge of the natives.

I examined every entry in every European schedule during the course of tabulation. I found few instances of silly or wilfully incorrect entries. But I found—

(1) that the sect, and the fact of being a European British subject were very generally omitted:
(2) that the nationality was often not rightly entered:
(3) that the name of some obscure English village was often given in the birthplace column:
(4) that the occupation was very generally insufficiently described.

The schedules returned by women were generally far more accurately filled up than those prepared by men. The ages of women were of course stated incorrectly. One lady returned her age as "over 30." I have no reason whatever to doubt the correctness of the entry; but it was not so precise as I could have wished.

I do not think it would be impossible to have, as suggested by Colonel Jenkins (section 873), all the European schedules examined immediately after the Census by a properly qualified European officer, and returned for correction where necessary. The largest number of Christians other than Native Christians in any single district is 4,018, and the greater part of these are soldiers, whose schedules can be run through very rapidly.

6		7	
Religion	Sect	Nationality	European British Subject.

I would also slightly modify the schedule for Europeans and Eurasians, substituting for columns 6 and 7 the columns shown in margin. As the Government of India schedule stood, the nationality and the fact of being a Eurasian or a European British Subject were to be entered in the birthplace column, which not unnaturally confused such people as read the foot-notes directing the entry.

876. Railway Census.—All Railway premises were from the first excluded from the block-system. It would I think have been better to have treated and entered the Railway premises in each Tahsíl as a separate circle, for the enumeration of which the Railway authorities were responsible. The Railway Census was divided into two distinct portions (1) that of the resident Railway population; (2) that of passengers by rail on the night of the Census. The rules on the subject will be found in Appendix D.

The Railway premises, for the Census of all persons residing within which the Railway authorities were responsible, included the roadway, all stations and signallers' and gatesmen's huts, all large quarters occupied solely by Railway employés such as exist at Lahore and Philaur, and all colonies which owe their existence entirely to the railway, like those at Adamwahán and Sher Sháh Bandar. In some cases it was found more convenient to enumerate isolated signallers and gatemen with the village near which their huts were situated; but in many parts, and especially where the Multán line passes through the *bár*, the distances were too great for this to be possible, and these men and their families were enumerated by an official who trollied down the line on the day of the Census; and they were assumed to be present at night.

The scheme followed was identical with that in general use, save that no house-lists were prepared. They were omitted under orders. But I think it was a mistake, as the Railway quarters at Lahore for instance include a very considerable number of houses; and in such places at any rate they should have been drawn up. Each station was treated as a block for the enumeration of which the station-master was made responsible, and at small stations a house-list was undoubtedly unnecessary. At large stations the premises were divided off into blocks, the responsibility for which was distributed among the various Departments. The schedules of each block, when completely tested after the Census, were sent to the Deputy Commissioner of the district in which the block lay.

The passenger Census was conducted on this wise. Between 9° P.M. on the 17th and 6° A.M. on the 18th, each traveller by rail was enumerated at the station at which he alighted. On the morning of the 18th all passengers found in the train, and who did not appear to have been already enumerated, were counted at the first considerable station at which the train stopped at or about 6° A.M. Private schedules were used for first and second class passengers, and for Europeans travelling third class. The few passengers who alighted at wayside stations were easily dealt with by the local staff. Where trains arrived at a terminus during the night, the clerks employed at the terminus during the day were kept on the spot to take the Census. Where the six o'clock Census had to be taken at a station which was not a terminus, sufficient clerks were sent there for the purpose. I saw the Census of the 11° mail taken at Lahore. Pairs of clerks, accompanied by a porter bearing a lamp, were standing on the platform as the train drew up. Each pair took a third class compartment, one taking one side and one the other, and beginning at opposite ends. As soon as they had finished their carriage its occupants were allowed to get out; and the clerks moved down the train to the nearest carriage which had no enumerators at it. The door of each carriage was kept locked till its enumerators were ready to begin work. In this way the Census of the passengers was taken quickly and well. The passenger schedules were kept entirely separate from those of the resident railway population, and were treated separately at tabulation.

877. The instructions for the Railway Census were not issued by the Government of India till the end of December 1880, which left us very scant time to make the necessary arrangements; and I did not hear of the completion of the preliminary record for the whole Panjáb railway population till the day of the Census itself. The arrangements on the Scinde, Panjáb and Dehli and Indus Valley Railways were admirable, and the Census of the small part of the Rájpútána State Railway lying within Panjáb limits was

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taken punctually and well. I cannot say from personal knowledge what arrangements were made on the Panjáb Northern State Railway, as the Chief Engineer neglected to report them notwithstanding constant applications on my part, and was reported to the Government of India for his neglect; but Mr. Gardiner, the Deputy Commissioner of Gújránwála, writes as follows:—

"The Railway Census was not satisfactorily performed, the necessary particulars having been omitted wholesale in very many "cases; and I was told that the special office which had been created to superintend the Census was abolished immediately after the "night of the Census itself, so that no arrangements were made to ensure that the schedules were promptly submitted nor was any "clerk kept to ensure their being submitted at all.

"The arrangements for the Railway Census should certainly be improved, and if no other more efficient supervision can be "found than that in force on the present occasion, District Officers should be authorised to control all Railway arrangements. In "many cases inefficient enumerators were appointed, and travellers detained for hours on arrival at their destination before they were "enumerated and allowed to leave the Railway premises."

The authorities of the Panjáb Northern State Railway seem to have been negligent and obstructive throughout the Census operations.

878. Boat Census.—At the original demarcation of blocks, every ferry, *ghát*, and mooring-place which was not so insignificant and so near a village that the enumerator could easily include it in his rounds, was marked off as a separate block. Where there was a bridge across the river or a mere ferry without a mooring place, the Census of both ends was taken by a single enumerator posted at the end where the bridge or ferry establishment was stationed; and this even where the ends lay in different districts or provinces, the population concerned being quite insignificant. In Dehli tickets were, at the request of the North-West Provinces authorities, given to all persons enumerated as they crossed the Jamna; but the precaution seems to me unnecessary, as the number of travellers must have been inappreciable. But where there were mooring places on both sides of the river, and no bridge, the enumerators were posted on each side. Each such enumerator went to his post at 9° P.M. on the 17th and enumerated all persons spending the night at the *ghát*, whether in boats or encamped. Where there was a bridge or a ferry, he stayed at his post all night and enumerated all travellers who did not appear from their statements to have been already counted at their homes. In any case he remained at the *ghát* during the whole of the next day, and enumerated all persons arriving in boats (but not any travellers by land who might cross over the ferry) unless they had a boat ticket or appeared to have been counted at their homes on the previous night. To each boat which he enumerated he gave a boat-ticket on red paper signed by him, and specifying the No. of the boat, the name of its master, the number of people enumerated, and the date and place of enumeration.

879. River turnpikes for boat Census.—The object of keeping the enumerator at his post on the 18th was to pick up any boats that might have escaped enumeration during the night by being moored or stranded at a distance from any *ghát*. This precaution was sufficient for the local traffic. But on the lower course of the Indus, Chanáb, and Satluj, a very considerable through traffic is carried on, the boats engaged in which carry a store of provisions and often do not put in at any mooring-place for several days. In fact on the Baháwalpur and Derah Ghází Khán portion of the Indus there is often no such place for many miles together. This traffic is smaller in the cold weather than at other times; but still sufficient to necessitate special arrangements being made, otherwise the boats engaged in it might have altogether escaped enumeration by being out in the main stream on the night of the 17th and during the whole of the 18th. The boat bridges at Kálábágh on the Indus, at Fírozpur on the Satluj, and near Jhang at the junction of the Chanáb and Jahlam, fixed the limits beyond which such traffic was impossible. Below these points the following stations were selected to serve as river turnpikes:—

On the Indus.—Mithankot, Koreshi, and Derah Ismáíl Khán:
On the Chanáb.—Sher Sháh:
On the Satluj.—Bindrewála and Bhílá Ghát:

each station being arranged for by the Deputy Commissioner who managed the ferry at the spot. The Deputy Commissioner of Muzaffargarh proposed Khángarh Doma, below the junction of the five rivers, the Deputy Commissioner of Multán proposed Bandar ghát on the Chanáb, and the Deputy Commissioner of Montgomery proposed Chicháwatni on the Rávi as additional stations; but I informed them that, while there was no objection to their extending the special arrangements to these places if they thought it advisable, it did not seem necessary to do so; and as a fact Bandar ghát was the only one of them at which a turnpike was established. At the stations thus selected, enumerators were posted and instructed to question all boats which passed their station up to the evening of the 28th February, and to enumerate all persons in them who did not appear to have been already enumerated elsewhere.

880. Travellers.—All travellers moving along main roads during the night of the 17th were enumerated at fixed points on those roads, turnpikes and police posts being utilised for the purpose. In this instance special permission was given to utilise the rank and file of the police for purposes of enumeration. People merely coming home from the fields along the road were of course left to be enumerated at their houses. The enumerators were especially instructed to visit all likely resting-places for travellers within their blocks after going the round of their houses, and to revisit all hotels, rest-houses, hostelries, encamping grounds and the like early on the morning of the 18th, to find out whether any unenumerated traveller had come in after they had gone their rounds. In the case of large city hostelries and encamping grounds it was ascertained early on the Census night whether an unusual number of travellers had arrived; and an additional enumerator was put on where necessary.

881. The numbers of people travelling by road in a February night is ordinarily so small that it was not thought worth while to organise a system of check-tickets for travellers; but the word of each man was to be taken, where he was not obviously answering falsely, as to whether he had already been enumerated elsewhere or not. The Deputy Commissioner of Jahlam, indeed, reports that above 3,000 travellers were enumerated on the Grand Trunk Road in the Jahlam Tahsíl alone; but it seems almost impossible that these figures should be accurate, as they would give one traveller to about every 20 yards of

road. In the Dehli district check-tickets were used; but I doubt the necessity, though I do not know that there is any objection to the system, beyond the additional complication it introduces. In the city of Amritsar every person coming out of the city after dark had to satisfy clerks stationed at the gates that he had been already enumerated; while persons entering the city were enumerated in the gate-schedule and given a ticket to prevent their being counted again. I think this last was a mistake, as persons absent from their houses for a few hours only were to be enumerated as if present there, and the plan adopted probably led to a good deal of double enumeration. In Simla the Census of people travelling by tonga or bullock train was taken before they started, and a special mark placed on the vehicle; and this was again checked at an intermediate point in the journey within the district. In Pesháwar one *jamadár* travelled up the road from Attak and another down from Pesháwar, taking the Census of the roadside posts, and at the same time enumerating travellers by *dák*.

882. **Nomad population.**—The great grazing grounds of the Western Plains, known as the *bár* tracts, are inhabited by nomad pastoral tribes who settle on a spot till the grazing within reach is exhausted, and then move their encampments to new grounds. These camp-villages (*jhoks* or *rahnas*) were allotted to enumerators, generally drawn from the establishment in charge of the grazing preserves, who made the preliminary record. A day or two before the Census the exact position of the camps was ascertained from the headmen or forest officials (who usually acted as supervisors), and the same enumerators, mounted on horses or camels, took the Census of their blocks on the night of the 17th without difficulty. The Deputy Commissioner of Montgomery proposed that mounted enumerators should sweep the *bár* during the daytime of the 17th, but this seemed unnecessary. The exact position of the camps can easily be ascertained, and in February the whole population is to be found within them at night. The similar camps of the *Pawindahs* in Derah Ismáíl Khán called *Kirris* appear to be fixed and not moveable, and to have needed no special measures.

The enumerators were instructed to make particular inquiries from the village headmen as to the existence and locality of any temporary squatters, such as gipsies, hunters, travelling gangs of artisans, and the like within the limits of their block. Such encampments are always known to the villagers, as the squatters come into the village to buy food and make money.

883. **The Census of Teri and Tanawal.**—The Census of feudal Tanáwal in Hazára, held by the Nawáb of Amb and the Khán of Phúlra, and of the Teri jágír of the Khattak Nawáb of Teri in Kohát, presented some difficulties. In both cases the Chiefs were semi-independent, exercising all functions but those of police and criminal justice within their territories; in neither had any village survey been made, while men able to read and write were few and far between. In Teri the Nawáb was ready enough to do all that was possible, and only needed assistance, no revenue staff existing in his country. Accordingly a supervising agency at the cost of Rs. 900 was sanctioned, the cost of which in view of the unfavourable seasons which had preceded the Census it was thought advisable to throw upon Government. The actual expenditure was only Rs. 561, and was really a political rather than a Census charge.

In Tanáwal there was more difficulty. The Nawáb had raised objections in 1868, stating that Census operations would involve him in difficulties with his border villages. His objections had, however, been overruled. On this occasion he confined himself to inactivity, which was almost as formidable a difficulty as active resistance, as much of his Territory had never been visited by Europeans. The matter was neglected more than it should have been in the first instance. But eventually pressure was brought to bear by the Commissioner, and the Deputy Commissioner summoned the Nawáb's Tahsíldár for instructions to Abbotábád and sent his own Superintendent to supervise and inspect the work, while he himself marched through the territory. The Deputy Commissioner had the preliminary record sent him for examination before the final Census, and he reports that the work was in the end fairly well done.

884. **Montane and sub-montane tracts.**—I have already noted that the rule by which the division into blocks was made one of *area*, the collective blocks comprising the whole area of the district, was laid aside in the more mountainous portions of the Province. It would have been absurd to divide the snowclad and inaccessible sides of uninhabited mountains into blocks; but all the villages, hamlets, and outlying farms or huts were carefully allotted among the several supervisors and enumerators, so that there might be no doubt as to who was responsible for the Census of each. It was here that, as noted by Mr. Alex. Anderson, the Assistant Commissioner in charge of Kúlu, the block maps showing the position of homesteads and homes were specially valuable; indeed without them it would have been almost impossible to exercise any effective check, or even to ensure that the enumerator knew what he had to enumerate. I would insist upon these maps being prepared in hill-tracts at least, even if nowhere else.

The scattered nature of the hamlets made it in some cases impossible to confine the blocks within the limits of village boundaries. If, for instance, three outlying hamlets belonging to three distinct villages lay close together and at a distance from the parent villages, it was necessary to give them to one and the same enumerator. But in this case the books of schedules for the various villages or parts of villages were kept distinct, so that no confusion resulted. This plan was only had recourse to in a very few villages of Kúlu, Murree, and Sháhpur Kandi.

885. A still more serious difficulty was the snow, which in many parts of the Panjáb lies thick on the ground in the middle of February; even where the snow was not an obstacle, the scattered nature of the habitations in the hills, coupled with the special difficulty of obtaining competent agency in these backward tracts, made the distances which each enumerator had to travel necessarily great; while the spots which he had to visit were often difficult of access even in the daytime. Owing to these causes it was decided that in certain mountainous tracts it was impossible to take a Census at night, and the final enumeration was conducted by daylight on the 17th, and, when that did not suffice, continued to the 18th. The tracts to which this was extended were, Kágán in Hazára, including the valley of the Kúnhar itself, Bhogarmang, Upper Konsh, and the snow-clad parts of Agror; the Tanáwal hills, also in Hazára; the whole Tahsíl of Murree in Ráwalpindi and 50 villages of the Kahúta Tahsíl in the same district,

Part III.—Special Measures.

including all north of the river Ling and some villages in the east of the Tahsíl in the mountainous country adjoining the river Jahlam; the Sháhpur Kandi tract in the Gurdáspur district; some few villages in Kúlu; that part of Seoráj included in the Mandi State; and nearly the whole of the Chamba State. In these cases the question asked by the enumerator was, on the 17th, "Who will sleep at your house "to-night?" and on the 18th "Who slept at your house last night?" In these parts, and at that time of year, the population is very stationary; and the departure from an absolutely synchronous Census which circumstances compelled us to make was one in name rather than as regards the facts recorded. In Chamba some few remote farms on different mountains were not visited at all by the enumerator, the heads of the families being summoned and made to give an account of their households.

In Kágán indeed, in Kothis Swar and Kohr in Chhota or Bír Bangáhal of Kúlu, in Mandi-Seoráj, and in Pángi of Chamba, it had been feared that the country would be wholly inaccessible during February; and orders had been issued to take the Census at the latest safe date before the passes were closed by the snow, and after visitors who did not intend to winter there might be presumed to have left, and to revise the schedules immediately they opened again in the spring, and before people could have had time to enter; recording in the first instance only those who declared their intention of wintering in the villages, and adding in the second instance only those whom local inquiry showed to have been present in them on the 17th February. But the season was exceptionally mild, and the Census was taken as in the other hill-tracts specified above, the only exception being that in Kágán and Tanáwal the houses were not numbered. The Deputy Commissioner reports that there was no time for this operation—why I know not. There was as much time here as in similar tracts in other districts; though no doubt the difficulties of procuring agency, and in other respects also, were very great—perhaps greater than anywhere else in the Panjáb.

In Kúlu the Census was particularly well taken under the superintendence of Mr. Alex. Anderson. He found it impossible to prepare maps of circles and charges, as indeed no village survey was in existence. But, as he remarks, the village boundaries being strictly adhered to, it was easier to describe the boundaries of large areas in this mountainous country in writing than on a map. The block-maps however showing the position of homesteads and houses were prepared, and proved most invaluable. One village, Mulána, was isolated by snow before the Census; so a good enumerator was sent to it before the pass closed, and remained there till it opened again. The Census of the great mass of the tract was taken at night on the 17th without difficulty, as was that of the Simla Hill States, including even the wild villages of Bashahr; and this fact makes me doubt whether the license to take the enumeration by day was really necessary in all the tracts in which it was granted. However, as already remarked, the tracts were precisely those in which the point was most immaterial owing to the fixed nature of their population in February.

886. Census of Lahul and Spiti.—The Tibetan valleys of Láhul and Spiti, lying north of the great chain of the Mid-Himalayas, and approached by passes the lowest of which is more than 13,000 feet high, are wholly inaccessible during the winter months; the valleys themselves contained no sufficient number of educated men to take the Census; while, even if our establishment could have been induced to winter there, travelling would have been impossible. The Census was therefore, as in 1868, postponed till the passes opened in the spring. As soon as access was possible a portion of the Kúlu establishment was moved into the valleys, and the Census was taken in the ordinary manner, only those being enumerated whom local inquiry showed to have been in the valley on the 17th of February, and the work being pushed on vigorously so as to anticipate as far as possible the influx of summer visitors. The Láhul enumeration was finished by the 9th of June, having been supervised by seven men from Kúlu, but all the 34 enumerators having been Láhulis; on the 16th of the same month the supervisors and 14 of the enumerators moved on into Spiti, where no local agency whatever was available; and they completed their work by the 4th July. The season appears to have been an unfavourable one. One great difficulty was the prevalence of the Tibetan language, many of the schedules being of necessity written in that language and character, and having to be translated afterwards.

887. Other special cases.—Political considerations required that the Census of the village of Garhi Mián Zaid Gul in the Pesháwar district should be taken by two different agencies, the Census of the Mohmand population of the village being taken by the Deputy Commissioner of the district, while the Kohát authorities enumerated the Kalla Khel Afrídis. The schedules of the latter were however transferred to the Pesháwar office and incorporated with the other schedules of the village. The Census of the Biloch tribes of Derah Ghází Khán was taken through their tumandárs; while the trans-border Wazíri nomads who were present in Kohát at the time of the Census were enumerated, more or less roughly I fancy, through their headmen. More elaborate arrangements would, it was feared, have alarmed them. As it was the Durkáni section of the Gurcháni Biloches in Derah Ghází Khán threatened to leave the district and return to their homes before the Census night, though they eventually thought better of it. A small outlying hamlet called Dhok Pathán lies within the confines of the Ráwalpindi district, while the main village of the same name, with the greater portion of its lands, is situated in the Talágang Tahsíl of the Jahlam district. Both in *1868* and now, the outlying hamlet was included in the Census of the main village. Strict adherence to territorial limits would have caused inconvenience; and the population in question was inappreciably small. On the Pathán frontier it was found necessary to obtain from the Commissioner a ruling as to whether certain villages were or were not to be considered as within British Territory for the purposes of the Census, as "the border round this district (Pesháwar) has never been "defined." I have been unable to obtain particulars of the line eventually adopted; but any possible variation at future Censuses would be too small to materially affect the comparison with the present results.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PREPARATION OF THE FIGURES.

PART I.—ABSTRACTING THE FIGURES.

888. Village Abstracts.—The first step after the complete testing and correction of the schedules was the preparation of the preliminary abstracts. These were generally prepared for villages by the patwáris, and in towns by the enumerators. Railway schedules were dealt with by the district staff, and military blocks by the cantonment office. A separate abstract was prepared for each block, and for each village included in the block. The utility of these abstracts is discussed in section 900.

Their form is given in general letter E. of Appendix D. It consists essentially of three parts. In the first are shown the number of families and of occupied and unoccupied houses, of males, females, married, unmarried, and widowed, of persons of each sex whose occupation is recorded, of persons who can read and write, persons under instruction, and persons suffering from infirmities. The numbers of houses and families thus arrived at furnished the statistics under these heads, as the figures were not again abstracted. The remaining numbers furnished a check upon the abstracting carried on in the divisional offices, the totals of which should correspond with the figures of the preliminary abstract. The figures for males and females also enabled us to publish the preliminary results of the Census far sooner than could have been done in any other way. The second part of the abstract showed no figures, but gave the *names* of the religions, sects, languages, birthplaces, and occupations entered in the schedules. These names were used to fill into the registers used by the abstracting staff of the divisional offices, so that they should find headings ready written for them when they came to abstract the figures into the registers.

The third part consisted of a classified abstract of all tribes and castes and their sub-divisions entered in the schedules, together with the number of persons in each. This was the most important part of the abstract. The other two parts could have been dispensed with, as all the figures with the exception of those for houses and families were got out again by an independent operation. But we accepted the figures of the third part as they stood, and thus saved an immense deal of labour. These figures, too, were prepared by men who, in the villages at least, knew every person entered in the schedules, and were intimately acquainted with the clans they belonged to. The importance of this has already been pointed out. In my instructions I left it to the supervisor to arrange whether he or the enumerator should prepare the preliminary abstracts, making him however sign each in attestation of its accuracy, and pointing out to district officers that in the villages the patwáris would be the proper agency. This was in accordance with the general tenour of the Panjáb scheme (see section 851). I believe that, like the preliminary record, these abstracts were as a rule prepared by the patwáris; but I think that on another occasion this should be made an invariable rule in the case of villages, each man doing his own circle; partly because the patwári could be held responsible for inaccuracies detected later on, which is impossible in the case of the non-official enumerator; but especially because intimate knowledge of the people enumerated is so important in the preparation of at least the third part of the abstract.

889. Transliteration and collection of schedules.—All schedules and abstracts that were written in any other character than English, Persian or legible Nágri were, save in the case of Kángra, where as already noted an exception was made, transliterated into the second of those characters unless an interlinear or other transliteration already existed, in which case it was carefully compared and checked. The enumerator himself in all cases read out his schedules to the transliterator. The schedules and their copies, if any, were then tied together; and as soon as the schedules and abstracts for his circle were complete the supervisor brought them, together with the house-lists, maps, and other papers, to the tahsíl, where they were compared with the index-register to see that they represented all the blocks and villages of the circle, and were examined to ensure that the series of pages were complete, that all the private schedules were stitched in, and that the total number of pages corresponded with the entry on the label. This work was intended to be completed by the end of February, and I believe that, except in the case of towns where there were difficulties, it was generally finished by then.

890. Tahsil abstracts.—Meanwhile the Tahsíldár had (or should have) prepared a tahsíl abstract in the form given in General Letter E. of Appendix D. This consisted of a list of all the blocks *in the tahsíl*, but arranged not by circles but by villages, the villages again being arranged in the fixed order of the revenue office according to which all village records are kept and village statements prepared. The names of the villages were entered, and opposite each the letters of the block in which it was included or the blocks into which it was divided, with their circle numbers, were filled in from the index-register. After the detail of villages followed similar details for all towns which, not being estates annexed to land-revenue, had no revenue number, all cantonments and civil lines, and all Railway stations. The former population of each village and town was entered in a separate column from the Census papers of 1868. As the schedules and abstracts for each circle were received in the tahsíl, the present population for each block was entered up from them and totals given for each town and village.

In Karnál all the schedules were examined as they were received "by the Tahsíldár and a few of his ablest assistants," and any imperfections were at once inquired into and removed where possible. This

Part I.—Abstracting the Figures.

was an excellent plan and ought to be generally adopted on a future occasion; it being distinctly laid down however, that only omissions or obvious departures from the instructions are to be corrected, and that entries of caste, religion, or occupation are not to be meddled with because they do not fit in with the Tahsíldár's theories on the subject.

891. Despatch of schedules to the Divisional office.—As soon as the figures for a circle had been entered up in the tahsíl abstract, the village abstracts and house-lists were put inside each book and the books were tied up together with the circle copy of the index-register. They were then packed up by complete circles and sent off to the divisional office, which all schedules should have reached by the 15th of March. The tahsíl abstract also was totalled and sent to the divisional office, together with the index register of the tahsíl.

This work, or at least so much of it as was done in the tahsíls, was worse done than any other portion of the Census work. The *figures* of the preliminary abstracts were fairly correct; quite sufficiently so for practical purposes. In only eight districts was the difference between the preliminary and final results as large as one-half per cent., and even this error was more often due to mistakes in the tahsíl than to errors in the abstracts. But the tahsíl part of the work was often carelessly and sometimes exceedingly badly done. The lists of blocks and villages were incomplete, the entries were wrongly made and totalled, the books of schedules were sent off anyhow, and paper after paper had to be returned for correction and completion. This carelessness did not affect the ultimate results; but it immensely increased the labour of arriving at them; and I allude to it only in order that it may be guarded against in future. I do not think it was unnatural. I have in a former chapter remarked that the Census operations were, to speak plainly, an unmitigated nuisance to everybody concerned. They threw a very great deal of additional labour of a monotonous and uninteresting nature on an already overworked staff, without any hope of additional remuneration; they took men away from their ordinary work, which naturally fell into arrears, to be cleared off afterwards; and they disturbed the whole working of district routine. But they were exceptional in their nature, Government attached great importance to them, and the whole Panjáb staff laid aside all other duties that could be temporarily neglected with safety, threw their whole heart into the Census work, and willingly and zealously strove to ensure a successful result. I do not think that the manner in which the work was done can be praised too highly. But, the Census once taken, the tension suddenly relaxed; the Tahsíldárs thanked Heaven it was over, and turned their attention to working off the arrears which had accumulated. They knew that they would be in no way responsible for the tabulation of the results; and it is hardly to be wondered at that they neglected subsequent operations of a purely routine nature, the only object of which was to save trouble to another Department.

The allowing the Tahsíldárs to send up the schedules and returns direct was a great mistake. It was done to save time; for Mr. Elliott allowed no margin in his estimate of the time necessary for the completion of the work. But in the end it would have saved time to have had all the papers sent through and checked in the district office; and I strongly recommend that this course be adopted in future.

892. Machinery for abstracting and tabulating the figures.—At the Census of 1868 the figures for each district were tabulated by patwáris in the district itself, and a single clerk compiled the tables for the Province from the returns sent up in English by the Deputy Commissioners. Sir Robert Egerton had intended to follow the same general plan, so far at least as tabulation was concerned, on the present occasion. But Mr. Elliott was strongly opposed to it, as he was of opinion that it would be almost impossible to secure uniformity of method, that a really effective supervision could only be ensured by the deputation of an Extra Assistant Commissioner for each district, which would be exceedingly expensive, that there would be great danger of the work being badly and slowly done, and that a single dilatory Deputy Commissioner might delay almost indefinitely the results for the whole Province. He was of opinion that the work should be done at a central office at Lahore under my immediate supervision. This, I objected, would be next to impossible. We could not bring local officials, such as patwáris, so far from their homes; and, without local knowledge, no central staff could either read or understand the terms for castes, clans, and occupations used, for instance, in Dehli and Peshávar respectively. The employment would be very temporary; it would be difficult to collect a sufficient staff; we should have but little hold over the men when collected; and much time would be lost in taking on incompetent men, trying and rejecting them, and finding better to take their place. Even the mere matter of office accommodation and floor space would be a difficulty. Above all, the constant references to districts which would be necessary for the explanation of words and discrepancies would cause the greatest trouble, confusion, and delay. I verbally consulted two-thirds of the district officers of the Province, when collected at the Imperial *darbár* of 1881; and though it was to their interest to have the labour shifted off their shoulders to those of another, all but one were of opinion that the work would be done better, more quickly, and at less trouble to all parties in the districts than at a Central office.

Eventually a sort of compromise between the two schemes was agreed on, and accepted by the Panjáb Government. A separate office for tabulation was constituted for each division, at which the figures of the whole of that division were dealt with. Each office was put under the charge of a picked Extra Assistant Commissioner, Superintendent of Settlement, or Tahsíldár, the qualities taken into consideration in selecting them being familiarity with figures, experience in the management of large establishments, and driving power. The offices were manned by patwáris and qánúngos selected rateably from the staff of each district in the division, a smaller number however being drawn from districts under settlement, or having large areas under fluctuating assessment or subject to river action. The whole staff thus selected numbered 92 out of the 389 qánúngos and 935 out of the 7,668 patwáris of the Panjáb. A Sadr qánúngo was also selected in each division as assistant to the divisional officer. The divisional officers were seconded in the lowest grade of their respective ranks; while arrangements were made, where necessary, to provide substitutes for patwáris and qánúngos at as low a rate as possible. District officers were directed to select the very pick of the revenue staff for this work; and most of them honestly complied with the demand, though here and there the election was left to *Tahsíldár ji*, who shot his rubbish into my hands. The

Part I.—Abstracting the Figures.

officers were located at the head-quarters of divisions except those of Peshâwar, Derajât, and Hissár, which were stationed respectively at Râwalpindi, Multán, and Dehli so as to be easily accessible by rail [1].

893. I am inclined to think that, on the whole, the plan adopted was the best. The single central office is, I am convinced, quite out of the question for the Panjáb. The only staff that could hope to deal successfully with the infinite variety of local terms is a local staff such as we employed. Take a single instance—that of occupation. *Faqír* means a tenant in Peshâwar, a beggar elsewhere. *Daftari* means an office menial save in Peshâwar, where it is a landed proprietor. *Páli* and *Banjárá* mean respectively a herdsman and a cattle merchant in the east, an oil-presser and a pedlar in the west, and so on *ad infinitum;* while the local terms which are absolutely unintelligible to any outsider are simply innumerable. So, too, we found local knowledge invaluable in the grouping of blocks and hamlets under the proper villages and towns, and of villages in their proper places; though if the tahsíl abstracts had been properly prepared this should have presented no difficulty. But the necessity for local knowledge is felt at every stage of this portion of the work.

The choice then lies between district and divisional tabulation. I do not attach much weight to the objection that uniformity would be impossible if each district tabulated its own figures. So long as the operations are confined to *tabulating*, not *classifying*, the various entries in the schedules, the process is purely mechanical, and uniformity is only convenient because it is well that the easiest and best method should be followed everywhere. A scheme would be drawn out beforehand; and a good Tahsíldár would do the work more quickly, better, with a smaller expenditure of power, and with infinitely less hindrance to current work than would be possible were it done in a divisional office. But there are bad Tahsíldárs, and those not a few. It would be difficult for the district staff, already burdened with arrears of work accumulated during Census operations, to exercise the continual supervision which alone would be effective; it would be impossible to put a superior officer on special duty for each district; and though in a large portion of the Province the work would be admirably done, yet bad work would be an absolute certainty from some tahsíls.

The two dangers are delay and fudging. The first should be easily avoidable. We took three and a half months abstracting and tabulating with one-eighth of the Provincial revenue establishment; and if we had tabulated for tahsíls only instead of for districts and divisions also, we should have saved three weeks out of that. The work could be done in the tahsíls in a month or six weeks with the greatest ease. But the danger of fudging would be infinitely greater. As I have noticed in section 891, the strain of Census operations once relaxed, there is a tendency to scamp further work done in the districts; while in the divisional offices the staff take a fresh departure. It is true that the inconvenience and discomfort entailed upon the patwáris by living away from their district for three months is so great that there is a strong temptation to make the figures agree by any means, and so have done with them. But native clerks will fudge under all circumstances if they can; and everything depends upon the supervision. Now it is possible to select ten first-class supervisors for the divisional offices; but it is not possible to procure thirty-two such men for the districts. Thus, on the ground that there are some Tahsíldárs under whom the work would certainly be fudged, and on that ground alone, I am inclined to think that the divisional offices offer the best practicable solution of the problem. The consideration that weighs most strongly with me on the other side of the question is, that if the tabulation were done in the districts, errors detected in the tables would be sent to the districts to be put right; and the small compiling staff would not be, as it now was, overburdened with the labour of correction. But I think that the burden might in future be largely reduced by measures to be described later on, and in any case the difficulty could be met by increasing the compiling establishment.

894. Preliminary examination of schedules.—When the schedules reached the divisional offices, they were examined in order to make sure—

(1) that we had a book of schedules for every block in the Province;

(2) that the series of pages in each book was complete, and that their number was not less than the number of pages entered on the outside label;

(3) that the series of house-numbers was complete, and that each house had an entry of some sort against it, even if only to state that it was empty;

(4) that the private schedule for every house which was noted as being allowed such a schedule was stitched into the book.

Where the schedules were found defective in any of these respects the Tahsíldár was referred to for an explanation or requested to send the missing papers. This examination assured us that we had a Census entry for every house entered in any house-list throughout the Province. Having this assurance, we assumed that those entries were correct save in the very few cases noted in section 899. Some of the offices began making a more minute examination; for instance, to ascertain whether all the families and heads of families shown in the house-list were entered in the schedules. But I put a stop to this. The house-list was prepared some months before the final Census; it was quite possible that the apparent omission, where it occurred, was correct; and if we had examined every entry to discover whether it afforded room for suspicion of inaccuracy, our labour would have been endless while the errors corrected by it would have been inappreciable in number and importance. I was astonished to find in how extraordinarily few instances did this preliminary examination afford any grounds for inquiry, and how hardly ever did that inquiry disclose any real omission. In tahsíl after tahsíl not a single apparent flaw could be detected; and the schedule record of houses, at any rate, was practically perfect.

895. The process of abstracting.—The abstracting was done by abstractors who took out the figures

[1] Probably by next Census the facilities for communication and even the district and divisional boundaries will have altered considerably. But I am not at all sure that it would not be better to tabulate the figures for the Bannu district at Peshâwar and not at Multán not only because the distance is smaller, but also because it is a Pathán and Pashto-speaking district.

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from the schedules and entered them in registers devised for the purpose. These registers were eight in number, and showed the following details in addition to the sex, which was distinguished in each:—

1. Age. Civil Condition. Religion.
2. Musálman Sects.
3. Birth-place. Language.
4. Caste. Certain Religions.
5. Occupation, under or over 15 years of age.
6. Education (including uneducated). Age. Religion.
7. Infirmities (four kinds). Age. Religion.
8. Sects and Races of Christians.

The original plan of working was this. Four men took a book of schedules: blank registers were distributed among them: one man read out the entries opposite each name, and as each entry was read the clerk in charge of the register in which that entry had to be abstracted made an upright stroke in the appropriate column. Each fifth stroke was drawn diagonally across the preceding four, so that they were grouped into fives and could easily be counted.

I do not propose to enter into minute details of the method of working. But there are one or two matters of principle which it will be necessary to discuss here. Some of the registers were very complicated; for instance, the one which showed civil condition and age had the age-periods printed down the side and the form ruled off into spaces for the various religions, each of which was again divided into three spaces, *single, married, widowed,* under each of which were two columns for *male* and *female.* Thus the clerk, on hearing the entry "married, male, 9 years, Hindu," had first to find the horizontal line on which entries for the age-period "5 to 9" were to be made, then to follow that line till he came to the space for Hindus, under that to select the column for married, and in that the sub-column for males. There he made a tick. In filling up registers of this complicated nature it was found indispensable that the entries should be read out; as if a single clerk attempted to abstract straight from the book, he lost his place in the register every time he looked at the book, and delay and error resulted. But in simple registers such as that for Musalmán sects, where the clerk had only to distinguish sex and five sects, it was far quicker and easier for him to abstract straight from the book. Now in the Hissár division, out of a total Musalmán population of 286,316, no less than 285,668 are Sunnis: that is to say that, probably in 99 out of every 100 blocks, every single soul was a Sunni. But a block containing 499 Sunnis and 1 Shíah could be abstracted in two ways; the clerk could either make a tick for each entry, that is to say 499 ticks in the Sunni and 1 in the Shíah column; or, he could run his eye down the column for sect, make a tick for the one Shíah, and find the number of Sunnis by subtracting him from the 500 Musalmáns which he would find entered in the religion register. Exactly the same two methods were possible with birth-place, language, education, and infirmities, in all of which the enormous majority of entries in each block are one and the same, and the exceptions can easily be picked out.

Mr. Elliott permitted either of these two plans to be followed, and, availing myself of this license, I largely followed the latter. I have since had reason to believe that Mr. Plowden objected to its adoption on the ground that it afforded no complete check. This is true. If there were two Shíahs in the block and one of them escaped the eye of the clerk, the result would not show that there was an error; whereas if he made a tick for each entry, it is less probable that he would make a tick under Sunni for the second Shíah; and unless he did this the total would be wrong and the figures would be re-examined. For similar reasons Mr. Plowden insisted upon our abstracting figures both for the educated and for the uneducated separately for each age-period used in the age-register; not because the details of age were needed in combination with education, for they were not even tabulated; or because the details of uneducated were of any use; but because, by abstracting the details of age twice over for the whole population independently, we obtained a check upon the abstracting, as the two results had to agree or the work was done over again.

896. The system of check.—And this leads to the whole question of check on the abstracting. The checking staff was, of course, kept quite separate from the abstracting staff, the work done one day by the latter being handed over next morning to the former to be checked. Here the totals and details of the different registers were compared with one another and with the figures of the village abstracts (which last were never allowed to pass into the hands of the abstracting department at all), and if any differences were detected the figures which were doubtful were re-abstracted; while even if there were no discrepancies, a certain proportion of the figures were tested by being got out again by the checkers, the proportion varying with the degree of accuracy with which the men whose work was under examination were found to abstract. Now my first rule was that under no circumstances whatever was any preliminary or intermediate check to be allowed; that the registers were to be totalled in the checking, and not in the abstracting department; and that till they passed into the hands of the checker, no examination of any sort was to be made. This practically amounted to saying to four clerks who sat down together to abstract the figures of a single book: "You must get out your figures independently of each other, and must not examine "them to see if they agree with one another. I will do that for you; and if they do not agree you will "have to do them again, and will be punished besides." The plan was admirable in theory; but I ought to have known that, with natives at any rate, it could not be worked in practice. No supervision could prevent the men comparing their figures as they went along, and I was compelled to recognise and regulate the practice. If the men found, at the end of abstracting a block, that one register gave 253 and 219 and the other 252 and 220 for Hindus and Musalmáns respectively, the discrepancy could be removed either by re-counting the Musalmáns, or by assuming that one register was right and altering the other to agree with it. The former method gave the correct results; the latter was fudging. What I had to aim at was to make first the honest correction so easy, and secondly detection of the dishonest correction so probable, that it was not worth while to fudge.

Part I.—Abstracting the Figures.

The first end I attempted to attain by making them compare the figures for each opening of the book—say 25 to 50 souls—as soon as it was abstracted. If any detail did not agree, it was almost as easy to run the eye up the column and get the right figures for the detail in question, as to fudge the corrections so as not in the act of doing so to produce a second discrepancy. For the detection of fudging (or of honest error) there were three means. First the comparison of the figures of the registers one with another. This only availed when the fudging was clumsily done, and was really nothing more than a very necessary check upon and repetition of the comparison already made by the abstractors. Secondly the comparison of the abstracted figures with the figures of the village abstracts. This was certainly a check in that it often led to re-examination of the figures; but it extended to only a few totals and really gave us much unnecessary labour, for in the enormous majority of the cases of difference, the village abstracts were wrong and the register right. Thirdly the testing the work by taking a certain number of items from each register and getting out the figures for them from the schedules independently. This was the real safeguard; and upon the efficiency with which this test was applied and the extent to which it was carried depended the measure of confidence which could be placed in the accuracy of the results.

But it is evident that the allowing the abstractors to compare the figures as they went along very greatly reduced the value of any inter-check between the registers, for they were practically no longer independent. If the clerk who left out a Shíah in section 895 found his Musalmáns short by one, he might look at the book again and detect his omitted Shíah, or he might save himself the trouble by adding on a Sunni; but in no case would the register show that there had been a discrepancy. Thus it was almost as safe to allow him to pick out his Shíah at once, and take the rest as Sunnis without counting them. So, too, it made the combination of age details with education of very small value as a check; for though the existence of the two registers showing age would perhaps disclose an error if it had occurred, yet it disclosed it to the abstractor, and the only way of finding out whether he had corrected it or fudged it was to re-abstract the figures. And it made the retention of the working party of four independent abstractors unnecessary, if any speedier method could be devised.

897. Proposed system of abstracting.—We tried many ways of combining our clerks and registers, for I allowed considerable license in this matter within the limits which I considered necessary to ensure accuracy, and which I insisted upon being strictly observed; as for instance, when I directed that the age registers were in all cases to be filled up from dictation and not by a single clerk. I found that men got accustomed some to one method and some to another, each preferring his own; and above all that certain men worked well together in parties of two, three, or four as the case might be, and gave the largest and best outturn when working in their own fashion. A slow or stupid man was a terrible drag upon sharp companions, who could really turn out more work without him. But on the whole the following is the plan which I believe to be the best, and which I would recommend for future adoption. Two clerks take two books of schedules; one reads out the entries while the other fills up the register for age, religion, and civil condition. Then each takes a book and fills up the entries for education, infirmities, sect, language, and birthplace, only counting those who are educated or infirm, or who belong to a strange sect, speak a strange language, or were born out of the district. In the same way each man fills up the registers for caste and occupation. It is true that in these two last registers *every* caste and occupation has to be entered. But they are nevertheless better filled up by one man than from dictation, as the caste and occupation is very generally constant for each family, and often for a house or even a group of houses. The clerk notes how far down the page the entry is the same, counts up the items he wants within those limits, and enters them at once. The education register we had to prepare from dictation because we were compelled to take out age statistics in it. But this I think was unnecessary.

The system I have sketched above lessens the value of the check afforded by comparison of registers one with another, because it does away with the working party of four independent abstractors. But as I have already pointed out, the value of that check is almost destroyed by intermediate comparison, which as I have explained above it is quite impossible to prevent. I am convinced that the only really effective check is the examination of a percentage of all work done by doing it over again; and during the earlier stages of the work, before the men become expert, the percentage so examined should be large. After a time it is marvellous how accurate the work becomes, and how rarely an error occurs. There is, of course, one way in which absolute accuracy can be secured. That is, by having each register prepared perfectly independently and by a separate staff of abstractors for all the blocks, and not allowing the staff who are abstracting one set of figures to have any knowledge of the results obtained by those who have abstracted another set. The registers would then be compared; and if two sets of figures did not agree they would again be abstracted by two new sets of men who had no knowledge of the figures obtained in the first abstraction. There are many practical objections to this system. There would, I think, be danger of confusion, delay, loss of papers, and omission of portions of the process. And I doubt whether, with native agency, it would be possible to prevent the results being communicated for the purpose of fudging. But an absolute fatal objection, to my mind, is the enormous expense attending it. I understand that it has been followed at Madras, and has been so costly that the Imperial Government have declined to pay for it.

898. Cost versus accuracy.—And here I would fain deliver my soul as to the ethics of fudging. The practical question that has to be considered in all operations of this sort is, what is the attainment of any particular degree of accuracy worth; given that a certain amount of extra labour and extra check will secure a certain enhanced measure of accuracy, is the increase in accuracy worth the cost of attaining it. And I think one very obvious limit is afforded by the consideration, that under no circumstances can it be worth while to tabulate material with a degree of accuracy greater than that which the material itself may reasonably be supposed to possess in the first instance. I have heard that in a certain Census the whole staff was engaged for six weeks in examining and removing a discrepancy of *four* in the total population of a Province. There were special circumstances which justified the delay in this case; but under ordinary circumstances I should look upon it as waste of time, and should consider conscientious fudging

Part I.—Abstracting the Figures.

to be a duty. Now I fully admit that it is quite out of the question to allow such agency as we employed in our offices any license whatever in this direction. The rule must be stringent that every error, however small, is to be removed by retabulation; though however strict it may be, it is perhaps hopeless to expect that it will be observed in all cases. Fudging is like cribs, which are invaluable in the hands of a man who knows how and when to use them, but must not be given to school-boys. But it is possible to carry refinements of check so far that they cost more than the extra accuracy which they secure is worth; and this is certainly the case when the errors which they prevent are smaller than the original error in the material under treatment, and when the system of check can be relaxed without allowing any discretion or license to the establishment, either directly or by implication.

Now he must be a very sanguine man who imagines that the mean probable error in the enumeration of souls at the Census of 1881 was less than, say a quarter per cent., and the error in the entry of details will have been larger; in some respects much larger. I do not however wish to be understood to think that all errors of not more than one quarter per cent. may be safely neglected in the tabulation of our Census statistics. If this is the logical conclusion from my argument, I am quite content to be illogical on the subject. But I do think that time and labour are both wasted in removing minute discrepancies which bear no appreciable proportion to the figures involved, or to the much larger errors inherent in those figures. During the months of April, May, and June I spent some 60 days in inspecting my divisional offices, the greater part of which were devoted to checking abstracted figures by personal reference to the schedules themselves. Knowing the want of accuracy which often characterises native work, I had expected to find errors in great numbers. But I was utterly astonished at the rarity with which I detected even a single error in the items I examined. And when I did find errors they were, as far as I remember almost without a single exception, errors of one single unit in excess or defect. So far as I saw, the errors in tabulation by sex alone certainly did not reach anything approaching 1 per 1,000. The errors in other details were proportionally larger, because the figures in which they occurred were necessarily smaller. But I do not believe that the errors in the entries of age even, the most difficult item to abstract, ever amounted to one quarter per cent., even if their sign be neglected. And the errors in the totals for tahsíls and districts must be of course many times smaller than the errors in individual blocks, for errors of excess and defect correct each other to a very large extent.

It is a question of opinion and judgment, and not capable of calculation or proof; for we know exactly neither the amount of error in the original material nor the degree of inaccuracy which each relaxation of the check will introduce. But it is my deliberate opinion, founded upon a very intimate knowledge of the working of our divisional offices, that the system described in section 897, if supplemented by an examination of a proper proportion of the figures, will give us figures corresponding more nearly with the Census entries than those entries correspond with the actual facts, and therefore possessing all the accuracy which it is worth while to aim at. What proportion of the figures should be examined it is impossible to say exactly: but it should be large, probably something like 25 per cent., at the beginning of the work, may be very much reduced as the men gain skill and certainty, should be smaller for the sharper and larger for the inferior workers, and should never fall lower than two or three items in each register. The smaller items are as a rule those most liable to error, while they can be examined most easily; and figures which have been altered and corrected are especially open to suspicion. I have not hesitated to dwell at some length on this point, for it is important as largely determining the duration and cost of the work of abstracting; and I understand that Mr. Plowden is of opinion that at a future Census far more elaborate registers should be used with the sole purpose of rendering the check more stringent. I have therefore thought it right to record my opinion, based upon my personal experience, to be taken for what it is worth.

899. Departure from the entries in the schedules.—A question which had to be decided at an early stage in the operations, and one with regard to which it was most difficult to lay down any satisfactory rule, was, how far it was allowable to depart from the facts entered in the schedules when they appeared to be contradicted by other entries. The easiest, and perhaps the commonest case was that of sex. When we found "Musammát Farídan, married woman, midwife," with a "one" opposite her name in the male column, we had no hesitation in entering her as a female. But when we had "Mahamdu, caste "Mughal, tribe Máchhi, occupation fisherman," or "Bhagwána, caste Rájpút, tribe Máli, occupation gar- "dener," it was more difficult to decide whether their caste should be taken as Mughal and Rájpút or as Máchhi and Máli. In the Eastern Panjáb, where these cases were chiefly reported, it was practically certain that the latter was the true entry, and that the men had entered themselves as of the higher caste (as several Deputy Commissioners have reported to have often been the case) either as a joke or in accordance with the traditional origin of their present inferior castes. In the Western Panjáb such cases were not as a rule reported; and the reason doubtless was that, though such false entries were probably at least as common there as in the east, yet it was by no means safe to assume that in the Mahomedan portion of the Province a man was not a Mughal or a Rájpút merely because he worked as a fisherman or a gardener. In some of these cases the village patwári, who knew the individual well, had in preparing the village abstract of castes and clans entered him as a Máchhi or Máli; and here I had no hesitation in following the village abstract. But where this guide was wanting I decided that, however probably wrong, the entry must be assumed to be right unless the patwári of the village was present in the office, or other similar evidence was available. I do not think any other rule would have been safe.

900. Utility of the preliminary and village abstracts.—In section 888 I explained that the second part of the village abstracts contained the names of the religions, sects, languages, birthplaces, and occupations occurring in the schedules. They were utilised thus. A clerk took a book of schedules with its abstract, and filled in the headings into each register. For instance, in the occupation register under the heading "Name of occupation," he wrote down all the occupations mentioned in the abstract one under the other, leaving a large space in which to enter ticks opposite those occupations which a glance at the schedules showed him to be most prevalent in the block. Thus the abstractor found his headings ready

entered to his hand when he came to fill in the register. Where the working-party plan was adopted this was a convenience, as otherwise the other three men would have to wait while the fourth wrote in his register each new heading as it occurred for the first time. But when the registers were filled up by a single clerk and not from dictation, this inconvenience was not felt; and in some cases I found that the men did not think it worth while to utilise this part of the village abstracts. There is undoubtedly one strong objection to their use. The list of occupations and birthplaces given in the village abstract was seldom absolutely complete. Now when a clerk took a blank register and wrote down his own headings as they occurred, he naturally expected to have to fill in each new one as he came across it: moreover, he knew exactly where each one was to be found in his lists, no unimportant point so far as speed is concerned with a list of 30 or 40 occupations. But when he had his headings ready filled in for him, he not only had to search for each the first few times it occurred, but when he came to one which had been omitted from the list and his search failed to discover it, he was more likely to make a tick opposite some other occupation already entered, instead of adding the new name to the list as he should have done. On the whole I should be inclined to omit this portion of the village abstracts as useless; and if the plan of abstracting described in section 897 is substituted for the working-party system, I should most certainly do so.

With regard to the first part of the village abstracts, it was of but little use as an independent check. The figures for sex and civil condition were very generally accurate, probably because they checked each other; but the details of education and infirmities were often slightly wrong, while the number of persons whose occupation was recorded was often very incorrectly stated. So far as the figures are needed for the purpose of publishing preliminary results as soon after the Census as possible, it is absolutely necessary to prepare them; but the remaining figures must be abstracted with much greater accuracy than at the late Census if they are to be more help than hindrance.

Part II.—Tabulation of the Figures.

PART II.—TABULATION OF THE FIGURES.

901. The village-tables.—The abstracting finished, the next step was to collect the figures into village-tables, the top headings of which were so arranged as to exhibit the details needed for the final tables, while on the left-hand side of each table was printed a list of all the villages or towns of the tahsíl with their component blocks, arranged in the same order as in the tahsíl abstract (see section 890), opposite each of which the figures found in the register were entered in the appropriate column. Two separate tables were prepared, one for villages and one for towns, in each tahsíl; and each of the larger tables consisted of many parts or volumes, the number of columns being far too great to be shown in a single opening. These tables were 17 in number, and exhibited the following details, sex being distinguished in all:—

A.—Houses, families, and population—

I.—Civil condition by religion and age.
II.—Age by religion.
III.—Religion.
IV.—Mahomedan sects.
V.—Christian sects.
VI.—Miscellaneous religions.
VII.—Caste by religion.
VIII.—Language.
IX.—Birthplace.
X.—Occupation, over and under 15 years of age.
XI.—Education by religion.
XII.—Insanity by religion and age.
XIII.—Blindness, do. do.
XIV.—Deaf-dumbness, do. do.
XV.—Leprosy, do. do.
XVI.—Totals of specified occupations and of infirmities.

No. XVI was merely a check table, while No. III was added for convenience only, and contained no fresh information.

902. Mode of filling up the tables.—The work of filling up the tables for age, civil condition, Musalmán sects, education, and infirmities, was simple enough. The columns, if numerous, were at any rate fixed in number; and all that was needed was care that the figures were not entered in the wrong column. This was not the case with the tables for language and Christian sects; but even here the number of different entries in the register was so comparatively small that there was no difficulty in finding the appropriate column for each. But in the case of birthplace, of castes, and of occupations, the number of entries in the register was so enormous that the greatest difficulty was experienced in tabulating them.

The first step taken towards meeting the difficulty was to sub-divide the birthplace table into separate tables for Panjáb districts (putting those of the division under tabulation first), Panjáb Native States, other parts of India, and foreign countries. Similarly the occupation tables were separate for agriculturists, traders, service, artisans, and others. And I think it would have been well to have split up the castes in a similar manner into some such classes as priestly and ascetic, land-owning, mercantile, artisan, menial, and vagrant and outcast. Of course this classification was adopted purely to render the tabulation easier; it was exceedingly rough, by no means uniform in the various offices, and was wholly disregarded in the final compilation. The plan then adopted was as follows. In each tahsíl, and especially in the rural portions, there were a certain number of castes and occupations which recurred in almost every village. These were known to the local staff, and were entered at the head of the columns of the first part of each table. The entries which occurred less frequently were similarly entered in a second part, and so on till all but the very rare entries were disposed of, the entries in the later parts of the table being often alphabetical[1]. A tabulating clerk was in charge of each part of the table, and the registers were passed from one to the other; each one posting up the entries belonging to his headings, a numbered list of which lay by him, and ticking them off on the register. When the register had passed through the hands of these clerks, the remaining entries if any, which consisted wholly of those of rare occurrence, were entered on rough slips framed on the pattern of the village-table; and when the tahsíl was completed, these were arranged and entered into a final part of the table. After the entries for a whole circle or group of circles had been tabulated, the tables were taken and the entries in them read out to clerks who sat with the schedules in their hand and ticked off each as it was read. Every entry was thus gone over twice in opposite directions, first from the schedule to the table, and afterwards from the table to the schedule.

903. System of check.—Every table or part of a table had a last column headed total males and females, and as each page was entered up the figures were totalled horizontally and vertically, and the results compared. When the table was finished, the page totals were collected at the end and added together to get the final totals. These last were then arranged side by side in a check-abstract devised for the purpose, such that all figures which, derived from different tables, ought to correspond, were exhibited one under the other, and any discrepancy could at once be detected. The points in which the figures disagreed were then examined page by page and, within the pages which did not agree, block by block, till the error was run to ground. In the larger tables errors were in some offices so frequent, that it was found simpler to compare all entries in the tables page by page as they were filled in, and while the papers were in hand and the entries fresh in the memory. But I cannot help thinking that this was really waste of time; and that if sufficient care had been taken in posting, it would have been enough to examine only such details as a comparison of the final totals showed not to agree. The other method involved examination of figures which need not have been examined in detail at all, since their totals agreed already (see further section 904).

Here the absence of a precaution of which I ought to have thought caused a good deal of trouble. I had ordered the lists of villages and blocks which formed the side-headings of the tables to be printed and cut up into slips, which slips were pasted on to the side of each table. But I did not direct that the pages

[1] These "parts" were, as it were, separate volumes of the same table.

Part II.—Tabulation of the Figures.

of all the tables should be made of one uniform depth, so that, if the third page of any one table contained blocks numbering 41 to 60, the third page of every other table throughout should contain the figures for precisely those same blocks. This plan should be adopted in future, as it immensely facilitates the page by page comparison. Exceptions, however, will be necessary, as I proceed to show. I had at first directed that every single table or part of a table should contain all the blocks (rural or urban, as the case might be) of the tahsíl. But I found that this increased so enormously the bulk of the tables, and consequently the labour of filling them up and the risk of error, that I had to modify my orders. For instance, in tahsíl Bhiwáni there are 3 Sikhs in a population of 103,556. Every one of the ten tables which distinguished religion had therefore to include a part headed "Sikh;" but the entries in each were confined to a single block, and it would have been absurd to exhibit in each all the remaining blocks of the tahsíl. So on the Pathán frontier there are hundreds of villages without a single Hindu; while the entries for Christian sect and race and for infirmities are everywhere few and far between. Thus it became necessary to lay down a rule for each division as to which tables and parts of tables should exhibit all the blocks, and which only those blocks in which there were figures to be entered.

904. The tabulation is a most important portion of the work, and one which it is exceedingly difficult to supervise or examine effectively. It is easy enough to take a book of schedules with its abstracting registers and to compare the one with the other; but to find out whether the items in any given one of those registers have been honestly tabulated, it is necessary to pick them out one by one in some 30 or 40 tables, some of which contain columns by the hundred. At the same time if the figures are honestly totalled, the check is almost automatic. The comparison of totals is an absolute check against omission; while a comparison of total males and females is an absolute check against what the baboo calls "miscolumning" where, as is almost always the case, the entry is misplaced by one column only; for an entry shown one column to the right or left of its proper place will fall under the wrong sex[1]. Thus the only errors which a mere comparison of totals does not at once bring to light are those in which an entry, while falling under the proper religion, age, or other head occurring in two or more tables, is misplaced by an even number of columns, two or more. And with the most ordinary care such errors should seldom or never occur.

The real danger to be apprehended is that the clerks, when they find totals disagree, should arbitrarily alter them to correspond with each other; or, in the larger tables, should save themselves the trouble of searching for the proper column or of adding a new one, by entering the item in a column to which it does not properly belong. The sub-division of tables into parts described in section 902 is a valuable precaution against this last practice. But I see no way of detecting or preventing dishonest work at this stage beyond careful selection of the tabulating clerks, and incessant and minute supervision. Re-examination of the work is, as I have said, infinitely difficult in the larger tables.

And this is one reason why I object to a page by page comparison of totals. If the final totals only are compared, the comparison is made by a separate staff; and the correcting department has to bring the error when found to the supervisor, and to satisfy him that it really has been detected and accounts for the discrepancy in the totals. But if the tabulators compare the totals page by page as they go along, this is impossible. On the other hand, the comparison of final totals does not reveal errors which are neutralised by other errors of equal amount but opposite sign; while the page by page comparison will bring to light all such errors as do not balance one another within the limits of a single page, and thus affords greater security against internal mistakes. The latter is the better plan if the agency can be trusted; the former if it cannot.

As a rule I believe that this work was honestly and thoroughly done. In some cases a grievous amount of labour and time was expended in removing errors absolutely trivial and insignificant in amount, but which it would not have been safe to allow the staff to disregard.

905. Classification of entries.—It is in this stage of the work that the question of classification has first to be considered; a question by far the most difficult and important of all that present themselves during the operations subsequent to enumeration. In the abstracting stage it hardly arises; for the strict rule was that the abstractors should in all cases show the entries exactly as they were entered in the schedules, and the only case in which that rule was waived was where the difference between two entries of one and the same occupation consisted merely in the omission in one of them of an insignificant word. Thus, "spinning," "spinning raw cotton" and "spinning (cotton) thread" (*kátna*, *rúi kátna*, and *sút kátna*) were allowed to be taken together. But even this license was seldom needed, for the entries in each book of schedules being made by a single enumerator, the term used for any given occupation was generally constant.

But when the entries came to be arranged in the village tables, the number of birth-places, castes, and occupations described in different words but bearing the same meaning was found to be so enormous, that some degree of classification was absolutely necessary if the tables were to be filled up at all. It would have been absurd to make the Kángra patwáris enter Jawálamukhi and Kángra, both within the district, as separate birthplaces; to have separate caste columns for Punwár and Túnwar, both well-known Rájpút clans; or to show *nái, hajjám, hajámat karna,* and *bál kátna* as distinct occupations. The rules adopted in each of these three cases were as follows:

For birthplaces, lists of the districts in the North-West Provinces, Bengal, and Sindh, and of the Native States of Rájpútána were sent to the Divisional offices; and any entry of birthplace corresponding with any one of these names was assumed to refer to that district or state, and was shown in the corresponding column. So again, any entry corresponding with the name of a Panjáb district or state was assumed to mean that district or state. This was probably wrong in some cases. Many people showed the *village* of birth, instead of the *district,* as they should have done under the rules; and probably some "Sháhpurs" for instance entered in the schedules, really referred to some one or other of the countless villages of

[1] For this reason the occupation tables should not be prepared separately for males and females, as was done on this occasion; because in relinquishing your double sex-columns you lose an invaluable check.

Part II.—Tabulation of the Figures.

that name which are scattered over the Province, and not to the Sháhpur district. But the only safe plan was to assume that the instructions had been carried out. I myself went through the European schedules, in which, too, unknown British villages were constantly entered in the birthplace column; referred such as I could to England, Ireland, or Scotland, and classed the rest as British Isles. Where a birthplace not falling under any of the above heads, and not known as the name of a considerable town, corresponded with the name of some village in the district in which the man was enumerated, it was assumed to refer to that village. All birthplaces not disposed of under the above rules were tabulated separately.

906. In the matter of castes, difficulty was caused by the innumerable instances in which, especially in the Western Panjáb, tribes or clans had been returned instead of castes. In the Multán and Deraját divisions the so-called castes entered in the schedules were literally numbered by thousands. Here I was compelled to leave much to the discretion and local knowledge of my Divisional officers. They had been selected with special reference to their acquaintance with the divisions the figures of which they were respectively tabulating, and the number of cases was so enormous that reference to the people themselves through the district authorities would have practically stopped our work for months. Accordingly I permitted the Divisional officers, when they were satisfied beyond all reasonable possibility of doubt, either from their own knowledge or from the local knowledge of their staff or by examination of the entries in other schedules of the neighbourhood, that a certain tribe or clan belonged to a given caste, to include that clan under that caste. But where there was reasonable room for doubt they were to show the clan separately; and it was strongly impressed upon them that it was always better to show too much than too little detail. Further, they were to furnish me with lists showing all the clans or other entries which they had included in each caste-column.

With regard to occupation, the rule laid down for the Divisional officers was that, where the occupations were identical, the difference being purely one of language, they were to be taken together; but that different occupations, however nearly related, were to be separated. Certain rules were issued for the classification of Government servants, the number of whose occupations would otherwise have been unmanageable. Here, too, lists were ordered to be kept showing all the different terms which had been taken as one and the same occupation and included under each heading of the table. The instructions to enumerators directed them to enter one occupation only for each person, save where agriculture was combined with another calling. As a fact, however, double occupations were recorded in very many instances, and one of them had to be selected for tabulation. The rules by which the tabulators were to be guided in these cases were—

(1) where one occupation was permanent and the other temporary, the former was to be taken; thus a man who was entered as reaper and water-carrier was tabulated as water-carrier:

(2) where the more important occupation could be identified, it was to be selected; thus a man entered as oilman and cotton scutcher was counted as an oilman:

(3) in all other cases the occupation first mentioned was to be taken, in the absence of any guide to selection.

907. **Errors in classification.**—As I have frequently pointed out in the course of my examination of the results, mistakes were made in the classification which took place during tabulation. But I do not see how they could have been guarded against. The number of separate entries with which we had to deal was far larger than I or anybody else had conceived possible. Unfortunately the detailed figures have been destroyed; and I dare not speak from memory, for I should be accused of absurd exaggeration. But some idea of their number may be gained from the fact that, *after* the Divisional officers had done all they could or might do to reduce the number by classifying them under the rules given above, the number of *separate headings still remaining*, and returned by them in their village tables, was as follows :—

Divisions.	Religion and Sect.	Caste.	Language.	Birthplace.	Occupation.	Total.	Divisions.
Dehli	25	314	24	148	940	1,451	Dehli
Hissár	16	145	9	69	327	566	Hissár
Ambála	27	398	46	113	576	1,160	Ambála
Jálandhar	28	235	18	79	360	720	Jálandhar
Amritsar	24	210	30	92	393	749	Amritsar
Lahore	33	354	30	84	523	1,024	Lahore
Ráwalpindi	23	989	35	123	382	1,552	Ráwalpindi
Multán	27	2,551	51	178	709	3,516	Multan
Deraját	21	517	31	219	784	1,572	Deraját
Peshawar	34	871	30	274	618	1,827	Peshawar
Native States	108	1,808	156	742	3,426	6,240	Native States
Total	366	8,392	460	2,121	9,038	20,377	Total
Number in final tables	31	333	32	151	334	881	Number in final tables

These figures show, not only that some such license as was allowed to the Divisional officers was absolutely necessary, but also that it was not as a rule abused by them. Many hundreds of these headings covered a few individuals only, often fewer than 50, and very often fewer than 100. Setting aside the treatment of castes in the Derájat office, which was quite justified by the local custom of that division, the one unfortunate exception was the Amritsar office, where the liberty of judgment allowed was most certainly abused in order to simplify or shorten the work. This office had done its abstracting in quite first-rate style, the officer in charge was a picked man possessed of the highest qualifications for the work, and I not unnaturally gave it somewhat less supervision than other offices where the previous work had not been so good. But the Divisional officer had apparently set his heart upon finishing before any other office. In this he succeeded,

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but at the expense of accuracy, and his tables were sent in in a state of disgraceful incompleteness. All errors in tabulating and totalling were detected and removed in the central compilation office. But cases in which separate occupations or castes had been wrongly included under one heading unfortunately could not be detected till the results in their final form came to be discussed; and it was then as a rule too late to alter them (see further, section 918), though we did in the worst instances go back to the original schedules, at the cost of great time and labour.

908. But it must be remembered that this Census was, as far as the Panjáb is concerned, practically a first experiment. Nothing on the same scale or of the same degree of minute and accurate classification had been attempted before, and it was of the necessity of the case that errors should occur and mistakes be made. Those errors and mistakes I have endeavoured to set forth faithfully, not only in order to show how far the figures really are what they appear to be, but also in order that at a future Census their repetition may be guarded against. It was proposed by the Government of India that a list of castes and occupations should be prepared before the Census for the use of the enumerating staff. Anything more fatal to accuracy and fulness of detail I can hardly conceive. It would have been wholly impossible to prepare even approximately complete lists, or to use them if prepared, for they would have been of perfectly impracticable bulk. Moreover, to put a list of the sort into the hands of the enumerators would, where it did not simply bewilder them, cause them to enter, not what the people told them, but what a very cursory examination of the list might suggest as being somewhere about the truth. So, too, a native who, if asked what his clan was, would give a perfectly correct answer, would, if asked to which of a certain number of specified clans he belonged, almost certainly name one of them, though he might really belong to none. And it would be fatal to tell the enumerator to record clans in some instances and not in others. The only safe method is that adopted at the present Census, *viz.*, to *record* everything, leaving the process of selection and rejection for the after-stages of the work where the agency is of superior quality, supervision is closer, and uniformity can be secured. Moreover, while fairly complete classified lists would have been of immense value in the compiling offices, it would have been, as the Panjáb Government pointed out, quite beyond the bounds of possibility to prepare such lists; for not even the merest rudiments of the necessary material were in existence, while the Census itself afforded the only possible means of obtaining it. The result has shown how correct this opinion was; far more so probably than any of us conceived at the time.

At a future Census the case will be very different. The lists of castes and occupations included under each heading of the tables, to which I have already referred as having been prepared in the divisional offices, will, taken together with the table-headings themselves and the MS. tables of tribal sub-divisions, form a very fairly complete detail of the entries in the schedules; and this material renders possible the preparation of classified lists for use in future compilation. The Panjáb Government has approved of my proposal to devote my leisure for the next few years to the preparation of such lists; and I hope that I shall be able to complete them, and that they will be found useful. But I am convinced that the only stage in which they can legitimately be used is in the process of tabulation and compilation, and that any attempt to use them for guidance in enumeration will be fatal to accuracy. We cannot record facts at enumeration in too minute detail; we can classify and compress afterwards. To attempt to classify in the first instance through a widely-spread agency of inferior average qualifications and subject to no central supervision, might perhaps tend to uniformity, but it would be a uniformity of error.

909. Units of tabulation—Towns and Villages.—Perhaps no single point throughout the Census has given me so much trouble in proportion to its importance, as the distinction between urban and rural population. There were two questions to be decided—

(1) What places should be classed as towns:

(2) What limits should be taken for the urban area in each place.

The correspondence and instructions issued on the subject will be found in Appendix D. The conclusions finally arrived at were—

(1) that all municipalities, civil lines, and cantonments were to be treated as towns, whatever their population:

(2) that all places including a population of as many as 5,000 souls dwelling together within a practically conterminous collection of houses and suburbs should be classed as towns:

(3) that places not falling within either of the above classes, but the population of which was urban rather than rural, not essentially consisting merely of a village community with its attendant menials and traders, but also including a considerable extraneous society drawn to the spot by the presence of a shrine of peculiar sanctity, by the existence of a centre of local commerce, or the like, should be reported for orders.

A good many cases were reported under clause (3) above, in pursuance both of my General Letter A and of my letter of 1881. But in all such cases the Panjáb Government declined to depart from the numerical standard of 5,000 souls. I myself should have been inclined to consider the circumstances in some of these cases sufficiently special to justify an exception, if any exception was to be made at all. But I would, on the whole, make no exception. It may be said generally that, for reasons explained in detail in sections 62, 63, it is often difficult to decide in respect of any given place whether its population is rather urban or rural in its composition; and an arbitrary numerical standard seems to be both necessary and unobjectionable.

With respect to the limits of urban areas, the cantonment boundaries were followed in the case of cantonments; while the Deputy Commissioner fixed limits for civil lines where not already included within the boundaries of a town. In the case of municipalities the municipal boundaries were followed in all cases except that of Lahore, where those boundaries included several villages purely rural in their nature and lying at a very considerable distance from the town, and which were excluded from the urban population. A detail of them will be found in the Appendix to Table XIX. There is no doubt that Lahore is not the only case in which the municipal limits include small villages which would, *per se*, be better included

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in the rural population. But it is so important to know exactly what has and what has not been included within each town, that it is I think right, save under very special circumstances, to follow the only boundaries available which are capable of exact ascertainment. The point was specially referred to the Deputy Commissioners for opinion with reference to each town in the Province; and the only case in which exception was thought advisable was Lahore. As already pointed out in section 845 the details of suburbs were, at all events as a rule, distinguished in our tables.

910. Units of tabulation—village boundaries.—In the case of all places not being cantonments, civil lines, or municipalities, the boundary of the village area was taken as the limit of the unit of tabulation, whether classed as town or village. There is no doubt that, as explained in sections 65, 65, these limits are in some degree and in some parts of the Province misleading as regards the size of the village. But no other limits would have been practically possible. In the first place it was absolutely essential that the tables should be based upon the *mauzahwár* lists of village areas which are kept at the revenue record-rooms; and this, not only to ensure that no portion of the Province was omitted, but also to prevent the recurrence of an error such as occurred in the Census of 1868, when a wholly imaginary town of the name of Májra, with a supposed population of 7,908, was created in the Rohtak district by adding together the small populations of the numerous outlying hamlets which are commonly known to the people as *májras* in that part of the Panjáb. In the second place the villages of the Province present every gradation of compactness or the reverse, from the single homestead of the Dehli territory, with its outlying temple, monastery, perhaps some gypsies' or cattle-traders' huts, and occasionally a hamlet or even two containing 10 to 20 houses each, to the *tappa* of Kángra and the *kothi* of Kúlu where each family inhabits a separate hamlet, or the *mauzah* of parts of Multán and the Derájat where the population is scattered all over the area at isolated wells or on lowlying plots of cultivation. Now in the former class the outlying population of say 4 to 80 souls are necessarily included with the parent homestead. In the latter class there is no alternative between either treating the village as a whole, or tabulating separately countless little hamlets, each with a population of from 20 to 100. In all cases it would be wholly impossible to draw any line which could be worked upon in practice. In the hill districts, indeed, there are well-recognised and clearly-defined sub-divisions of the *tappa* and *kothi*, known respectively as *tikas* and *phátis:* and these might perhaps prove more convenient units of tabulation than the larger areas. But Mr. Lyall tells me that in most cases they would be impracticably small. It has been suggested that an arbitrary limit of say 500 souls should be adopted, and that all hamlets reaching this size should be tabulated separately. But, besides the other objections just stated, there is the, as it seems to me, fatal obstacle that it would be necessary to tabulate all hamlets separately before it could be discovered which of them reached the limit in question. At the same time the information if it could be obtained would be most interesting, as it would gauge the progress of the process described in section 170. At present our figures for villages are almost meaningless in some parts of the Province.

The village area being accepted as the unit, it became important to exclude from the list of towns all villages, such as those of Derah Ismáíl Khán mentioned in paragraph 66, in which the population, though exceeding 5,000 in number, was widely scattered over a considerable area. Here again every degree of diversity existed, the principal homestead containing any number from 400 to 4,000 souls, and the remaining population lying at various degrees of proximity to it. The case was one which only local knowledge could deal with; and lists of doubtful cases were sent together with a copy of the correspondence on the subject to district officers, who decided in each case whether the population was or was not sufficiently compact for the place to be treated as a town. Table XIX shows 132 towns of over 5,000 inhabitants. Table XVIII shows 164 towns and villages of that size in British Territory. The difference consists of 32 villages excluded from the list of towns on the grounds just stated, in the following districts:—Jálandhar 1, Kángra 13, Derah Ismáíl 6, Derah Gházi 4, Bannu 6, Hazára 2.

911. Towns and villages—precautions adopted and suggested.—Such were the principles on which the classification was made. But they were very difficult to apply in practice. As already noticed in section 845, my instructions regarding urban areas had not been understood, and the schedules of suburbs which lay within municipal limits had nothing to show that they properly belonged to any town. The first thing therefore was to prepare, with the help of the tahsíl abstracts and the local knowledge of the staff, lists of all places apparently falling within the definition of town, showing all the component parts of each and their populations. These were sent to district officers with a copy of the correspondence on the subject, and they were asked to report—

- (*a*) whether any places had been included which should not be classed as towns:
- (*b*) whether any places had been omitted which should be classed as towns:
- (*c*) whether all suburbs or outlying homesteads situated within municipal limits or the boundaries of cantonments or civil lines had been included:
- (*d*) whether any of the subsidiary parts shown lay outside those limits or boundaries:
- (*e*) whether any of the subsidiary parts lying within municipal limits lay so far from the town that it would be well to exclude them on special grounds.

If the answers to these inquiries had been absolutely accurate, my table of towns would have been perfect. But I had occasion later on, when the final figures were past alteration, to circulate a rough copy of the Appendix to Table XIX in print in order to have the spelling of names of suburbs corrected; and it then became apparent that in two or three cases, which an examination of column 4 of the Appendix will disclose, the answers had been inaccurate, and that I had consequently included certain small suburbs which lay beyond and excluded others which lay within municipal limits. And I cannot feel sure that we may not in other cases also have omitted suburbs which ought to have been included; for in the index-register and tahsíl abstracts, which were all we had to guide us, suburbs were sometimes shown as independent villages; and the fact that only in two or three cases did Deputy Commissioners report that we had omitted suburbs proves either that our local knowledge was singularly sufficient, or that enough care was not taken in examining our lists. In any case, however, the errors thus caused will have been comparatively insignificant in amount; for no suburb of any practical importance can have escaped inclusion with the town.

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At a future Census the plan of operations I would recommend would be something of this sort. The urban limits would be governed in all cases by the considerations just discussed. They would then be split up into sections and blocks in the manner described in section 846. The Deputy Commissioner and one of his Assistants would naturally visit every town in the district during Census operations, and would then examine the manner in which this work had been done on the spot. If he found reason to think that municipal limits should be departed from, he would report his proposals; but I think very strong grounds should be shown before this was allowed. When it was finally settled what was to be included in each town, special labels of a different colour from those used for rural books of schedules would be pasted on the urban books, in which, instead of the name of the village, the names of the (1) town (2) suburb or other sub-division should be shown separately. And it would help the compiling offices if the bindings of urban books were also covered with cloth of a different colour from that used for the rural blocks. The index-register of towns would be kept separate from that of villages; and in it care would be taken to show the name of the town in column 3 and that of the suburb in column 6 only; while in the tahsíl abstract for towns, which should be separate from that of villages, there would be two columns, one for the name of the town and another for that of subsidiary parts. These arrangements, however, would apply in general to municipalities, civil lines, and cantonments only. Village areas including a population of 5,000 or more cannot in all cases be picked out till at any rate the preliminary abstracts have been prepared and the population thus ascertained; they seldom possess any suburbs worth separating; the village boundary is followed as a matter of course; and all that is necessary is to exclude cases in which the population is scattered.

912. Floating population.—There was a certain floating population to be dealt with, generally but not always inconsiderable in amount, consisting of passengers by rail and boat, and of large gangs of workmen collected upon canals, railroads under construction, and the like. These were not included in the population of any village or town, but were entered in the tables at the end of the village population of the tahsíl in which they were enumerated. The resident Railway population was of course treated exactly like other residents.

913. European schedules.—The mass of the work being done in the vernacular, I was in considerable doubt as to how to deal with schedules filled up in English. I had at first thought of collecting them all at Lahore and abstracting and tabulating them by a separate English staff. But the divisional officers objected that this would involve two difficulties. In the first place we did not know where all the English schedules were, a considerable number being scattered about through the books of the Province; they would have been constantly turning up in small numbers which would have been very difficult to deal with, while there would have been some danger of loss. And it would have been very difficult to arrange for the incorporation in the figures of the village tables prepared by the Divisional offices, of the details of the English schedules tabulated by a central staff. In almost all the Divisional offices there were one or two men who knew English; and where this was not the case I sanctioned the entertainment of a couple of clerks for the purpose. These men made translations of the English schedules into Hindústáni, and read them out to the abstractors. On my visits of inspection I paid special attention to the subject, and especially to the translation of names of occupations, of which I caused lists to be shown me together with the translations used. But the result was not satisfactory. The age and sex were of course tabulated with ease; but there were difficulties in respect of religion, sect, language, nationality, and birthplace; while the tabulation of occupations was exceedingly unsatisfactory. At a future Census I should prefer to keep the population enumerated in English wholly separate. The great mass of it is European; and so long as the numbers of each sex were communicated to the Divisional offices to be incorporated in the village tables, the exclusion of the other details from those tables would not impair the utility of the figures for general district purposes; while supplementary tables could be supplied to the district office where large European populations existed. I would then have all the English schedules for each district collected together by the Deputy Commissioner in the first instance, each bearing plainly the number of its circle and block and the name of the village or town to which it belonged, and send them all to the central office to be tabulated by English clerks under the direction of the Deputy Superintendent. The figures would be added to those furnished by the Divisional office for each district; while only the number of each sex in each village or town would be communicated to the district offices for incorporation by separate entry in their tables.

914. Tabulation of tribal sub-divisions.—I have already explained (section 888) that we did not re-abstract the figures for tribal and caste sub-divisions, but accepted the figures of the third part of the village abstracts prepared by the enumerators. Nor did we tabulate them for any smaller unit than the tahsíl. The number of entries was so enormous that getting out even this detail involved very great labour. The number of sub-divisions shown in the tables for Jats and Rájpúts in British Territory are given in the margin. No other caste approached these numbers. The method adopted was as follows. A clerk took a bundle of village abstracts, and a number of blank slips having the name of the caste at the top and two columns to the left hand for the names of the two sub-divisions. Taking up Bráhmans for instance, he wrote all sub-divisions beginning with A on one set of slips, those beginning with B on the next, and so on, heading all these slips with the word Bráhman. If in the village abstract he found 5 males entered opposite a certain sub-division,

NUMBER OF TRIBAL SUB-DIVISIONS FOR JATS AND RAJPUTS.

No.	District.	Jats.	Rajputs.	No.	District.	Jats.	Rajputs.
1	Dehli	2,878	722	19	Ráwalpindi	679	1,631
2	Gurgaon	732	433	20	Jahlam	969	813
3	Karnal	1,579	706	21	Gujrat	2,046	506
				22	Shahpur	1,130	2,253
4	Hissar	1,936	847				
5	Rohtak	2,986	590				
6	Sirsa	2,159	798	23	Multan	560	1,437
				24	Jhang	1,813	1,978
7	Ambala	1,863	560	25	Montgomery	1,170	1,403
8	Ludhiána	1,526	513	26	Muzaffargarh	3,734	306
9	Simla	56	186				
10	Jalandhar	398	245	27	D. I. Khan	3,739	149
11	Hushyárpur	337	587	28	D. G. Khan	6,460	329
12	Kángra	274	985	29	Bannu	2,862	486
13	Amritsar	258	225				
14	Gurdáspur	365	417	30	Peshawar	740	300
15	Sialkot	639	381	31	Hazára	109	249
				32	Kohát	380	495
16	Lahore	2,572	1,232				
17	Gujránwála	2,264	621				
18	Firozpur	3,167	1,548		TOTAL	52,380	23,925

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he wrote the figure 5 opposite the name of that sub-division: if 7 more males occurred in the second abstract, he cut out the 5 and wrote 12, and so on, not entering the individual numbers, but always adding on the new number to the total of all previous entries. When the space opposite any entry was filled up, the entry was cut out and re-entered at the bottom of the slip, the last total of the first entry being made the starting point of the new one. The castes with very numerous sub-divisions were worked through first one by one for the whole tahsíl, the sub-divisional slips for each being kept in alphabetical bundles. The minor castes were then taken out from each village abstract, the slips for each caste being tied up together. For each of the smaller castes the figures for a whole tahsíl were worked out on only two or three sets of slips; but in some parts, and especially in the west, the number of entries in Jats and Rájpúts was so large that by the time a circle or two had been finished the slips had become unmanageable, and a new set was begun, the whole being totalled up for the tahsíl at the end.

No exact check upon these figures was possible. Even the total population would not agree exactly, as there were small errors in the figures of the village abstracts. And, as before noted, the enumerator had occasionally departed from the caste entries in the schedules, where he knew them to be wrong. But the totals for each sex and caste were compared with the tables, and where the discrepancy was considerable the figures were re-examined. Thus the results can only be taken as approximately accurate. But they are not needed for the Imperial tables; and the errors will be so small in comparison with the numbers involved, as only very slightly to impair the practical value of the information. As it was, the Divisional officers estimate that, on an average, a month of their time was taken up by this work; while the compiling office spent at least six weeks more over the figures. To have abstracted them from the schedules and brought them into perfect accordance with the other figures would have taken the offices six months at a moderate computation.

915. Preparation of divisional tables and tahsil summaries.—When the village tables were complete, the Divisional officers prepared from them tables in duplicate for each district and division in the form of the final Census tables, showing all details contained in those tables separately for towns and villages in each tahsíl, together with district and divisional totals. These were filled up from the village-tables by direct transfer of the totals for each tahsíl, save where details were given by religion in the village and not in the final tables, in which cases the figures for the various religions were added together in separate forms devised for the purpose in order to obtain the figures for total population. Check sheets exhibiting side by side all figures taken from separate tables that should correspond with each other, were prepared for these tables and sent up with them. Further, as the village tables were not only very numerous but also, encumbered as they were with details for each separate block, exceedingly cumbrous, abstracts were prepared for each tahsíl exhibiting for each town and village in the tahsíl the following figures, with details of sex in each case:—

(1) Total population.
(2) Under 10 years of age.
(3) Unmarried.
(4) Hindu.
(5) Sikh.
(6) Musalmán.
(7) Male agriculturalists over 15 years of age.
(8) Under instruction.
(9) Able to read and write.
(10) Numbers of each of the twelve most numerous castes in the tahsíl.

No. 7 showed the number of adult males who had returned themselves of any occupation which was classed in the Divisional office as agricultural; while generally the classification of entries effected during tabulation will cause discrepancies between the details of these abstracts and of the final tables. But the differences will be unimportant, and the abstracts will be convenient for ordinary purposes of reference. They are, however, only extracts, and have not been subjected to any check beyond the ordinary comparison with the original; and the figures of the village tables alone can be considered as authoritative. Both the village-tables and the abstracts have been sent to the district offices for record.

916. Progress of the work.—The schedules and staff ought to have been collected at the Divisional offices by the 15th March at the latest. But they were really not all there till the end of the month. Meanwhile the examination of the schedules had been pushed on, and abstracting was in full swing by the beginning of April. By the end of the month we had abstracted the figures for ten million souls. During May we dealt with 8 million more, leaving less than a million for June; while all but two of the offices had finished their abstracting before the end of that month. The Jálandhar office was short-handed owing to the fact that two of the three districts were under settlement, while the patwáris of the third (Kángra) were often ignorant of the Persian character. Accordingly part of the abstracting for this division was done by other offices which had finished their own work early. We found the average number of souls for which complete sets of figures were abstracted by each abstractor in a working day to be as follows:—

From starting work to end of April	369
Last week of April	518
Month of May	680

These were, I believe, the highest averages obtained in any province in India. The averages in the several offices differed considerably, being smaller in those districts which included large towns with their numerous occupations, and in which several religions were commonly found in a single village.

During the month of June the entering up the entries in the village-tables and the tabulation of tribal sub-divisions was completed save in Jálandhar and Pesháwar, which were about a week behindhand; and the work left to be done in July was the final check, the preparation of Divisional tables and tahsíl summaries, and of certain tables needed for the information of the Registrar-General of Great Britain. The patwáris were gradually drafted off to their homes from the beginning of July, and the offices finally closed at various dates between the 3rd and 24th, except that of Jálandhar which only completed its work on the 6th August, having had to wait for the schedules of Láhul and Spiti which were not received till the end of July. The Divisional tables were translated in the central compiling office and issued together with one set of the vernacular tables to Deputy Commissioners by the first week of August, and to Commissioners some ten days later. The record of progress is continued at the end of the next part of this chapter.

Part II.—Tabulation of the Figures.

917. Changes in the instructions issued.—Great inconvenience was caused throughout the process of abstracting and tabulating, by the changes which were made from time to time in the forms to be employed and the nature of the information to be exhibited. In February 1881 Mr. Elliott, who had previously taken the opinions of Provincial Deputy Superintendents in the matter, issued final instructions regarding the whole process of collecting and displaying the results of the Census, together with a complete set of registers, village-tables, and final tables, these last varying in a good many details from those proposed by the Census Committee of 1877-78. His consent was obtained to certain modifications which were necessary in order to display additional information desired by the Panjáb Government; and work was begun on the lines so fixed and was pushed on vigorously. Meanwhile Mr. Plowden had taken charge of the office of Census Commissioner; and he issued a new set of instructions, with new registers, village-tables, and final forms, which reached this office on the 10th April. These necessitated our doing over again the whole of the abstracting for religion, Christian sect and race, age, civil condition, education, and infirmities. When the orders reached us we had abstracted the figures for four millions of people. I was away at the time inspecting my offices. I had to obtain the orders of Government on the alterations made, to revise my whole instructions which had been issued in a complete form for all the work to be done in the Divisional offices, to devise new forms based on Mr. Plowden's but embodying the local modifications for the Panjáb, and to translate and print them all,—the forms by thousands. All this took time. The result was that about half our abstracting and a good deal of our tabulation had to be done over again; and the same was the case in Native States, a result which was particularly to be deplored. Orders regarding the tabulation of floating populations were only received on 6th June, and on the same day I received instructions to the effect that the tables we had prepared for the Registrar-General in accordance with instructions received in the end of April, were useless and must be compiled afresh on a new basis. Many minor orders and suggestions were received from time to time during the progress of the work. Orders on the classification of occupations were not received till 13th April 1882, when all our tables were already complete.

918. Evil effects of these changes.—Of course it was quite unavoidable, from the very nature of things, that something of this sort should have happened. A general Census of the Empire had been taken for the first time, and as difficulties arose and experience accumulated during the progress of the work, new orders were necessarily to be expected. I only notice the point because it had a very serious effect upon the progress of our work, and because I wish to show how important it is that a complete set of instructions should be issued in the first instance on a future occasion. The way in which it affected the work of the Tabulating offices was this. I had at first issued the most stringent orders that, as soon as the figures for a tahsil were abstracted they were to be tabulated at once, and that as soon as the figures for a district were tabulated the final forms for the district were to be filled in and sent to me. In this manner we should have slowly gained experience in tabulation as the work progressed, we should have found out what the difficulties were and how best to meet them, doubtful points would have been referred for orders, only picked men would have been employed as tabulators, and, most important of all, the final tables would have been examined district by district as they came into my office, errors of method would have been pointed out, to be avoided in other tables, and discrepancies would have been detected and the tables returned to the Divisional offices for correction. But directly I received the new set of forms and instructions from Mr. Plowden I had to stop all tabulation, as the old tables would have been useless. Instructions and forms for abstracting on the new lines had to be got out, first for the figures which yet remained to be abstracted, and secondly for the revision of the work which had been already done; and the result was that, by the time instructions and forms were issued for the new tabulation, the abstracting was in such splendid swing and so nearly finished, that my offices protested with reason against taking any of the staff off the work to begin the tabulation. Consequently the tabulation was done quite at the end of the work for all the districts at once, the whole staff was employed on it, the final tables for the whole Province were passed into my office within a fortnight, and immediate examination was impossible and would have been useless, for the Divisional offices had been closed and the staff dismissed to their homes. One result was that the manner in which the Amritsar final tables had been prepared was only gradually brought to light as the Provincial tables were compiled one by one. If it had only been detected earlier, I should have had no hesitation in recalling the whole establishment and making them do much of the tabulation work over again. Indeed, if I had been able to follow my original system the difficulty would never have arisen, for an examination of the first tables would have disclosed the errors in system, and they would have been corrected in them and avoided in others.

919. The peculiar circumstances of the Divisional offices rendered it especially unfortunate that the preparation of the district tables was thus crowded into the last two or three weeks. The staff consisted of patwáris, accustomed to live in their villages where their work was light, their credit with the village grocer unlimited, food cheap, and lodging and fuel free, while pickings and perquisites of sorts were not wholly unknown. These men were brought in some cases more than 200 miles by road, to live separated from their families in towns where rates were high and everything had to be paid for and that in cash, while for 3½ months they were kept at arduous and incessant labour. In Pindi something like famine rates prevailed. I did what I could for them; as many as possible were lodged free in the buildings we took as offices, small grants in aid were made to those who had to come long distances, their regular pay was advanced them, and a monthly allowance of R2 per month was given them. This sum was, I am convinced, not enough to cover the additional expense they were put to; and many months after the work was all over a bonus of R2 per month was given them in addition. But this did not affect their feelings at the time. The men were generally picked men, the work was new, the supervision close, the competition between the different offices keen, and the way in which they worked was beyond all praise. But as the work drew to a close and the men saw hopes of speedy release, their one idea was to have done with it and get away home. And it was exactly at this stage that the final checking was done and all the

Part II.—Tabulation of the Figures.

Divisional tables were prepared. In the Lahore office, indeed, it was found that the totals of certain tables did not agree, false check statements having been prepared by the supervising staff, while the men in question had been dismissed to their districts. They were at once recalled, and the tables corrected. I reported the men in fault to the Commissioner; but apparently very light punishment was awarded to them. But this instance, which was brought to light by the office itself, was the only one which occurred; and I believe that, save in the Amritsar office, even this last work was on the whole well and conscientiously done; though it would have been done better had it been done gradually.

PART III.—COMPILATION OF THE FIGURES.

920. The Central compilation office.—The vernacular staff of the central office consisted of 30 patwáris, 3 qánúngos, and a sadr qánúngo, selected from the best men in the Divisional office staff, and as far as possible representative of every part of the Province. These patwáris received an allowance of R 7 each in addition to their ordinary pay. The translating staff consisted of 12 clerks obtained in Lahore, and was temporarily supplemented when necessary. I had roughly estimated that their services might be needed for three months at the outside; but it will presently be seen how widely I had miscalculated. After four months the Deputy Commissioner of Karnál, who had lent his sadr qánúngo at great inconvenience to himself and hindrance to his work, was compelled to recall him; and the loss to me was most serious. The office was superintended by an Extra Assistant Commissioner who was selected on account of his general ability and knowledge of English.

921. Translation of the Divisional tables.—The first thing to be done was to translate and circulate to Deputy Commissioners and Commissioners the tables for their districts and divisions. The tables were translated exactly as they were received from the Divisional offices, without examination or classification of entries. It was important to furnish as quickly as possible the material for the district Census reports: and the errors afterwards detected and corrected in the central office were so small as in no way to affect the general significance of the figures.

922. Compilation of the figures.—The final tables may be divided into two classes. In those displaying total population, age, civil condition, Musalmán sects, education, and infirmities, the number of columns and their headings had been fixed from the first, classification was unnecessary, and all that had to be done was to transfer the figures of the tables furnished by the Divisional offices to the Provincial tables, to add areas, statistics of former population, and the like, to calculate such averages as were needed, and to translate the results. In the other tables we had, before this process could be begun, to classify the headings of the Divisional tables, which were in all cases far more numerous than those which it was proposed to exhibit separately in the final tables. Now if the Divisional tables had been prepared with absolute accuracy the compilation of the tables of the first class would have been simple and easy. But unfortunately this was not always the case, and on comparing them numerous small discrepancies were detected. To remove these we had first to go back to the village tables, which gave us figures for each separate religion only and not for total population, and gave them in 252 sets of items, one for towns and one for villages in each tahsíl. In many cases the totals of the village tables did not agree, the check having been made page by page, and the final totals not having been sufficiently carefully given; and in these cases we had to examine the entries for individual blocks, of which there were 53,000 in the Province. But only in the Amritsar division had we to go back to the schedules themselves, or rather to the registers abstracted from them, before we could remove the errors. The same remarks apply to the second class of tables, with the addition that in them an error in any one of our items had to be searched for among all the headings of the village-tables which had been included in that item—in some cases a very large number.

923. Adjustment of errors.—Check sheets were kept up showing the plus or minus differences between the various entries in each pair or more of tables that ought to agree; and as each error was run to ground, it was entered in a memorandum of *corrigenda* and the difference originally shown in the check sheet reduced by its amount. The *totals* of the village tables were examined in all cases of discrepancy, however small. When this had been done the check sheet showing the residual differences was brought to me. I then decided which of these differences were sufficiently important to necessitate our going behind the totals in order to remove them, and examining the figures for the individual blocks, of which there were an average of 420 in each tahsíl, and many more in some. Where the difference was minute I adjusted (*vulgice* fudged) it in the largest item concerned, or, if it was capable of distribution, distributed it rateably over the few largest items. This course I have already justified in section 898. No adjustment of the sort was made except by me with my own hand; and the danger that the knowledge that I did adjust minute differences might lead the clerks to take a similar license, was guarded against by the invariable rule that every error detected, corrected, and the correction taken credit for in the check sheet, was shown to the superintendent, who was personally responsible that the error and correction were genuine. In making these adjustments I did precisely what is daily done by every surveyor. No survey closes with absolute exactness, and the closing error, when inconsiderable, is distributed over the whole survey. It is indeed possible, by repeating observations over and over again, to reduce the probable error to insignificance; and this is the course adopted in great trigonometrical surveys which are to form the basis of further work. But these are exceptional; and in all ordinary field work small errors occur and are adjusted without wasting further time upon them.

To give a concrete instance of my procedure. The details of age in Tables VI and VII gave us more trouble in this way, and displayed a larger number of discrepancies than any other pair of tables. Neglecting all totals, and taking districts and separate religions only, Table VI contains 14,256 and Table VII 8,976 separate entries which had to correspond with each other, the total single, married, and widowed of any given age, sex, and religion in Table VI having to agree with the number of that age, sex, and religion in Table VII. The corresponding entries in the *totals* of the village-tables from which these figures had to be got numbered 109,728 and 69,080 respectively, while the corresponding number of entries for individual blocks in the village-tables were 22,888,656 and 14,411,376. When the totals of the village tables had been examined, the details of the differences that remained were brought to me. Of these I directed a certain number to be further reduced by examination of the block entries. Eventually there remained 67 differences, all of which I considered too minute to be worth further expenditure of time and

Part III.—Compilation of the Figures.

money, and adjusted them arbitrarily. Of these 67 differences, in 47 cases the discrepancy was of 1 only in 15 cases of 2, in 3 cases of 3, and in 2 cases of 5. In adjusting them, I assumed that Table VII, as giving greater detail of age, was right and Table VI wrong; and I made all adjustments up to 19 years of age in males and up to 14 in females in the table of single, above 49 years in females in the table of widowed, and in other cases in the table of married; that is to say, in the table which contained in each case the largest numbers. The two largest errors, of 5 each, were in the Hindu females of the Amritsar district. That is to say, my tables gave me the figures shown in the margin. In this case, instead of comparing block by block the entries of the two tables, I wrote 10,313 instead of 10,318 and 4,204 instead of 4,199 in Table VI. Perhaps, so far as the entries in the schedules go, I was wrong, and the corrections should have been made in Table VII. But this much is mathematically certain, that the corrections being far within the limits of the mean error of our figures, the probable variation from the actual truth was identical for both pairs of entries, and that the one was therefore, within the possible limits of our knowledge, exactly as accurate as the other.

		Age 25-29.	Age 50-59.
TABLE VI	Single	85	20
	Married	10,318	3,339
	Widowed	845	4,199
	TOTAL	11,248	7,558
Table VII		11,243	7,563
Difference		+5	−5

924. With the single exception of the caste table (VIII A), the above is a fair sample of the differences thus adjusted. They were always minute, seldom being larger than 3. But in the caste table I took a somewhat wider license. The figures were needed for Provincial and not for Imperial purposes; while the number of entries which we had to re-examine and re-compile in order to correct errors which remained after examination of the village table totals was enormous. The caste entries in the several Divisional tables amounted to 8,392: each included two sexes, and almost all from two to four religions; and the separate items for each block had to be examined. Where the error was considerable this labour was of course undertaken. But eventually I adjusted a certain number of residual errors, of which all such as exceeded 10 are shown in the table below. In the greater number our totals were in defect, and the difference was credited to "Unspecified." Where they were in excess I distributed the difference rateably among the two or three most numerous castes of the religion in error; usually between Jats and Rájpúts, the two largest castes, and the two which included the greatest number of small items, in adding which together there was most danger of mistakes. The effect of this adjustment in the case of the largest difference, that in the Musalmán females of Montgomery, which happens to be one of excess, was as follows. In Musalmán Jat females I changed 18,388 to 18,346; and in Musalmán Rájpút females, 24,366 to 24,311:—

ADJUSTMENTS EXCEEDING 10 ARBITRARILY MADE IN TABLE VIII A.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	HINDU.				SIKH.				MUSALMAN.				
	Males.		Females.		Males.		Females.		Males.		Females.		
DISTRICTS.	Total No.	Difference.	Total No.	Difference.	Total No.	Difference.	Total No.	Difference.	Total No.	Difference.	Total No.	Difference.	DISTRICTS.
Dehli	260,046	22	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Dehli
Karnál	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	82,485	76	73,698	68	Karnál
Hissar	...	...	176,276	62	...	...	...	...	60,820	15	...	...	Hissar
Rohtak	253,113	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Rohtak
Sirsa	72,045	19	...	...	...	...	12,624	11	...	...	...	...	Sirsa
Ambala	382,006	23	307,606	14	...	...	...	...	163,631	11	140,492	68	Ambala
Ludhiana	153,572	11	121,668	48	...	...	...	...	113,878	33	100,076	61	Ludhiana
Jalandhar	186,736	14	151,556	43	...	...	...	...	191,425	13	...	...	Jalandhar
Hushyárpur	293,470	14	256,715	61	...	...	25,930	12	...	...	...	...	Hushyárpur
Kángra	357,610	23	330,025	89	...	...	...	...	21,231	18	...	...	Kángra
Amritsar	...	...	...	...	...	...	92,946	29	222,927	24	190,280	19	Amritsar
Gurdáspur	...	...	...	...	42,293	26	...	...	209,429	86	...	...	Gurdáspur
Siálkot	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	353,581	87	...	...	Siálkot
Lahore	...	...	83,021	39	...	...	...	...	...	...	274,805	39	Lahore
Gujránwála	...	...	57,804	28	...	...	...	...	242,466	81	...	...	Gujránwála
Firozpur	93,910	37	...	...	...	...	...	...	168,073	77	142,479	63	Firozpur
Ráwalpindi	52,464	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	382,856	82	...	...	Ráwalpindi
Jahlam	33,609	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	272,977	16	243,768	25	Jahlam
Gujrát	38,677	23	...	...	...	...	...	...	318,239	19	289,286	26	Gujrát
Shahpur	30,330	26	28,696	18	...	...	...	...	188,714	13	169,028	78	Shahpur
Multan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	238,591	88	197,310	12	Multan
Jhang	34,696	12	30,196	22	...	...	...	...	177,680	63	149,230	77	Jhang
Montgomery	45,486	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	180,274	94	150,221	97	Montgomery
Muzaffargarh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	158,815	94	...	...	Muzaffargarh
Derah Ismail Khan	29,711	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	207,282	27	177,962	12	Derah Ismail Khan
Derah Ghazi Khan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	173,671	69	...	...	Derah Ghazi Khan
Peshâwar	26,544	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	296,717	48	249,400	48	Peshâwar
Hazara	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	206,004	19	179,755	78	Hazara
Kohat	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	92,221	21	...	...	Kohat

Part III.—Compilation of the Figures.

925. **Classification of entries.**—In the case of religion, birthplace, language, caste, and occupation, before we could begin to compile the Provincial from the Divisional tables, we had to classify the headings in the latter. The table on page 457 shows the number of separate headings included under each main group in the several Divisional tables. Of course, to take a single instance, some of the 2,551 caste headings of Multán and of the 989 similar headings of Ráwalpindi were identical. But the great majority were not. Thus, the list of separate and distinct occupations for British Territory alone numbered as many as 2,975. The bottom line of the table gives the number of headings in the final Provincial table; and shows that, for instance, the 8,392 caste entries had to be grouped together and classed under 333 final heads.

The method adopted was as follows. Take the caste table as an example. The caste headings in each Divisional table were numbered consecutively. An alphabetical list was then drawn up in vernacular containing in the margin every caste shown in those tables. The body of the list contained twenty-two columns, two for each division; and opposite each caste were entered, under each division in which it occurred (1) the serial No. of the caste in the Divisional table, (2) the number of souls entered in that table under the heading. The castes in this list were also severally numbered. I then classified the headings, and sent into the office a memorandum showing the castes which I had fixed for exhibition in the Provincial tables, and opposite each of them the several numbers borne by those caste headings of the above list which I proposed to include in it. Thus suppose Chauhán was number 357 in the list of caste headings. In the classification memorandum I prepared, 357 would be found under Rájpút, together with the numbers of all the other caste headings I had classed as Rájpúts. The list would be referred to; and opposite No. 357 would be found for each Divisional table the serial number of the heading Chauhán. The compiler had vernacular slips for each division, showing on top the name and number of the caste to be shown in the final tables, to the left hand the serial numbers and names of the caste-headings of the list which were to be included in that caste, and in front of these, columns corresponding with the columns of the final table for each district in the division. He would enter Rájpúts at the top, 357 Chauhán to the left hand, and opposite it the figures for Chauhán in that division; and so for each of the items classed by me under the heading Rájpút. The totals of these items would be the entries for the division in the final table under the head Rájpút. These totals were totalled for the whole table to check the figures, and when the slips were correct they were made over to the translating branch, who filled in from them the sheets for the press. The object of giving, in the first list, the number of souls under each heading, was to enable me to decide whether it was worth while to show the heading separately, or, if not fully understood, to make inquiries about it from the district.

It will be noted that almost throughout this process the entries were identified by numbers merely. The compilers were told to class No. 357, which comprised No. 27 in Delhi, No. 98 in Hissár, and so on, as Rájpúts. I made my grouping in English from the lists read out to me in vernacular, and my grouping had to be retranslated into vernacular. Thus although the most careful comparison and check was exercised throughout, there were many opportunities for error. For this reason the compiler's slips showed the *names* as well as the numbers of the headings. When they were complete the slips for each division were carefully examined by picked men from the division, who could hardly fail to detect any error in classification. Besides this the numbers grouped were also compared to see if any number had been omitted altogether, or grouped twice over in different places. Thus, if Chauhán was No. 357 and Agarwál No. 257, and under Rájpút I entered 257 instead of 357 by mistake, the result would be that (1) No. 357 would not be classed at all, (2) No. 257 would be classed twice over, once under Banya, and once under Rájpút, (3) the slip for Rájpúts would contain the entry Agarwál which would be obviously wrong. It is exceedingly unlikely that any material errors escaped this triple check. All cases of this sort were sent back to me for further orders, and thus I personally decided upon the classification of every single entry in the tables.

926. **Principles of classification.**—This is equivalent to saying that the whole classification depended for its value upon my personal knowledge of the subject-matter, added to such information as I could obtain by enquiry within a very limited time. With respect to religion and sects there was no difficulty, if I except the very extraordinary forms which the names of Christian beliefs and sects sometimes assumed in the hands of vernacular writers, which often compelled us to refer to the original schedules before we could identify them.

The number of languages was small, but my knowledge of the subject was still smaller; and I found that very little was known about the hill languages by any body to whom I could refer. I had to class them as best I could; and even the little knowledge I have since been able to acquire has shown me that I made mistakes.

The birth-places I dealt with with the assistance of Mr. Baness's "Index Geographicus," which I found most useful. Every name which coincided with the name of an Indian district or state I assumed to refer to that district or state. Where the name agreed with that of a considerable city I assumed it to refer to that city, and where there were several towns of the same name I took the most important of them. But there were still a large number of entries, especially in Derah Gházi Khán, for the most part including only two or three persons each, which I could not identify. Where the form of the name was distinctly Indian, as Xnagr or Ypur, I classed it as "India, part unspecified." So where the language was obviously English, I classed the place under "British Isles." But there were still many wholly illegible or unintelligible entries which had to be consigned to the limbo of "Birthplace unspecified."

With occupations the chief difficulty was the immense number, my list showing not less than 2,975 entries for British Territory alone. This large number was due more to the great diversity of local terms than to any essential difference in meaning. The instructions of the Census Commissioner were that our classification was to be based upon that adopted for the English Census so far as it was applicable to the circumstances of the Panjáb. I first translated or, where that was impossible, transliterated the whole 9,038 entries of the list, with the serial number of each. I then affixed to each the number of the order and sub-

Part III.—Compilation of the Figures.

order in which I classed it. These entries were then collected into separate slips for each sub-order; and those I again classified into the groups which I proposed to show as separate occupations in my final tables. A very considerable proportion of the terms used were wholly unintelligible to me. Where they related to village life, my staff, drawn as it was from all parts of the Province, could generally supply the requisite information. But the technical terms used in the industries of cities were often either unknown to my staff, or my own knowledge was insufficient to enable me to understand their explanations. Dictionaries gave but little assistance; and my Munshi used to come to office every morning with his pockets stuffed with samples of fabrics, sweetmeats, drugs, and merchandize of sorts; while I spent many hours in the bazaar consulting with friendly traders and artificers. The number of terms I had eventually to refer to the district for explanation was not large. In the case of double occupations, of which a large number were shown in the tables, especially for mercantile men, I followed the same rules which I had laid down for the guidance of the tabulators, and which are given in section 906.

927. Classification of caste entries.—But the classification of castes was the one, not only which presented the greatest difficulty, but the results of which must be regarded with the greatest uncertainty. As already stated, the name of the tribe or clan had been in numberless instances entered in the schedules, instead of the name of the caste. These had been to a certain extent classified under the castes to which they belonged during the process of tabulation in the Divisional offices. But, as explained fully in the Chapter on Castes, the tribe has almost superseded the caste in the Western Panjáb; and many tribes are held to belong to one caste in one district, and to another in a second and adjoining district. In still more instances the tribal name is one common to many castes, and therefore tells us little or nothing as to the place which the people should occupy in the caste tables. The plan followed was this. I first went right through the caste lists and classed all the names with which my own knowledge, limited unfortunately to the people of the Dehli Territory, and a careful annotation of every Panjáb Settlement Report in print and of such other authorities as I had access to, enabled me to treat with any confidence. I then collected my whole staff and went through the remaining names in committee; not acting, however, upon the statement of any patwári or qánúngo save in the case of general consensus as to a well-known and numerous tribe, unless he came from the part of the country to which the entry belonged and was personally acquainted with members of the tribe.

The entries still remaining unclassed numbered many hundreds; but a great part of them covered only a few persons each, very often fewer than 50, not unfrequently even less than 10. I next circulated to all Deputy Commissioners in the Province a table containing 84 of the largest of these entries, and supplementary tables of 293 smaller entries in the Multán, Ráwalpindi, Pesháwar, and Ambála divisions, especially the three first, asking for their opinion as to their classification. At the same time I circulated to all districts a list of 201 castes which I proposed to distinguish in my tables, together with a detail of the principal headings which I had included under each. With respect to these I asked (1) whether I had joined together what ought to be separated; (2) whether I had separated what ought to be joined together; (3) whether any caste was omitted from the list. I further gave a list of cases about which I felt doubtful, and of castes about which I especially needed information. I distributed these circulars widely throughout the Province to both officials and non-officials who I thought might help me; and the replies and criticisms I received were both numerous and bulky, and in many cases of the greatest possible value. In this manner I referred for local opinion the classification of every entry numbering not less than 50 souls, and of many under that number, respecting which I felt any doubt. As for the remaining small entries, still very numerous, we again went through them one by one in committee; but this time I accepted any opinion based on reasonable grounds. But even so the entries which we had in the end to leave unclassified were still very numerous, though their totals formed a quite insignificant fraction of the population. In the cases referred to above, where people had returned themselves under a tribal name belonging to several castes, they were assumed, in the absence of any indication or information to the contrary, to belong to the landowning caste to which the clan belonged. For instance, almost every menial caste has a Bhatti clan. But while a Bhatti Rájpút would ordinarily describe himself as a Bhatti, leaving you to supply the conclusion that he was also a Rájpút, no menial would ever dream of so returning himself. Consequently, we were fairly safe in assuming that persons returned as Bhattis were also Rájpúts, and in classing them as such.

It will be seen that I spared no personal pains in classing my castes. The amount of labour involved in reading through and making notes of some sixty printed Settlement Reports, in comparing and digesting some 100 replies, many of them very lengthy, in referring to standard works on the subject, and in then coming to a decision in each case, was greater than will readily be believed. And a perusal of the Chapter on Castes will show that I am still only too doubtful as to the justness of many of my conclusions. My guiding principle here, as throughout the Census, has been to exhibit separately all items regarding the propriety of uniting which under a common heading there was room for reasonable doubt. Anyone who cares to do so can at any time add the figures together; but once joined in my tables, it would have been impossible to separate them again.

928. Tribal sub-divisions.—In section 914 I have described the method in which the figures for tribal sub-divisions were tabulated. The number of such sub-divisions for Jats and Rájpúts respectively were 52,380 and 23,925. Of course it was wholly out of the question to exhibit even a small portion of these clans in our clan tables. Nor indeed was it in any way advisable; for a large proportion of them included a quite insignificant number of persons. The first thing to be done, therefore, was to select the clans which were worthy of separate tabulation. Clerks went through the clan tables for each caste in each district, and prepared lists showing all clans which reached the number of 1,000 souls in any one tahsíl of the Province, and opposite each of these the total number for each district in which this condition was satisfied. Clans not attaining the above standard were neglected. I went through the tables thus prepared, with a list in my hand, drawn out by myself, of all clans mentioned as being important in any Panjáb Settlement Report; and selected the clans for which I thought it was worth while to obtain com-

Part III.—Compilation of the Figures.

plete figures, rejecting those, where I rejected any, which appeared in not more than two districts. The clans thus rejected I had intended to mention in their proper places in the Chapter on Castes, and to give the figures for each; but lack of time has prevented my doing so, and I must now wait for the detailed clan tables which I hope some day to publish. In some cases, where it was doubtful whether castes returned under separate names were in reality separate or one and the same, I selected more unimportant clans than I otherwise should have done, and even reduced the standard from 1,000 to 500 in a tahsíl, in hopes that the results might throw light on the doubtful point.

The clans thus selected for tabulation were made over again to the compilers, who took a slip for each clan divided into columns for districts, went through the clan tables of all caste-headings included by me in the particular caste under treatment for each district in turn, and entered up all the numbers found opposite each clan in any of those tables, whether the clan appeared as a primary or as a secondary sub-division, the totals of the items so entered giving the figures of the final clan tables. This method led to double entries. For instance, Siál is a very important Rájpút clan belonging to the Punwár tribe. But Siáls as a rule have forgotten that they are Punwárs, and few have entered themselves as such. Thus it was necessary to take out the figures for Punwárs and Siáls separately. But in doing so the few individuals who had entered themselves as both Punwárs and Siáls were necessarily shown twice over, once under each heading. To meet this difficulty the clerks ticked off each item as it was entered in their tables; and if it had to be entered again under a different heading, made a note of the details in a memorandum form devised for the purpose. On examining these memoranda I found that the entries were very numerous, but as a rule included an exceedingly small number of people: and accordingly I have only noticed the more important cases in the text of my report. Another point which gave much trouble was the various spelling of clan names in different districts, or even in the same district. For instance, we find the Dháríwál clan of Jats spelt indifferently Dháríwál, Dhálíwál, or Dháníwál, and all three forms occurring without the "h," or with the long "a" shortened. On the other hand, some names which were perfectly distinct approached one another very nearly in spelling; as, for instance, Sindhú and Sidhú. Here everything had to be left to the local knowledge of the compilers, who were instructed to disregard mere local varieties of spelling and to refer all doubtful cases for orders. The tabulation of the figures for Patháns and Biloches in frontier districts has already been noticed in the section which treats of those castes.

929. Laborious nature of the work.—The above sketch will show the laborious nature of the task of compilation, and there was much additional work of a miscellaneous nature of which I have made no mention. The correction of proofs for the press of some 1,300 pages of tabular matter was in itself no light task; while I was continually called upon to furnish figures for the information of other Departments, which often had to be compiled from the village tables at the cost of considerable labour and delay. The compilation itself was most intricate and required the greatest exactitude. In compiling so many items under different heads errors naturally occurred, and the totals were often found not to agree. Now where this was found to be the case it was impossible to tell, without a re-examination of the whole work, whether the error lay in the figures we were compiling or in the process of compilation; and this latter had often to be gone through again, only to find that it was correct, and that the discrepancies must be looked for in the figures of the Divisional tables. When they were detected the village tables had to be examined, often the figures for individual blocks had to be checked, and sometimes the original schedules had to be referred to. Had it been possible to follow my original plan of making the tabulation keep pace with the abstracting, each set of tables would have been examined as it came in, and the errors would have been corrected in the Divisional offices. I have explained in section 918 how the changes made in the forms after the work had commenced not only largely increased the number of errors to be corrected, but transferred the labour of correcting them from the 1,000 men employed in the Divisional offices to the small staff of 30 clerks in the Central office.

The above remarks account in a great measure for the fact that we actually took 9 months instead of 3 over the compilation. But setting aside the disturbance of my plans just alluded to, there is no doubt that I had altogether under-estimated the amount and difficulty of the work. I had no conception that the entries to be classified would prove so numerous, or that their compilation would take so long; and I believe that others were no wiser than myself. Mr. Elliott, for instance, estimated provisionally that 30 clerks would compile the whole figures of the Province in a single month. The fact is that the work was new, we had no data to guide us, and it is hardly to be wondered at that our estimates proved to be inadequate. It must not be forgotten that, while the Native States abstracted and tabulated their own figures, we had to compile them; and that the population dealt with was thus increased from 18¾ to 22¾ millions, or by 20 per cent., directly compilation began. And there is another respect in which the task of compilation was heavier in the Panjáb than in any other province in India, and that is, the number of units for which separate figures had to be exhibited in the final tables. We have 32 districts, 11 divisions (including the Khaibar), 36 Native States, and 5 totals; or 84 complete sets of entries, of which 69 are independent and 15 are mere totals. The corresponding numbers for other provinces are shown in the margin.

Province.	Independent sets of entries.	Sets of entries including totals.
Assam	14	19
Burmah	19	25
Berar	22	29
Madras	25	29
Bombay	25	31
Central Provinces	33	53
N.-W. Provinces	51	63
Bengal	52	66
Panjáb	69	84

Besides this we compiled the following information for each of our 84 items in addition to the information required for the Imperial tables:—

(1) details of urban and rural population for religion, sect, civil condition, birth-place, and education:

(2) details of all castes according to religion, instead of merely those shown in Imperial Table VIII without religion:

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(3) details of over and under 15 years of age, and of simple and combined with agriculture, for all occupations :

(4) details of resident families :

(5) details of occupied houses, of Jains and Sikhs, and of suburbs, for towns :

(6) tables of sub-divisions of tribes and castes.

The labour involved in Nos. (2) and (6) especially was immense. The sub-divisional tables occupied the whole compilation office for at the very least six weeks. I was, moreover, unfortunate in my selection of an Assistant to superintend the Central office. A man of exceptional mental power and possessing an unusually perfect knowledge of English, which was of the greatest possible use to me, he had had no experience in managing men, and was not well suited for the charge of an office. And this not only threw much work which I ought to have been spared upon my shoulders, but seriously hindered our general progress. At a future Census the compiling establishment should be trebled at least; and there should be two officers to assist the Deputy Superintendent, one a first-rate Tahsíldár or Superintendent of Settlement to superintend the vernacular office, and the other an English-speaking Extra Assistant Commissioner who would act as Personal Assistant and take charge of the translating department.

930. Classification at the next Census.—But at the next Census I hope that the whole work of both tabulation and compilation, so far at least as it depends upon classification of entries, will be rendered infinitely easier. The Panjáb Government has approved of a proposal that I should edit a Dictionary of Panjáb Occupations. This will include at least all the terms used to describe occupations in the Census schedules, and will explain the precise meaning of each. I understand that it is proposed to hold a committee after the reports on this Census are complete, in order to draw up a scheme for the classification of Indian occupations for use on future occasions. But whatever scheme be adopted, the Dictionary will enable the authorities to class all terms that may be entered in it at once, before the tabulation begins. All that will then be necessary will be for the tabulating clerk to look out in the classified list each occupation entered in the abstracts, and to enter against it the serial number of the main occupation-heading under which it is to be included. The columns of the village tables will be numbered to correspond; and the transfer of the figures will be easy. The entries not found in the classified list will be tabulated separately in supplementary tables, and the Deputy Superintendent will have to treat them as I had to treat the whole of the occupations of this Census. At each Census the unclassed residuum will grow smaller and smaller; while the successive editions of the Dictionary will form storehouses of valuable information on a subject about which there is at present very little available in print.

As for castes, Government has sanctioned a small expenditure on the complete tabulation of all the entries of tribal sub-divisions found in the schedules of the present Census. When the work is complete the results will be published, together with such information about the several castes and clans as I have meanwhile been able to collect from existing sources, and as I may have received in response to a letter asking for assistance in the matter which I have circulated throughout the Panjáb. The results can hardly fail to throw much light upon Panjáb Ethnology; and even if they do not afford material for an ethnical classification of the peoples of the Province, they will at least render easy the preparation of a classified list of clans showing to what caste each should be referred, which would be used by the tabulator exactly in the same manner as the list of occupations referred to in the last paragraph. Whatever form the caste columns may take in the schedule of future Censuses, it is quite certain that in numberless instances the clan will be returned instead of the caste, and that such a list will very largely diminish the labour and uncertainty which have attended the caste-classification of the present Census.

931. Progress and completion of the work.—The figures were received from the Divisional offices about the end of July; and after they had been translated and the Divisional tables issued, and the selected staff allowed a short rest, the work of compilation was fairly begun about the middle of August. In September and October I had to move the office to Amritsar, as the cholera then raging at Lahore so demoralised the men that they could not work. And here our misfortunes began. In escaping Scylla we had fallen into Charybdis, for the terrible fever epidemic which decimated the inhabitants of Amritsar laid the whole office prostrate, and during these two months very little way was made. The compilation in the vernacular was finished by the end of April, and all the tables save those for castes and occupations translated and checked. Thus the compilation itself took us more than six months of unremitting toil, besides two months of slack work. I have already explained in section 929 how enormous was the mass of work to be got through, how utterly everybody had under-estimated its amount, and how I was in a way unfortunate in the matter of officers. But here again our work was unexpectedly interrupted when nearly over. We had, as I have stated, received instructions that the English system of classification of occupations was to be followed as closely as possible in our tables; and I had accordingly followed it, completed my occupation tables in vernacular, and submitted Indices showing my classification in detail to the Census Commissioner. But just as those tables were about to be translated and checked, in the end of March 1882, came a completely new classification from the Census Commissioner, and I had to group the whole of my 2,975 different occupation headings anew. I spent a week's incessant labour on the new lists, and almost my whole office was occupied during all April (final orders were not received till 13th April, but we did not wait for them) in compiling the new Imperial table. Thus I was left at the beginning of May with the two heaviest tables, those for castes and occupations, untranslated, and unchecked in English. My vernacular office was composed of patwáris and qánúngos who were urgently needed in their districts, from which they had been absent for a year, and was superintended by an Extra Assistant whose services were required by Government. I could not keep them waiting till the tables were translated and the English copies checked, in order to correct any error that might be detected after the translation and check were complete; and I let them go. Thus I was left with only a small translating office, and with the whole translation and final check of the two largest tables on my hands. Moreover they were precisely the two tables in which I found the largest number of errors due to the uncertainty of vernacular writing. Shoe-makers had been entered as lime-

burners (*júta, chúna*), cotton scutchers as cotton merchants (*pinjna, bechna*), Rors as Aroras or Roras, Arabs as Banyas (*mahájan, muhájarín*), Maliárs as Maniárs, Barháis as Bharáis, and a thousand similar errors had been committed. The whole examination of the tables and detection of these errors had to be done by myself personally, since they were not errors which any mechanical checking of figures would bring to light, but required some knowledge of the subject to detect them. And when detected they had to be corrected by a small staff of six clerks. Thus some three months were spent over the examination and completion of these two tables, and till they were ready my clerks could make but little way with the preparation of the abstracts for the final Report, nor indeed could I make any satisfactory progress with it; and this because at the very last moment, when the work was done and the establishment about to be broken up, orders to recompile from the beginning our heaviest table were received from head-quarters.

932. Another reason why my Report has been so long delayed is the extraordinary dilatoriness of the Lahore Central Gaol Press in printing the final tables. These tables were begun in December 1881: a constant supply of copy has been kept up, proofs have never been delayed, and now at the end of February 1883, half the heaviest table, that of occupations, is still unprinted. With such bulky tables as those in question nothing can be done till they are in print. The number of separate items to be discussed, for which the figures are given in section 929, added much to my labours; while the various information which we collected in the Panjáb only for specially Provincial purposes, and which are detailed in the same section, greatly increased the whole work of the Census in every stage. During the whole time that I was engaged on the report I had other matters connected with the Gazetteer to attend to as well. And finally, one main cause of the delay in finishing my Report has been the utter absence of anything worthy the name of a Report on any previous Census in the Panjáb. Had there been a good Census Report to start with, such as exists in almost every other province in India, all I should have had to do would have been to compare my figures, add new facts, and modify previous conclusions. But there was nothing of the sort in existence, and I had to lay the very foundations as well as build the superstructure. It must not be forgotten in comparing the Panjáb Census with that of other provinces, that in hardly any other part of India was the record of caste made or tabulated in such great detail as here, while in no other province was any attempt made to collect information regarding tribal sub-divisions. The figures given on page 460 will show how greatly this added to the labour of tabulation and compilation. I do not think I exaggerate when I say that these figures alone added five months to the time which elapsed between the taking of the Census and the completion of the Report.

CHAPTER XIII.
MINOR POINTS AND SUGGESTIONS.

PART I.—SUBSIDIARY MATTERS.

933. Legislation; and proceedings under the Act.—The Census was taken under Act XIV of 1880, the Indian Census Act, the third, fourth, and eleventh sections of which empowered all authorised by the Local Government in that behalf to appoint any person whomsoever to take the Census of any specified local area, and rendered him punishable if he refused or neglected to do so. The Act also provided for punishing householders who did not fill up correctly and return private schedules left at their houses for that purpose, and made persons, whether official or otherwise, who were in charge or command of or had control over bodies of men, or on whose premises considerable numbers were lodged or employed, responsible for their enumeration. Under this Act the Punjab Government issued notifications 149, 150, 151, 152, dated 11th January, and No. 396 of 31st January 1881.

These notifications extended the whole Act to the Panjáb, appointed myself, all Deputy Commissioners, and all officers in executive charge of sub-divisions and the Agents and Superintendents of the various Railways in the Province, to be Census officers, delegated to them the power of appointing other Census officers for the local areas under each respectively, and authorised them to sign declarations which should be conclusive proof of such appointments. They also empowered all Cantonment Magistrates and Tahsíldárs to sign similar declarations for enumerators, supervisors, and superintendents of Census. They further provided for the hearing of certain classes of cases before Magistrates of the 1st class, and that certain prosecutions under the Act should not be instituted without the sanction of specified authorities. The declarations of appointment for all subordinate Census officers usually took the form of a declaration made at the foot of the index-register under the signature of the Tahsíldár.

I think that some such legislative provisions were very necessary. No doubt the mass of the people did not even know that a Census Act had been passed; though in some Districts its main provisions appear to have been publicly notified, while in Gurgáon "its penal provisions were explained to the "people where necessary, and they were shown that they *must* answer." But the educated classes who alone were called on to assist, were probably very generally aware of its existence; and the Deputy Commissioner of Siálkot mentions its having had "a most salutary effect," while the Deputy Commissioner of Hushyárpur writes, "the fact of its existence was a salutary stimulant to the staff, though, "with regard to the outside public, I do not think there was a single instance in which it had even to be "warned." But it is with respect to the European and Eurasian population that such an Act was especially needed. During the discussion prior to the passing of the Act the Deputy Commissioner of Simla wrote:—

> "In October 1878, when a Census of Simla was taken, the instances were not few in which the European residents filled "nonsense into their schedules, or where these, though frequently called for, were not filled in and returned to the Census officers, "who could only obtain the information after great delay and trouble. Again many European householders absolutely refused to "fill in the information for their own servants. There was also great difficulty in getting proper returns from personsliving in single "rooms in Clubs, Hotels, and Boarding Houses, who refused to give the necessary information to the Secretary or Manager filling "in the schedule. There were several instances in which enumerators were assaulted by European or Eurasian clerks and persons "of that class."

At the present Census a comparatively small number of private schedules were issued in Simla; but in no case was it found necessary to adopt coercive or punitive measures of any sort; a fact which seems to show that the provisions of the Act, which were prominently printed on the back of all private schedules, had a wholesome effect.

Prosecutions were instituted under the Act to the number of 25 in three districts only, as follows:—

Jahlam.—Five people in Talágang were fined Rs. 25 in all under section 5, for neglecting to fill in schedules for persons living in their premises or under their control.

Pesháwar.—An enumerator in the city was found to have exacted a fee of two pice (three farthings) per house, and was sent to prison for three months.

Hazára.—Prosecutions for neglect of orders (section 11) were instituted, and Census officers fined as below:—

14 Patwáris fined	R68 12 0
4 Lambardárs fined	" 26 12 0
1 Chaukídár fined	" 1 0 0
19	R96 8 0

In Sháhpur Kandi (Gurdáspur) a supervisor tried to insist upon seeing the bride in a marriage-party. He was a Government servant, and was punished executively by the Deputy Commissioner. This I think was a great mistake. He should have been sent to gaol. In Sirsa there was only a single complaint made against a Census officer; and that a trivial one. In no other district was any instance of abuse of position or improper assumption of authority on the part of Census officers brought to notice. In Karnál

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one non-official Census officer neglected his duty, but it was a solitary instance, and it was allowed to pass. In Siálkot there were only a few objections to act as Census officers, and those were well founded. In several districts some officials were fined executively for neglect of duty. But on the whole coercive measures may be said to have been unknown; and the result speaks well for the readiness of the people to submit to and assist in the Census. As the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore says, "the enumerators were "not always men of tact and discretion; and no doubt people were occasionally questioned in an abrupt "and insolent manner. But," he adds, "I can only remember having heard of one single quarrel; that was "between an enumerator and a woman; and I believe the enumerator was in the wrong."

934. **General attitude of the people.**—All District officers, without exception, report that the attitude of the people towards the Census was all that could be desired. They constantly speak of "the cordial assistance" given by them, of "their perfect good humour and apparent desire that "the information they gave should be as correct as possible," of "information readily given and "assistance cheerfully and readily tendered, the people, with their lamps burning, waiting at "the door for the enumerator on the night of the Census." That foolish rumours should have obtained currency among the lower and more ignorant classes of the community was only to be expected; but it seems that they were almost wholly confined to those classes; and even their suspicions were soon allayed by the judicious action of the district staff, and by the pains taken to explain the real objects of the Census. The very elaborate and searching nature of the procedure as compared with that of last Census attracted attention; the recent campaign in Afghánistán suggested taxation, or that recruits, or even young wives for our soldiers were wanted; the care taken in defining and numbering houses and in recording families seemed to point to the probable revival of the old poll and hearth-taxes; while the minute enquiries as to occupation and source of income seemed to follow suspiciously on the recent imposition of a license-tax. But these ideas were often only mentioned to be laughed at. The grey-beards could remember two previous enumerations which no evil result had followed; and, when active interest was not felt, the feeling was generally one of amused indifference. Some of the rumours which were current in the more backward tracts are mentioned in section 40. On the frontier a little more difficulty was experienced, and some tact and discretion were needed on the part of the officers. The Pawindahs of Derah Ismáíl Khán pleaded the fact that they had been counted on entering the Panjáb as a bar to further enumeration. In the far valleys of feudal Tanáwal, in some of which no European has ever set foot, some difficulty was experienced in persuading the people to allow their women to be enumerated; and in the Teri country of Kohát, where the Bárak sections were at feud with the Nawáb, they at first refused to allow him or his officials to take their Census.

935. The following extracts from the district reports are interesting. They show, among other things, that it is not difficult by judicious management, to give the people a personal interest in the work and cause them to feel pride in its success:—

Sirsa (Mr. Wilson).—"The attitude of the people was all that could be wished. They seemed sufficiently to understand the "object of the Census and to have no suspicion of any ulterior object. Not the slightest obstruction was offered. On the contrary "one and all helped as far as they could; volunteers readily undertook to act as enumerators, and the people generally gave every "information asked of them with readiness, scrupulously protected the numbers of their houses from obliteration by rain or accident, "kept lights burning on the night of the Census, and bore with great patience and without complaint the trouble to which they were "put."

Shahpur (Mr. Frizelle).—"No opposition to the work was met with, those who could assist were as a rule anxious to do so, and "glad of the opportunity of displaying their ability; not more than three or four persons of those selected asked to be excused, "and they were excused. Even those told off to blocks at a distance from their homes proceeded willingly, and yet no application for "pecuniary remuneration was made, although some slight mementoes of the services performed would be gladly accepted and have "been well earned.

"As to the general mass of the people their attitude was one of indifference, and not even curious as to the Census and its "cause; and this is the more noteworthy on account of the great prominence given to the work. Of course some absurd stories "were about, such as a search being made for a child of the Queen which had been lost, but they were raised only to be laughed at, "and most people had a very shrewd idea that no motive was immediately at work except, as they considered, a strange crave for "statistical information. No alarm whatever was felt. They are so accustomed to all sorts of enquiries being made at all times, "about outturn of crops, trade imports and exports, the number of cattle, carriage, &c., that such things come to them as a matter "of course. Any such enquiries, and even our recording of vital statistics, are likely to produce just the same effect in their minds as "a regular and entire Census."

Peshawar (Mr. Lawrence).—"It was fully expected that the Census in this district would be attended with certain difficulties. "Following quickly on the close of the war and preceded by three years' continuous drought, the Census found the people in a "very distressed and anxious condition. Tales were rife as to the objects of the Census; it was to collect a tax for paying the "expenses of the war, or it was to ascertain how many marriageable women there were for the army. The scanty Hindu popu-"lation in the villages and the large Hindu community in the city generally believed that a poll-tax was impending. These were "the views of the pessimists: others more sanguine went about saying that the Government intended to provide grain for its "subjects, and wanted to know how many mouths per family were to be fed.

"The minute nature of the house-lists and the maps of homesteads (which did not previously exist), and the careful numbering "of the houses, convinced all that something affecting their interests was about to be done. But when the preliminary record "commenced, the Patháns saw at once that no tax was to be levied. When they observed that the points most carefully gone into "were those of caste, clan, and family occupation, they argued that these details could have nothing to do with a tax. The Pathán "mind has a leaning to historical details of caste, clan, and family, and they soon realised some of the objects of the Census. No "Pathán ever gave the name of a woman, and great satisfaction was felt at the order forbidding enumerators to ask for women's "names. With the exception of the dislike felt by all for the entry of the zanána in the Census books, the Census was not unpopular. "One person renowned for piety in the Mardán tahsíl followed me for three days, begging that the members of his household might "all be entered as 'man' without distinction of sex."

Kangra (Colonel Jenkins).—"There was no disposition on the part of the people to obstruct the Census, but it was very "generally supposed that the intention of Government was to impose a poll-tax. The fact that such careful enquiries were made as "to the number of *chúlhas* lent colour to this supposition. The only argument that seemed to carry any weight to allaying "these suspicions was, that there had been two previous Censuses, and that neither of them had been followed by any increase of "taxation. Among the Gaddis a rumour was rife that Government wanted to know the number of unmarried girls, with a view "of course to their being carried off from their homes. This is reported to have caused a considerable number of marriages being "arranged before the Census took place, the month being fortunately considered a very favourable one for such ceremonies. This "report probably arose from the fact of such careful enquiries being made as to whether people were married or not."

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Kulu (Mr. Alex. Anderson).—"There was no obstruction to Census operations in Kúlu, where the people are quiet and law-"abiding. They have had little experience of such operations before, and though not afraid were very suspicious. Here as elsewhere "the first idea was that a tax was to be imposed to meet the expenses of the Kábul war, and newspaper articles as to the Patriotic "Fund and subscriptions given by Native States kept up the idea. They could not understand the careful enquiry into the number "of *chúlhas*, and some are said to have given out that a time much feared had come when there would be only one *chúlha* allowed "to a certain number of persons. These suspicions however did not give rise to even passive obstruction; they were willing to assist "in every way.

"On one point they took more than ordinary interest in the entries made. It is the custom for wives in Kúlu to live a consi-"derable part of the year with their parents; and husbands, fearing they might lose their rights if their wives were shown as living "in their parents' houses, tried to bring them to their own houses, and urged the enumerators and others to correct the error of enter-"ing the wife's name except in her husband's house. The Spiti people at first petitioned that they might be ordered to meet in one "place to be numbered."

Rawalpindi Division (Colonel Hall).—"Stories were of course told; but they were more in joke than in sober earnest. For "instance, the want of rain before the Census was attributed to it, as rain would have been fatal to the numbers of the houses. "And, "as it rained a few days after the 17th February, I heard people say "Ah! It may rain now! The number may be washed off."

Rawalpindi (Mr. Steedman).—"The attitude of the people was after the first month of the preliminary enumeration apathetic. "When Census operations commenced they wondered a little, and asked one another why the Government was taking all this "trouble. Especially they were struck with the very great difference between the organization of the last and present Census. "They were puzzled at the extreme care with which they were questioned as to their occupation. This they considered proof "positive that a new tax was going to be imposed. When, however, they perceived that no measures were taken to find the actual "house of *every one*, they were somewhat comforted. Among other ideas as to the object of Government in taking the Census "were the following; that the Government wished to ascertain how many persons had been lost in the Afghán campaigns; that a "return giving the number of the warlike (*bahádur*) tribes was required to indicate whence recruits could be obtained to "fill up the gaps caused by the deaths in the late war; that the Government wanted to find somebody or other (this seems to be "peculiarly and intrinsically feeble); that it was only a part of the new settlement. In Ráwalpindi one idea was that the "population in Bengal and Madras being excessive, Government was anxious to ascertain where the surplus people could be located. "The general feeling was one apprehensive of new taxation, especially to defray the cost of the late campaigns. The people of "this district knew from personal experience what Government had been paying for carriage and grain and forage, and also for "earth-work on the Railways to Khushhálgarh and Attak. There was not the very least obstruction or hindrance whatever. "I am inclined to think that in many villages where the lambardárs or their sons had given assistance as enumerators, they were "rather proud of the accurate way in which the population was ascertained. It has now almost been forgotten that a Census was "taken only three months ago."

Jhang (Captain Bartholomew).—"At the outset of the Census operations much misunderstanding prevailed among the masses of "the community regarding its objects. The common people in towns thought that it had for its object the imposition of some new "tax on the people, others thought that Government was about to institute a conscription for the army in Afghánistán, and others "that some burden would be laid upon the people as in the old Sikh days. In villages and the jungle tracts, the ignorant people "thought they would be called upon to go to the frontier to fight with the Afgháns, or have some forced labour imposed on them "(*begár*). Many of the country people, and not few in towns, objected specially to mention the age of their females, and questions "regarding their occupation, &c., were taken as insults. People generally were disinclined to tell the numbers of the inmates of "their houses and other particulars. To remove all these difficulties and obstacles care was taken, in the first instance, to appoint "such men as enumerators as had the confidence of the people, and they before setting to work explained the objects of the Census "quietly. All Census officers were strictly enjoined to treat the people gently. The superior officers were constantly moving about "the district, inspecting, instructing, explaining and encouraging; and while the work of preliminary record was in progress, several "meetings were held at the headquarters of the district by the Deputy Commissioner, in which the objects of the Census were fully "explained to the headmen and notables. The result of this was that both during the preliminary enquiry and at the final enu-"meration, the demeanour of the people was all that could be desired; and this in a wild district, whose inhabitants a quarter of a "century ago lived chiefly by plunder, is specially remarkable. All suspicion soon ceased, and the people generally lent their aid to "furthering the objects of the Census."

Lahore Division (Mr. Elsmie).—"The Deputy Commissioner of Gújránwála states that the people were neither obstructive "nor suspicious, but they thought that Government was putting them to much trouble and annoyance for no adequate purpose. "Major Grey from Fírozpur, on the other hand, says the people were interested in the Census and forwarded it in every way. "I was in camp myself in Lahore and Fírozpur at the time of the Census arrangements, and had opportunities of talking to many "of the people on the subject. From what I heard I fully agree in Major Grey's view of the general attitude."

Hushyarpur (Mr. Coldstream).—"The general attitude of the people was most praiseworthy. No obstruction was encoun-"tered. Every one took his part in the scheme submissively; and I think I may even say there was a general alacrity to obey "the orders of Government in the matter. No cases of wilful concealment of persons from enumeration have to be reported. The "supervising officers only mention that the people were harassed by the constant verifications or *partáls*. It was not to be expected "that among an ignorant people, organised Census operations could be carried on without awaking suspicions and wonder as to "the object of Government in taking such immense trouble. One of the supervising officers notes an unwillingness on the part "of some to mention all the sources of their income. These suspicions, however, were not apparently universal, or very openly "expressed. Mr. Leigh, Assistant Commissioner, who was in charge of Dasúyah parganah, mentioned in his diary when he went "on tour supervising Census operations, that the people seemed to understand the object of the Census; and he had heard none of "the 'absurd reasoning given that had been quoted lately,' as representing native ideas on the subject.

"There appears also to have been an idea that the minute enquiry as to the occupation of those who held land portended some "increased jama at the approaching settlement. In a remote hilly part of the district there was among one tribe a curious misappre-"hension. It is thus mentioned by Mr. Kensington in his report:—

"'The objects of the Census can certainly not be said to have been understood, but on the other hand they were not, with few "'exceptions, misunderstood. The exceptions were some Gújar villages, the inhabitants of which refused to accept any assurance "'that the ultimate object was not increased taxation. These people got firmly into their heads that there was going to be a tax on "'hearths, and a few days before the Census went in for wholesale demolition of the offending *chúlhas*. The action was however not "'widely spread and is of course only worth a passing remark.'

"When I was on tour I heard in the hilly part of the district that the popular belief was that numbering men or cattle caused "them to die in numbers. Over some of the circles in that quarter some people died after the preliminary enumeration, and their "deaths were attributed by the hill people to the unluckiness of counting and re-counting individuals.

"The Commissioner of Jálandhar at the Kaisari Darbár held on 1st January 1881, and attended by the principal landholders "and traders of the Division, took occasion, opportunely, to explain the object of Government. The good effect of the assurance con-"veyed in Colonel Davies' speech on that occasion is mentioned in two of the reports of the supervising officers. Almost all that can "be said on this head as to the attitude of the people is satisfactory. The general feeling is well expressed by Sardár Gurdiál "Singh, probationer Assistant Commissioner:—

"'It was very difficult for them to believe that Government spent so much money, neglected every other work even the settle-"'ment, simply to count its subjects, and had no selfish pecuniary object in view, especially after the expenses of the Afghán war. "'The *higher inhabitants* seemed to understand the unselfish motive of the Government.'"

936. Correctness of results.—There is an almost unanimous consensus of all concerned that the enumeration was performed with remarkable accuracy. Of course there were mistakes and omissions; there must be such in every Census. But I asked Deputy Commissioners to report especially upon the

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extent to which the work had been examined by European or gazetted officers, and from the result of the examination I find that an extraordinarily large proportion of the work was tested by superior officers, and that the general impression left was what I may almost call *surprise* at its unexpected accuracy. In some Districts the schedules of nearly every village were inspected by a gazetted officer; in many the Tahsíldárs examined nearly the whole of the work. Several Deputy Commissioners report that they examined the work in the most backward and difficult parts of their Districts, in which it had been least supervised, with especial care, and found it singularly good. Of course the errors in detailed entries, and especially in respect of age, caste, and occupation, were infinitely more numerous than errors in enumeration. But even in these respects Deputy Commissioners as a whole seem well satisfied with the work. Accuracy as to age is of course unattainable in India. In the matter of occupation the fault of the entries was want of precision, seldom absolute error: a term was used which was not wrong, but was more vague and indefinite than it need have been.

The entries of caste, and more especially of sub-divisions of caste, are the ones which are generally reported to be more unsatisfactory than any others. But I think that this is very largely because Deputy Commissioners misunderstood the object of the three caste columns. They seem not to have been satisfied unless all three columns were filled up correctly, whereas in a very large number of cases only two were intended to be used; and they apparently did not understand that all we really wanted or cared for was, the main sub-divisions of each caste, not the secondary branches of those sub-divisions; though to make sure of getting the one we had to provide for the entry of the other also. Thus, though there is no doubt that there are errors in the caste entries, yet I believe that, for our purpose, they were far more correct than Deputy Commissioners seem to think, and at any rate as correct as could be expected at a first experiment.

937. As for the mere numbering of the people, I believe it to be marvellously accurate; in the villages, which include some seven-eighths of the population, probably almost perfect. In the towns, where the population is more fluctuating, and often more difficult to deal with, errors were no doubt more frequent. But taking into consideration the fact that in England there is no preliminary record, that the schedules are in all cases filled in in the first instance by the householders, that more than half the entire population live in towns of more than 5,000 inhabitants, and that the Englishman is far less willing to submit to an inquiry of this sort, and far more likely to show an obstructive temper than the Indian, I believe it probable that the enumeration of population in the Panjáb is at the least as accurate as that of the English Census. To give in full the opinion of each Deputy Commissioner as to the correctness of the results would take too much space. I extract the opinions of a few officers well able to judge from personal inspection of the nature of the work done.

Mr. T. W. Smythe of Dehli, who takes one of the least sanguine views, writes:—"There is every reason to believe that the "returns are fairly accurate; and that the errors and omissions are comparatively few. The general impression of the inspecting "officers was, that the work was carefully done and that few names were omitted from the schedules. In the columns showing the "caste, *got*, clan or tribe, and the occupations, some mistakes and errors were discovered. These were owing more to defective or "erroneous information supplied by the heads of families than to neglect or carelessness on the part of the enumerators. Incorrect "replies were not as a rule given for the purpose of misleading, but chiefly through ignorance."

Mr. Benton of Karnal says: "I think that the Census results may be regarded as a close approximation to the truth. Much "trouble was taken for a length of time beforehand to impress on all engaged on the work the necessity for obtaining "correct results. There was hearty co-operation on all hands. The agency was throughout qualified for the task assigned to it, "and was satisfactorily supervised, admirably so I should say, by the tahsíl officials who had been employed in settlement. I "myself saw a great deal of the work in the three tahsíls, and more especially in Kaithal in which I had less confidence in the officers "than elsewhere, and I only found one circle in which the work had been inefficiently supervised and badly done. The work "throughout the Pánípat tahsíl and the Karnál parganah was almost all that could be desired. Behári Lál, Judicial Assistant, "took a strong interest in the work, as did also Mr. Anderson; and they both made favourable reports of what they had seen in "the Karnál tahsíl."

"Mr. Athim says that there might be two errors of sorts in a thousand entries in the town of Karnál; and he must have cor- "rected half these, as he tested 50 per cent of the houses after the final enumeration. Mr. Turnbull tested over 200 houses before "the final Census, and as many after; and he found a few mistakes in the final enumeration arising from persons who were recorded "in the preliminary enumeration being struck out at the final, through being absent at their shops and the like, without being record- "ed elsewhere. Such mistakes would probably have been corrected by the supervisors without his interference.

"There were a great many *baráts* moving about Pánípat during the time of the final enumeration. The Tahsíldár of Pánípat "tested 15 villages on the spot, and found that there was a very satisfactory correspondence between the erasures in one village and "the entries in another where the *barát* happened to be."

Mr. Wilson, Settlement Officer of Sirsa, writes as follows:—"The arrangements were carried out well, and the entries were "thoroughly tested by the supervisors and superintendents both during the preliminary enumeration and on and after the night of "the Census; the large number of supervisors made the work of supervision thorough. The Extra Assistant, the Tahsíldár, and the "Superintendent of Settlement were for some time in camp checking the entries. I was in camp in the tahsíl during the preliminary "enumeration and checked the entries in a number of villages. On the night of the Census I was in camp in the Sirsa tahsíl, and "on that night and the following days I checked the entries in a few villages there. In only one village I found mistakes, "a dead man's name not having been struck out and a newly-born child not having been entered; and in the jungle I found a small "encampment of gypsies, who had not been counted. In all important particulars, I believe throughout the tahsíl very few "mistakes were made; very few were omitted or counted twice over. The sex and condition (with regard to marriage) were correctly "stated. Age given is of course only a very rough approximation. An old man would give his age as '60 or 70' and when told that "he had been entered at 50, he would say '50 it is, let it stand.' Very few knew their age within 5 or 10 years. The entries giving "the age of children under a year old are not trustworthy. A child that was 8 months old at the preliminary enumeration in Decem- "ber was 10 months old in February, and I do not think this change was noted in most cases; no doubt these entries were correct "within two months. The entries regarding religion and sect are correct regarding broad divisions, but there are great difficulties "in defining sects. Many Musalmáns hardly know whether they are Sunnis or Shíahs. Some entered the sweeper's religion as that "of Lálbeg, from the name of their deity; some called it simply 'Sweepers' religion;' some called them Hindus. Where there are no "clear distinctions it is difficult to define. No doubt the entries given are trustworthy so far as they go, and approximately correct "returns can be compiled from them. So with the entries regarding tribe, clan" and *got*; many men cannot distinguish clearly "between these terms, and the entries have been various, but sufficiently correct returns can no doubt be compiled from them. "Difference of opinion exists regarding what makes a difference of dialect, and it is a question whether the Bágri spoken by many "in this district is a different dialect, or should be classed as Hindi. The place of birth was as a rule remembered and correctly "given. The question of occupation presents some difficulties, and it is impossible to lay down rules applying to every case, but the

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"general results are trustworthy. The entries regarding education are probably almost quite correct, and so I believe are those "regarding infirmities; the people did not seem to try to conceal such cases, which were well known in the village; of course what- "ever error there be is not on the side of exaggeration.

"On the whole I think that, allowing for the difficulties of many of the questions and the low order of intelligence of many of "the enumerators, and of the people generally, the entries are wonderfully correct; and that for all practical purposes the statistics "furnished by a compilation of the returns may be taken as quite trustworthy."

Mr. Walker, Settlement Officer of Ludhianah, "has no doubt as to the correctness of the results, and it would be strange if "they were not reliable, considering the effective nature of the supervision to which they were subjected. **In Simla,** where the "difficulties were exceptional, **Major Nisbet** 'has no reason whatever to doubt the accuracy of the returns.'"

From Hushyarpur Mr. Coldstream writes:—"Mr. Kensington, in charge of Garshankar parganah, says, 'I believe the "'results to be as nearly approaching to perfect accuracy as can possibly be expected; the only exception is in the record of tribes "'and *gots*, in which there are probably some mistakes, chiefly owing to the utter vagueness of the mass of the people themselves on "'the subject. I was in camp in the Tahsíl more or less from October to February, and was able to test the work at all its stages.'

Sardár Gurdiál Singh, C.S., who was in charge of the lower part of the Unah parganah, says, 'I have personally examined "'and tested the entries in more than 130 villages and 7 ferries of the river with their water-mills and mooring places. I never "'found any omission. I believe that the result is correct, and that no persons have been left out uncounted. I found only one "'case in which a man had been counted twice on the night of the actual Census. He was an enumerator, and wrote his own name "'in his own book on that night, whilst it was not struck off in the house where he really resided.'

"In his diary this officer also stated that he one evening visited the villages in the hilly tract in the extreme south-east corner "of the district, and found that compared with the villages of the plains, there were very few mistakes in these parts. This is satis- "factory testimony to general correctness, for this tract is almost the most remote and inaccessible in the district, and probably "had least supervision.

"The officer in charge of the rural part of Hushyárpur Division is however not so sanguine. He thinks that a majority of the "enumerators were not sharp enough, and that mistakes were made in the numbering and arrangements of blocks. On the whole "however, even he thinks that the object of the Census has been attained.

"Sardár Gurdiál Singh found by enquiries from pilgrims, whom he met in numbers returning from Jawála Mukhi or proceeding "to the Ganges, that their names had been recorded on the Census night.

"I should doubt if many individual souls were that night left unnumbered; to assert that among the hundreds of thousands "none were omitted would be rash. I do not think, however, it would be possible to have attained on an average more correct results. "While on tour I was told (as quite a remarkable instance) of one man, a hermit, who lives in a hut on a hill summit on the confines "of three villages, having escaped enumeration in the preliminary stage. In one circle two children were born on the night of the "Census; one was entered as 2 hours, and the other as one 'watch' (*ek pahar*) old; one of them, a little girl, has been named by the "neighbours '*mardam shumári*' or 'Census.'

"I believe the result to be a fairly near approach to absolute correctness."

Mr. Tremlett, Commissioner of Jalandhar, who however saw none of the work himself, writes as follows of his Division: "The District Reports bear witness to the attention and interest the Deputy Commissioners have devoted to the work; and it "is satisfactory to find that in the plain districts, at any rate, full accuracy *for all practical purposes* may be considered to have "been attained. That there *are* errors here and there is from the nature of things certain; but I think we are justified in believing "they are so few and trifling in comparison with the large figures that have to be dealt with that they may fairly be regarded as in- "appreciable. About the **Kangra District** I feel less certainty. There the Deputy Commissioner had no settlement staff to call to "his assistance, while the persons whose services were available as enumerators are notoriously far more ignorant and backward in the "hills than those to be got hold of in the plains. In addition to this he found one of his Tahsíldárs, Lachmi Sahái, most incompe- "tent and unsatisfactory, and he failed in enlisting the hearty co-operation of the hill Rájas. If to this we add the difficulties "arising from the mountainous character of the country, and the isolated straggling nature of many of the hamlets, I fear that a "fair amount of approximate accuracy is all that can be reasonably anticipated in the Kángra Returns." It is certain that the Census officers in Kángra had exceptional difficulties to contend with; but on the other hand the population is practically stationary in the month of February; and Colonel Jenkins, the Deputy Commissioner, is of opinion that "so far as numbers go, the present Census "must have been very accurate;" and the Commissioner's opinion is perhaps partly based upon the length at which Colonel Jenkins dwells upon the difficulties he had to encounter, and especially upon the utter lack of interest which the jágírdárs or so called Rájas of Kángra displayed in the operations. Eventually their Census was taken by the Tahsíl officials. Of Kúlu Mr. Alex. Anderson, who examined the work most thoroughly, writes: "On the whole, and as the result of my own inspection, I am of opinion "that great accuracy has attended the work generally; and that the mistakes were more in the details than in the actual enumeration, "and that these mistakes were rather in the shape of omissions than of wrong entries." The omissions he explains to refer to the entry of one only of two occupations followed by the same man. In the more out-of-the-way villages, where there was least super- vision, he says: "In no case did I find that any one had been omitted from enumeration.'"

Mr. Hawkins of Amritsar says: "Although perfect accuracy is impossible, even in a civilised country like England, yet the "results are generally considered to be very fairly correct. I myself tested the figures in many villages and found them correct." **In Lahore, Mr. Stogdon,** who examined much work on the spot, found it done "intelligently and accurately, and believes the "results to be as correct as they can possibly be." **Mr. Bulman reports of Gujranwala** that the town Census "may be looked upon "as nearly perfectly accurate;" while the village entries "will generally speaking be found trustworthy in every respect save that of "minor sub-divisions of caste;" though he fears that the *bár* tract, the work in which he did not examine, "may not have been "done so thoroughly as other portions of the district," owing to the physical difficulties to be contended with. **Major Grey of Firozpur,** no lenient judge, reports: "I should say the figures were very correct. The enumerators took pains and the supervision "was most active and efficient. Nearly all the enumerators were residents in or neighbours of the villages where their work lay, "and personally knew the people therein. I tested the work for two months in every part of the district, and was thoroughly "satisfied with its general correctness. Of course there was some blundering over castes and *gots*, specially those of married "women."

Mr. Steedman, Settlement Officer of Rawalpindi, writes: "I believe that the Census returns of this District are on the whole "extremely accurate as far as the number of the population is concerned. On the Census night I checked the entries of between "15 and 20 enumerators in the city; and in one case only did I find a mistake in enumeration." **In Muzaffargarh Mr. O'Brien** is "confident of the general correctness of the Census." **Mr. Dames, in charge of the Derah Ismail Khan** Census, who examined the papers of more than 300 blocks, considers it "by far the most accurate Census yet taken." **From Peshawar Mr. Lawrence,** who was put on special duty for the Census of the District, writes:—"I am of opinion that the results are correct. The only point as "to the correctness of which I do not feel certain is the entries of age." **Major MacNeile of Hazara** will not commit himself fur- ther than to say "I can only say that the work was as correctly done as the means at my disposal would permit; and I consider the "returns fairly accurate as far as the Census itself is concerned, though there may be somewhat less accuracy in the return of caste "sub-divisions." The agency at his disposal, both official and non-official, appears to have been far below the average.

Of the officers whose opinion has not already been quoted, all agree in considering the results very correct except **Colonel Parsons of Jahlam, Colonel Gurdon of Jalandhar, and Mr. Fox of Gurgaon.** Of these officers Colonel Parsons is the only one who was in the District at the time of the Census. He thinks the results were "fairly accurate for all practical purposes." Colonel Gurdon, who returned from Europe after the Census, writes: "It may, I think, be assumed that upon the whole the results were fairly correct." The Commissioner's opinion on the subject has already been quoted. Mr. Fox, who has taken no part in the Census work, and who should not, as pointed out by the Commissioner, have been entrusted with the writing of the report, says:—"As I was not present "myself during the Census operations in this District, and the late Deputy Commissioner has left no notes whatever, I have only "been able to take a consensus of opinion from the various superior officers now present who were engaged in the work. Their "opinions would give 3 to 4 per cent. errors in enumeration, while in classification by *gots*, &c., the errors would be more numerous.

"My own opinion is that generally speaking, considering the number of women perhaps not enumerated at all, those deceased or "emigrated not struck out, and those new names not in the preliminary record, errors in calculation of units of population must have "crept in to at least 3 per cent., having regard also to the agency procurable." Mr. Fox has not had much administrative experience; and I believe this estimate of error to be an absurdly high one. Excluding the hilly parts of Hazára and the Kángra *jágírs*, where the Census was probably less accurate than in other parts of the Province, I do not believe the error *in enumeration* approaches one per cent.; and I believe that even this error is in great measure confined to females. The errors in details such as age, caste, occupation, and the like, have already been discussed together with the results under each heading.

938. As for the subsequent operation of compiling the figures, I have already described at length the processes followed and the checks adopted. I believe the error to be considerably less than the error inherent in the material. The total numbers have been compiled with almost *absolute* accuracy. And in the details I believe the errors to be wholly insignificant, save in so far as my judgment may have erred in classifying the entries. At the same time I have only just come across an instance of how a very large and important error may be honestly made and yet escape detection. In correcting the proofs of the language table I was surprised to find that 1,507 females and only 397 males were shown in the Kángra district as speaking Tibeti. On examining the compilation slip, I found that the original entries were correct; but in adding up the Pahári-speaking males the total had been made 1,000 too large, evidently by a perfectly genuine mistake; while the 1 of the 1,358 males speaking Tibeti in Spiti had been written over the line of the column, and so escaped notice. Thus the total for Tibeti-speaking males was as much too small as that the Pahári-speaking males was too large; and the total males added up rightly, and so the error escaped detection till it caught my eye after it had actually got into type. I can only say that no labour has been spared to avoid such mistakes, and that I believe very few to have escaped uncorrected. There is one sort of error, however, which can hardly have been otherwise than frequent; and that is error due to the extraordinary uncertainty of the vernacular cursive. As far as was possible we compiled all our figures by men well acquainted with the district to which they referred; and they were always examined after compilation by such men. But there must have been hundreds of cases in which an unfamiliar term was mistaken for a familiar term and wrongly included under it. Some of these I have noticed in my discussion of the figures, and many of them I detected in my personal examination of the tables. At the same time this sort of error will have affected two tables only, those of caste and occupation; and the error will be almost wholly confined to small items, the larger and more important castes and occupations being sufficiently well known to the staff. In one case my Native Extra Assistant Commissioner, who was reading over a classified list of occupations with me, was obliged to confess with shame that by some gross carelessness boot-makers had been included in the priestly class; until a reference to the statement showed that the word that both he and I had read bootmaker in the vernacular, was really a local name for a class of Bráhmans. And even when the final occupation tables came up to me for examination before going to press, I found that many thousands of lime-burners had been returned for a certain district, who were on examination found to be entered as leather-workers and not lime-burners at all.

939. Progress reports.—Weekly progress reports were submitted to the Deputy Commissioners by the Census staff throughout each stage of the operations; and similar reports were sent to me from each district every fortnight. In order to enable them to prepare these reports, Census officials were instructed to keep up diaries in which the details of each day's work, notes of inspection, instructions given on the spot by supervising officers, and the like, were to be entered (see Appendix D, General Letter B).

On this subject Mr. Stogdon writes:—

"I think returns of the nature of Census diaries should not be required. They are of no practical value, and the probability is "that the majority of the entries in them are fudged. I do not see much use in the weekly progress reports. They are not trust-"worthy and do not conduce to the progress of the work. Every one knows that the Census has to be taken on a certain day, and all "parties concerned will do their utmost to have everything in readiness by that day, whether they keep Census diaries and submit "weekly progress reports or not."

I think perhaps the diaries were unnecessary. The idea was taken from settlement experience; but the Census work is of so temporary a nature that possibly the diaries give more trouble than they are worth. But the progress reports seem to me to be absolutely necessary. The Deputy Superintendent is responsible that the work is done up to time, and that all preparations are complete before the night of the final Census. If Government is of opinion that this may safely be left to the local officers, it would save the Deputy Superintendent an infinity of harassing anxiety. But I think that it would not be safe in all cases to leave matters so, and I believe that the necessity for reporting progress weekly stimulates subordinates by creating a rivalry among them; while I cannot conceive how a Deputy Commissioner is to know what is doing in his District, or to be answerable for the proper progress of the work, unless he receives something of the sort from all parts of his District. I would circulate to all tahsíls of the district a form showing the progress made in each, so as to encourage this rivalry. This plan I adopted with my Divisional offices, and found it had a wonderful effect on the work.

940. Inspection.—I have already noted (section 936) how very large a portion of the work was actually examined on the spot by superior officers. The gazetted staff of most districts was in camp almost throughout the operations, inspecting, instructing, explaining, and encouraging. I myself made tours of inspection through the Province, in the course of which I examined the work in the following Districts; Dehli, Gurgáon, Karnál, Ambála, Lúdhiánah, Jálandhar, Hushyárpur, Amritsar, Gurdáspur, Siálkot, Lahore, Gújránwála, Ráwal Pindi, Jahlam, Gújrát, Multán, Montgomery, Muzaffargarh, Peshávar. Mr. Fanshawe, Revenue Under-Secretary to Government, while on tour with His Honour, inspected Fírozpur, Sirsa, Hissár, and Rohtak. At each place I had the index-register and a few house-lists and completed schedules brought in from each tahsíl, examined them, and pointed out errors. A large part of the supervising staff was collected to meet me at head-quarters, and I briefly explained to them all points, and specially those regarding the filling-up of the schedules, on which it seemed to me that doubt was possible, and encouraged them to ask questions and propound difficulties for solution. I confess that I had been very sceptical as to

any good result following upon these tours. I had much to attend to at Lahore; I knew that I should see only selected samples of work wherever selection was possible; and I only undertook the task at the express desire of Mr. Elliott. But the futher I went the more I became convinced of the value of my visit. In every place I found the staff ready with numberless doubts and difficulties which my growing experience enabled me to solve more and more satisfactorily as I went along; and my visit seemed to give a tangible reality to the Census Department, which had till then been represented by nothing more than orders on paper. Several Deputy Commissioners expressly refer to the assistance derived by them from my inspection.

And here I may refer to the importance of all instructions received in the Districts being verbally discussed in Committee by all the principal officials concerned. Nothing so conduces to uniformity of procedure and to a thorough understanding of the subject; and many of the difficulties experienced in Kángra, for instance, might have been avoided had this plan been adopted, as suggested in my instructions.

941. District and Divisional Reports.—A final Census Report was written by the Deputy Commissioner of each District; and it was intended that Divisional reports should be written by Commissioners. A memorandum detailing the principal points to be discussed in the reports was circulated in January 1881; and this plan should, I think, be followed on a future occasion. Some of the reports received were, as will have appeared from the extracts I have already given, exceedingly thoughtful and interesting. On a future occasion the Reports should be written on half sheets of paper in half margin, and *on one side only of the paper;* no two subjects should be treated of on the same page; and each page should bear the name of the District at its head. This would save an immensity of trouble in compiling the Final Report, as all the reports or parts of reports dealing with each subject or caste could thus be collected together. They should, moreover, be written for the District as a whole, and not in the form of a separate memorandum for each Tahsíl, as the latter form gives endless trouble, and sometimes consists of mere translations of reports by Tahsíldárs.

942. Commissioner's share in the work.—One defect of the plan of procedure followed at the late Census was, that it utterly failed to give Commissioners any necessary share in the work. Colonels Davies, Hall, and Minchin, and Major Young, have throughout taken a most active interest in the operations; but the other Commissioners did not concern themselves much about the Census, often not even taking the trouble to issue reminders to their Deputy Commissioners or to see that papers passing through their offices were drawn up in correspondence with the requisition to which they were an answer, and forwarding the final District reports with nothing more than a covering docket. It is very difficult to suggest any remedy for this state of things. Instructions are necessarily addressed to Deputy Commissioners, on whom the burden of the arrangements must fall; and it is perhaps not unnatural, though much to be regretted, that Commissioners should have taken so little interest in the Census.

943. Translation of instructions.—All circulars and instructions were translated in the Persian office of the Panjáb Secretariat, the recognised agency for this work. On this subject Mr. Gardiner of Gújránwála makes the following remarks:—

> "As regards the printing of the Census forms and instructions I have only to repeat what I have said above in para. 2, *viz.*, that "in the Census Department, as in other Departments in the Province, sufficient care is not taken in the preparation of the vernacular "forms and instructions. Translations which native officials were surprised to think they should be supposed to understand, mis- "translations and misprints, &c., in the headings of forms, which make the matter unintelligible, and which are not allowed to occur in "the English version, make the work of superintendence unnecessarily difficult."

I have received no similar complaints from any other quarter; and several of the Deputy Commissioners, while rightly objecting to the use of *ghar* to represent "family" and one or two similar expressions already commented on, say that the translations were in other respects satisfactory. My own impression is that, while they hardly justified Mr. Gardiner's language, they were not in all respects as good as they should have been. But the task was a difficult one; and though I nominally superintended the translation, I did not feel competent to override the opinion of the Secretariat Persian Office where I differed from them on a question of the choice of expressions. In fact, had I done so, I should probably have only made matters worse. As for misprints, I believe they were of very rare occurrence.

One error I most certainly fell into. I did not at first issue any translations of my general letters, as distinguished from the detailed instructions for the use of supervisors and enumerators. They were addressed solely to Deputy Commissioners, and dealt with either general principles or questions which arose only in certain special cases; I thought that they would only confuse subordinates if communicated to them; and I expected that Deputy Commissioners would embody so much (not a great part) of their substance as was necessary for the guidance of their vernacular staff, in orders which they would issue on their own authority. Mr. Benton remarks on this subject: "I have no doubt the intention was that Deputy "Commissioners should summarise the instructions received and issue orders to the Tahsíldár. But most "of them, I believe, preferred hurrying on the work of translation to taking the responsibility of issuing "their own orders with regard to a scheme which required a considerable amount of thought and study for "its adequate comprehension." I still think that such summaries would have been far better and safer than full translations; but there is justice in Mr. Benton's remarks. At any rate summaries were *not* prepared in many cases; and I think that at a future Census translations should accompany all instructions issued, whatever their nature. Eventually I issued translations of all my general letters, but not till some time after the work had begun, and I find that the delay is very generally complained of as having caused considerable inconvenience. That translations are not received till a few days after the English instructions, merely means that the latter are issued as soon as ready, instead of waiting for the translation to be made and printed. On this occasion time was so limited that it was necessary to do this; but when time allows of it, it would doubtless be better to despatch both together.

Part I.—Subsidiary Matters.

944. Printing of Forms and Instructions.—The number of forms and instructions printed was as follows:—

Forms printed for the Census of 1881.

		No. of Copies.			No. of Copies.
1.	Schedules, Persian Character	1,130,200	12.	Instructions for Boat Census	2,000
2.	Ditto Nágri and Gurmukhi do.	198,700	13.	Ditto Military Census	1,000
3.	Ditto English do.	20,700	14.	Sample Village Abstracts	10,500
4.	Private Schedules, Urdu	3,500	15.	Blank Ditto	77,500
5.	Ditto English	12,000	16.	Registers for Abstracting	900,000
6.	Labels for Enumerators' Books	72,000	17.	Check Sheets for do.	65,000
7.	Boat Tickets	7,600	18.	Caste and Clan Abstracts and Slips	300,000
8.	Railway Check Tickets	27,000	19.	Miscellaneous Forms and Slips (say)	16,100
9.	Translation of General Letters (complete)	2,200			
10.	Instructions to Supervisors (complete))	12,000		TOTAL FORMS PRINTED	2,930,000
11.	Ditto Enumerators (complete)	72,000			

Of these the only ones of which we had any considerable balance left unused, were No. 2 of which 78,600 were left over, the first indents having been exaggerated, No. 11 of which 5,750 too many were printed, and No. 4, which was hardly used at all. Out of these forms I supplied the Hill States, and also the Railway Census of Sindh and Rájpútána. The Persian and Nágri schedules were printed by steam at Calcutta, the other papers were lithographed at Lahore and Lúdhiána.

Major Grey of Fírozpur suggests that the headings of the schedules should be lithographed instead of printed, as "few natives can read the printed character." But this would be quite impossible. Nothing but steam printing could have supplied the enormous number of schedules required within a reasonable time. Even were the suggestion that one heading only should be used for each book of schedules adopted (see section 957), the number of headings would still amount to something like 60,000. The heading is soon learnt off by the enumerator, and the printed character is at any rate sufficiently legible by him to save him from mistakes.

The text of the instructions was necessarily lithographed, as printed copies would have been practically useless. The greater portion of this work was done at the Lahore Central Gaol under the superintendence of Dr. Dickson, to whom I express my obligations in another place. But I was frequently compelled to have recourse to local presses, who were under no restrictions as to the number of hands employed or the number of hours during which they could work. Most of the registers for abstracting were printed at these last. The Gurmukhi schedules and instructions were printed for me by the Revd. Mr. Wherry at the American Mission Press, Lúdhiánah, and to him also I have to tender my most sincere thanks.

The rates charged by the Calcutta press were extraordinarily low; but unfortunately we began work so late in the Panjáb that we were obliged to get all our schedules up from Calcutta by mail train, which enormously increased their cost. The Central Gaol rates were inordinately high; but the money went into the Government pocket, and the only ill effect of the unduly high charges was to make the apparent cost of the Census greater than it should have been.

The paper used throughout for all Census forms was yellow Royal paper from the Bally Paper Mills at Calcutta. It proved exceedingly suitable for the purpose.

The English printing was comparatively small in amount so far as Census operations were concerned. But the printing of the final tables was a very heavy job. It was executed at the Central Gaol Press, and though the delay was excessive and the cost inordinate, the work was fairly well done in the end. The text of the Report was printed at the Government of India Press at Calcutta, and the style of work speaks for itself. I am under the greatest obligations to the Superintendent of Government Printing in India and his staff for the manner in which the task has been executed. The work was difficult, the abstracts required great nicety, the spelling of the vernacular names gave much trouble, my handwriting is singularly illegible, and I am much indebted to the care and skill which have produced so exceedingly satisfactory a result. The printing has taken a very long time; but if I had had to depend upon local presses for the work, the issue of the Report would have been still longer delayed.

945. Distribution of forms and instructions.—The distribution of forms and instructions to the Districts of the Panjáb was undertaken by the Lahore Central Gaol; and I think that this is the best plan that can be suggested. If, however, at a future Census the schedules are printed, as they should be, some months beforehand, they would best be sent direct from Calcutta to the several Districts, the supply needed by each being calculated roughly on the basis of the present expenditure (see section 946), and a surplus being kept at Lahore from which to meet supplementary or emergent indents. We were *most* unfortunate in the matter of distribution. The supply of schedules from Calcutta was very fitful, and not as rapid as I had hoped from the promises made me, and they had consequently to be doled out to Districts as they were received, instead of the whole supply for each being despatched at once. We naturally supplied the most inaccessible Districts first, leaving those on the line of rail to receive their schedules later on. But just as we had sent off the schedules for the Districts on the Panjáb Northern State Railway that line stopped through-booking of goods or parcels, and not only did so, but kept our parcels lying for a fortnight at various stations along the line without giving us notice of the fact. Some of the parcels for the most inaccessible districts miscarried; and the result was that in one or two Districts they were obliged to supplement the supply in a small measure by schedules ruled by hand. So, too, with covering boards for the books, which, as I have already pointed out, should be made in the Districts on a future occasion. Instructions were sent by post, and no difficulty was experienced in regard to them.

946. Consumption of schedules.—The number of schedules supplied to the various Districts is shown below[1]:—

[1] By "schedule" I mean a paper with one top heading on each side of it, forming when doubled across the middle, 4 pages or 2 leaves in the enumerator's book.

Part I.—Subsidiary Matters.

Consumption of Schedules in each District.

Districts.	No. of Schedules.	Total Population.	No. of Schedules per 1,000 Souls.	Districts.	No. of Schedules.	Total Population.	No. of Schedules per 1,000 Souls.
Dehli	39,500	643,515	61	Ráwalpindi	45,750	820,512	56
Gurgáon	35,000	641,848	55	Jehlam	38,000	589,373	64
Karnál	45,000	622,621	72	Gujrat	42,000	689,115	61
Hissar	32,350	504,183	64	Sháhpur	29,000	421,508	69
Rohtak	37,400	553,609	68	Multán	41,620	551,964	75
Sirsa	17,200	253,275	68	Jhang	21,500	395,296	54
Ambála	83,500	1,067,263	78	Montgomery	21,500	426,529	50
Ludhiána	45,000	618,835	73	Muzaffargarh	20,000	338,605	59
Simla and Simla States	5,500	493,314	112	Derah Ismáíl Khán	24,150	441,649	55
Jalandhar	55,100	780,555	70	Derah Ghází Khan	27,520	363,346	76
Hushyárpur	69,300	901,381	77	Bannu	28,180	332,577	85
Kángra	69,230	730,845	95	Pesháwar	34,200	592,674	58
Amritsar	55,540	893,266	62	Hazára	35,180	407,075	86
Gurdáspur	54,520	823,695	66	Kohát	16,200	181,540	89
Siálkot	56,100	1,012,148	55				
Lahore	47,700	924,106	52				
Gujránwála	43,500	616,892	71				
Firozpur	33,540	650,519	52	Total, British Territory	1,249,780	19,292,633	66

It will be seen that the number used per 1,000 of population varies enormously in different districts. This is partly due to the fact that, while in most Districts the more incompetent enumerators made a rough preliminary record and had it corrected by the supervisors before they copied it into their books, in some Districts this was written on schedules, and in others on paper ruled by hand. But there is no doubt whatever that in some Districts the indents were absurdly large and there was great waste. Many of the enumerators' books had 10 or 20 unused blank schedules at the end, and thousands of spare schedules were in some cases sent to the Divisional office after the Census to be used as blank paper. In many Districts, however, the Deputy Commissioners complain that the supply was insufficient. I think that in future a very liberal margin should be allowed for waste; far more liberal than was generally provided by Deputy Commissioners in their indents for this Census. I think that the supply should be nearly if not quite double that which would be needed if all enumerators wrote closely and neatly, and there was no waste. It is better that rough copies, if they are to be made, should be made on the printed schedule, as the enumerators thus grow accustomed to its use, and are saved both time and trouble, while the cost of the extra schedules is quite insignificant; and above all things the schedules should be distributed as early as possible, and every effort should be made to estimate and supply the deficiency, if any, at as early date as possible. At this Census District officers seemed to think that schedules grew at Lahore; and I received emergent indents for thousands of schedules up to within a few days of the actual Census.

947. Mr. Steedman has the following remarks on the subject :—

"Native subordinates send in the wildest indents. The only way to keep them in check is to require explanations of how the "forms previously supplied have been expended. A short time before the final enumeration I sent a circular round the tahsíls "asking the superintendents to send me in all surplus forms, and pointing out that according to the number supplied, the population "according to the business returns, and the number of enumerators, there ought to be a surplus. I believe this went a long way towards stopping unreasonable emergent indents at the last."

This is very true; but care must be taken not to make the officers feel that they may not use schedules for such purposes as rough copies and the like, or that there need be any hesitation about replacing a schedule which has been badly cut up by corrections. The relative competence of enumerators is almost as important a factor in deciding the number of schedules required as is the population to be enumerated. Where other characters than Persian are used, two copies, or an interlinear biglot copy occupying double space, must be made, and the practice of preparing a rough copy seems to have been very general. Mr. Tolbort of Ambála says :- "At the commencement of this stage of the Census proceed- "ings I endeavoured to check the practice of preparing a rough record first and fairing it afterwards, but "the general consensus of opinion in favour of the said practice was so strong that I considered it unwise "to persist in opposing it. I do not think that it led to '*farzi*' procedure ;" and most Deputy Commissioners agree with him, though Mr. Wilson of Sirsa prefers the original as being more trustworthy.

Part I.—Subsidiary Matters.

948. Expenditure.—The total expenditure on Census operations was as follows:—

Expenditure on the Census of 1881.

Enumeration of the People—	R
1. Pay and allowances of Deputy Superintendent	3,430
2. Office establishment	900
3. Telegrams	800
4. Paid agency and allowances	1,160
5. Paper for schedules and instructions	5,810
6. Printing schedules, typographed at Calcutta	750
7. Printing instructions, &c., lithographed at Lahore	3,650
8. Carriage of schedules from Calcutta by mail train	5,980
9. Boards for enumerators' books	7,800
10. Packing and distributing forms	2,520
11. District contingencies—Paper	4,090
12. Do. do. Carriage, &c.	2,180
13. Do. do. Postage and telegrams	1,200
14. Rewards to non-officials who had worked well	16,000
TOTAL ENUMERATION	56,370

Preparation of the Figures—	R
15. Paper for forms	4,850
16. Carriage of do.	1,230
17. Printing forms (lithography at Lahore)	6,540
18. Central office—Pay and allowances of Deputy Superintendent	10,040
19. Do. do. Office establishment	7, 50
20. Compiling office—Assistant in charge	5,200
21. Do. do. Establishment	7,320
22. Do. do. Contingencies	650
23. Divisional offices—Officers in charge	9,430
24. Do. do. Patwaris' substitutes	16,050
25. Do. do. Patwaris' allowances	18,870
26. Do. do. Clerks	1,830
27. Rent	730
28. Printing and Contingencies	3,300
TOTAL COMPILATION	93,990
TOTAL ENUMERATION	56,370
" COMPILATION	93,990
29. Printing Report (estimated)	5,640
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	1,56,000

The total does not agree with that given on page 13, as after those figures were prepared an additional bonus equivalent to raising the monthly allowances of the patwáris employed in the Divisional offices from R2 to R4 was sanctioned, and the Deputy Commissioner of Bannu sent in a bill for expenditure nearly two years after date. From the latter cause, item 4, which is composed of R560 for supervision of the Teri Census in Kohát, R450 for paid enumerators in Bannu, and R150 travelling allowance paid to a European Superintendent of the School of Wards in Ambála, does not tally with the statement made in the body of the report about paid agency. Item 8 might have been reduced by three-quarters if we had begun printing early enough, and items 9, 10, 12, and 13 by nearly one-half had the binding boards for enumerators' books been made in the districts; while if items 20 and 21 had been a little larger, items 18 and 19 would have been much smaller. By having the printing done at private presses, items 7, 17, and 29 might be largely reduced on a future occasion.

949. Certificates and rewards.—After the operations were over, certificates to the following effect were distributed to those whose services deserved recognition: "This certificate is presented to________by "order of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjáb, in recognition of the good and willing service "he rendered in the Census operations of 1881, and as a mark of approbation." These certificates were handsomely printed in gold, red, and black on foolscap paper surmounted by the Royal Arms, and the three colours constituted three classes of certificates. Of these the first was granted to officials of the higher grades and natives of position who had done specially good work; the number issued was kept low so that a first-class certificate should be looked upon as a very special distinction. The second-class certificate was given to all persons who had distinguished themselves by zeal and activity; and the third class to all others whose services were considered worthy of recognition. The numbers distributed were as follows:—

1st Class	559
2nd Class	4,711
3rd Class	10,464
TOTAL	15,734

With these certificates small amounts from the grant of R16,000 made by the Government of India were distributed as rewards. None of this money was paid to any official or other person whose services were paid for by the State, or as a reward for work done in connection with the Census of a cantonment, or of a municipality liable for the cost of its own Census. The money was to be "expended in rewarding "selected men for especially good service, and not in general payment for work done." Thus the rewards were confined to non-officials who received second-class certificates, recipients of the first-class certificates being of too high standing to receive small money rewards, while those to whom third-class certificates were awarded were, *ex hypothesi*, not men selected for specially good service. The Government grant for rewards was in some districts supplemented by grants from Local and Municipal Funds.

PART II.—CENSUS IN NATIVE STATES.

950. Form of schedule for Native States.—The Government of India, when determining to extend the Census operations to the Feudatory States with the exception of Kashmír, proposed to "draw the "broadest distinction between the enumeration in British and Foreign Territory. The results in the "latter case will necessarily possess mnch less completeness and accuracy, and we should not expect "them to conform to any uniform standard." The Committee of 1877 had recommended that nothing more than an enumeration by sex should be attempted, and the Government of India proposed a simplified form of schedule.

But the Panjáb Government preferred to adopt the same schedule in the Native States subordinate to it as had been prescribed for British Territory. It was of opinion that they were probably more advanced than the majority of similar States in India; that they had always imitated and adopted our administrative system in its main outlines; that they were fully competent to conduct their Census on the same lines as our own; and that they would feel it as a slight if a doubt were cast upon their capacity to do so by the suggestion of a simpler schedule for their use. The schedule prescribed for British Territory was sent to the various Chiefs, and they were asked if they thought that difficulty would be experienced in collecting any of the information therein detailed. They one and all professed their readiness to take a Census of their territories in precisely the same manner as that of British India, the only doubt expressed being by the Baháwalpur Darbár, which questioned the advisability of recording the age of females. Accordingly the general schedule and all instructions issued by me for the guidance of British officers were supplied to the Governments of Native States, who took their Census precisely as we took ours.

951. Nature of work in Native States.—The result has most fully justified the decision of the Panjáb Government, and I believe that, as regards the greater number of the States at any rate, their results are quite as accurate as our own. In most of them a special officer was appointed to superintend the operations: in some of them, as Pataudi, Loháru, and Dujána, officials were sent to our Districts to study the system; and all the larger ones, with the single exception of Baháwalpur, remained in constant correspondence with me, sent me specimens of their papers to examine and criticise, referred doubtful points for my decision, constantly kept me informed of their progress, and even sent men to Lahore to consult me personally on difficulties which had arisen. Some peculiarities there doubtless were. In Patiála a third column for eunuchs was added to the columns for males and females; and in this and perhaps in other States, the Mahárája and his immediate family were excepted altogether from enumeration. But on the whole I believe the work was almost, and in most of the States of the Eastern Plains quite as well done as in British Territory.

In Loháru and Dujána great difficulty was experienced in obtaining competent agency for the final enumeration; but the Commissioner Colonel Minchin, who took great interest in the work, satisfied himself that the preliminary record, which after all is the backbone of the Census, was thoroughly satisfactory. In Pataudi Major Young sent an official to be trained at Gurgáon, and exercised an active supervision throughout; and the Census papers which were sent to me to examine from this State were admirably prepared. In Farídkot Mr. Fanshawe examined the work on the spot, and the papers which were sent me were very well done: Mr. Macnabb saw some of the work in Kalsia, and expressed himself well satisfied with it. Of the work in Baháwalpur and Maler Kotla I know nothing. But of Patiála, Nábha, and Jínd I can say from personal knowledge that the very greatest interest was taken throughout in the operations, that no pains were spared to secure accuracy, and that, so far as it is possible to judge from outside, the results were in every way admirable. The officials to whom the Census of these States was entrusted were men of great intelligence and ability; they took the greatest interest in the work, spared themselves no labour, and were in constant communication with myself on all sorts of difficult or doubtful questions.

In the Hill States greater difficulties were experienced, as might indeed have been expected; and in some of the wilder tracts the same special license had to be allowed as was taken of necessity in similar portions of our own territory, and has been described in sections 884, 885. In Chamba the operations were superintended throughout by Major Marshall, who tested much of the work on the spot and found it thoroughly and accurately done. In Suket the earlier work was capitally done under the superintendence of the Superintendent Munshí Hardiál Singh, an official of our Government, Colonel Davies the Commissioner exercising an active supervision. In Mandi Colonel Davies had practically to take the whole matter into his own hands, as the Rája, while only too glad to have the work done for him, and offering no sort of obstruction, would not himself move in the matter. Accordingly Colonel Davies obtained a trained staff of supervisors from Jálandhar and Hushyárpur and put Múnshi Nathu Rám, one of our Superintendents of Settlement, in charge of the Mandi Census, with the result that the work was well done in the end But it was done quite at the last moment; and it is wholly due to Colonel Davies' energy that a Census was taken at all in Mandi. In the Simla Hill States the Superintendent Major Nisbet summoned an official from each State to be trained at Simla, and throughout exercised the most active supervision. It was found impossible, both here and in the higher portions of Chamba and Mandi, to divide the country into blocks, as indeed it had been found in Kúlu; but enumerators were appointed to each hamlet or village, and Major Nisbet, who marched through a great portion of the country under his superintendence while operations were in progress, found that the enumeration was accurately done.

There is no doubt that, in the Hill States, as in the hilly parts of British Territory, more than ordinary difficulty was experienced in obtaining competent agency; and if they alone were to be consi-

Part II.—Census in Native States.

dered, a more simple schedule would, I think, be advisable. But they include but a small fraction of the population of the Panjáb Native States, and it would be a pity to destroy the uniformity of the whole Census by making an exception in their favour.

952. Kapurthala Census incomplete.—In one State only, and that a State under the superintendence of an English officer, was the scheme of enumeration which was followed without other exception throughout the length and breadth of the Panjáb abandoned. In Kapúrthala the Superintendent directed that no religious sects should be recorded in the column provided for that purpose, that one of the two columns for tribal sub-divisions should be omitted altogether from the schedule, and that the other should be filled up for four castes only. The consequence of this action, which was not discovered till long after the Census was over, when the final tables were sent to my office, has been to destroy the value and completeness of our Tables in two not unimportant points. In all other respects I believe the Kapúrthala Census work to have been admirable.

953. Tabulation in Native States.—The abstracting and tabulating the figures was done by each State independently, with the exception of the Simla Hill States, which sent clerks to Simla where they abstracted the figures under the supervision of the Superintendent. Náhan, however, was excepted from this arrangement, and allowed to tabulate its own figures. Immediately after the Census was over I invited the Native States to send their principal Census officers to meet me at Lahore. There I fully described to them in Committee the scheme to be followed in the tabulation of the figures. I think that, on a future occasion, it would be well to collect these officers at a similar meeting before work is commenced, to explain to them the general plan of Census operations. A little verbal explanation is better than much written precept; and I am sure that the States would respond cordially to such an invitation.

PART III.—DIFFICULTIES AND SUGGESTIONS.

954. Difficulties and suggestions.—In writing this Report I have attempted throughout to keep clearly in view the fact that this is not the last Census which will be taken in the Panjáb, and to leave on record as far as possible all experience that we have gained on this occasion for guidance in future enumerations. It can hardly be conceived by those who have never attempted the task, how much careful thought was needed and what countless minute points had to be considered in order to make the different parts of the machinery work smoothly and without jar or hitch, and to secure the measure of success which has attended the present operations. So far as the Census itself and the subsequent abstracting of the figures are concerned, all went far more smoothly than I had ventured to hope for. But in the final compilation and tabulation we broke down lamentably, for reasons which I have already stated in full. Still, even where things went best the arrangements might have improved. Many suggestions for their improvement will be found scattered through the preceding chapters of the Report; and I wish here to add such further suggestions as may occur to me, and to collect the references to the scattered suggestions already made, so as to form a sort of index to the whole subject of improvement at a future Census. And I cannot do better than follow the order in which the several stages of the operations have been treated in Book II. of the Report.

955. Preliminary operations.—*The demarcation of blocks.*—I have recommended (section 848) that the size of the block be increased, and many officers not there quoted agree with me. The importance of fixing natural boundaries as the limits of blocks should be insisted on (section 834).

Index-register. (*Form B, General Letter B, Appendix D.*)—Two officers have attacked this form as at once perplexing and useless. Mr. Frizelle writes from Sháhpur: "The great difficulty was the Index-register (Form A) and fortu-" nately this was confined to supervisors and those above them. I do not know what has been the experience of other Deputy " Commissioners, but I know that in this District the Form in question was for a long time looked upon even by Tahsíldárs in the " light of a rather intricate puzzle or complicated piece of machinery. When it was filled up properly this was done only after long " practice, however simple it may seem now from use, and many rough copies were made out both of the abstracts and the Tahsíl " Register before a final result was arrived at. Columns 5 to 10 especially might have been simplified, although one is bound to say " that any omission would have detracted from its value as a whole, and now that the Census is over and the beauties have grown on " one, it is easy to see that anything less complete might not have answered so well." So Mr. Stogdon of Lahore says: "This (the " Index) register appears to me to be one of the least important of the Census records. It has to be prepared piece-meal, and some " of the entries in it cannot be made until the house-list has been prepared. It is in fact a sort of ledger of the house-list, almost " useless for the purposes of the actual Census, but perhaps of some value when the results have to be ascertained and tabulated. " As a matter of fact the Index-register was in some cases prepared from the house-list; notably, I believe, in the case of the city " of Lahore." I confess I do not see myself where the great difficulty lay, nor do I find that other Deputy Commissioners experienced it, so far at least as their reports are concerned. Mr. Tolbort, however, modified it in Ambála; and his objection was, that as it stood it had to be built up from the house-lists instead of being prepared in the first place, and this I think touches the real defect in the form. It essentially consists of two parts. The first, which sketches out the general division of the tahsíl into blocks, circles, and charges, should be drawn up at the very first; but the second part which contains details can only be filled in after the arrangements are considerably advanced. I would separate these two parts at a future Census. I would first draw up a preliminary list for each charge or tahsíl something like the form in the margin.

TAHSIL ABBOTTABAD, CHARGE NO. 5, SUPERINTENDENT, AHMAD BAKSH.

Circle and Supervisor.	Village.	Population in 1868.	No. of blocks.
3 Kirpa Ram	Waisri	200	1 (Waisri and Barána)
	Barána	300	
	Chhájpur	3,500	7
	Latífpur	490	1
			9

Then as the demarcation of blocks, the numbering of houses, the selection of agency progressed in each circle, the following form might be filled up, which is based upon the suggestions of Mr. Steedman:—

TAHSIL ABBOTTABAD—CIRCLE No. 3—SUPERVISOR, KIRPA RAM.

Number Collector's of Mauzah.	Name of Mauzah.	Subsidiary parts.		Block letter.	Boundaries of block.	Houses included in the block.		Number of families in the block.	Name and occupation of enumerator with the character he writes.	
		Number.	Name.			From Number	To Number			

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The importance of the accurate entry of subsidiary parts has already been insisted on (section 835). Wells, however, should not be entered (section 842). It is essential to get the column defining the subsidiary parts next to the columns defining the block, or it will never be known in which block each subsidiary part is included. When this form is complete, I still think copies should be sent to the superintendent and tahsíldár, and that a general index-register for the tahsíl should be drawn up in this modified form. Not only will the Tahsíldár require some such index to the arrangements, but, what is far more important, the whole preparation of the tahsíl abstracts (section 890), the whole grouping of the blocks in the village tables prepared by the Divisional offices, and the whole check upon the completeness of the Census schedules as sent to those offices depends upon the correctness of this index-register. The greatest difficulty was caused by alterations made at the last moment in the arrangement of the blocks not having always been incorporated in the index-register. This form *must* be sent in an accurate and complete state to the Divisional offices, for they have no other guide in tabulation. It might perhaps be worth while to print blank forms of index-register on a future occasion.

Preparation of house-maps.—The importance of those maps and the best way of preparing them are discussed in section 837. In hill tracts and also in the Multán and Deraját Divisions—wherever in fact scattered hamlets are common—they are absolutely essential. The following suggestion of Mr. Gardiner seems a good one: "I think every Municipality should be made to provide "itself with a map of its town and to sub-divide the whole area of the latter into muhallas or streets and give a name to each locality "and a number to each house. This would greatly facilitate any future enumeration, and is required for the purposes of municipal "arrangements, the delivery of letters, and the general administration. The country is quite civilised enough to appreciate such an "improvement, and the sooner it is put into force the better." (See also Mr. Stogdon's opinion quoted in section 837).

House-numbering—should be down-hill in hilly tracts (section 836). The numbers are best affixed as indicated in section 836. The series of numbers should be continuous throughout the circle or village, whichever is larger (section 836). Wells and outlying huts in the field should not be indiscriminately entered (sections 841, 842).

Definition of house and family.—This is fully discussed in sections 838, 839, and proposals made in section 840. The existence of a hearth is perhaps the best test of whether a building is a house or not (section 841). A family should be defined and translated as suggested in section 843. A difficulty was felt in Hushyárpur in what was said to be the not uncommon case of one family occupying two houses. Who then was to be shown as the head of the second house? I think the column might be filled up "Same as No.—" *ba sharah lambar fulán*, and all families so entered omitted in the statistics for families, which should (section 844) be taken from the house-lists, not from the schedules. The following suggestion by Mr. Gardiner will I think be met by my proposals in section 840: "The definitions of a house and of a family are now understood, and any alteration of these on a future occasion "would only complicate matters more. But what I think is required is the localisation of the families in a house; under the present "arrangement as the families in a house are entered in no sort of order, there is no way of testing readily whether a family has been "omitted. Rooms might be numbered in some system from left to right as a bullock walks at a Persian wheel, and from the bottom "to the top of a house; and enumerators should be encouraged to enter buildings of any sort in their schedules (as after all the "enumeration is by locality) instead of being discouraged from doing so as they were."

Demarcation of urban limits.—This should be made most carefully on the lines indicated in sections 846 and 911.

Forms for house-lists.—I rather think I would print and distribute blank forms for house-lists at a future Census. It is well to leave as little avoidable work to be done in the districts and to render the duties of the staff as simple and easy as possible.

956. Agency.—The matter of agency is the real difficulty in a Panjáb Census; and though with the spread of education the difficulty will gradually decrease, yet I fear several enumerations will be made before it wholly disappears. The greatest difficulty was experienced in the backward tracts, such as the Meo country in Gurgáon, and the Sirsa district, in the hills generally, on the frontier, and in the great scantily peopled areas of the Deraját and the *bár* districts. The question of agency is fully discussed in sections 849 to 855.

It is always questionable whether it is not better to work with an inferior agency which knows the people, than with an imported agency to whom they and their ways are unfamiliar. The increase in the average size of blocks suggested above will partly diminish the difficulty. I do not think the general scheme of agency could be improved. The supervisors are the backbone of the whole scheme, and should be most carefully selected from the very best men available. Many officers are of opinion that the superintendents are useless and unnecessary, while others attach the greatest importance to them. I quote below opinions from Peshávar and Lahore:—

Peshawar.—"The supervisor was the man who really did all the work. The superintendent was too often a mere name. "I would suggest that at a future Census, the duties of the superintendent be entrusted to the Tahsíldár and Qánúngo. The "patwáris of the district, aided by the lambardárs, could perform the duties of enumerators and of supervisors, as they have done "in this Census."

Lahore.—"In my opinion the post of superintendent is not a very important one. The important point is to secure good "supervisors with manageable charges. If sufficient time is given for Census operations, the Tahsíldár, Náib Tahsíldár, and Assistant "Commissioner or Extra Assistant Commissioner in charge of the Tahsíl can effectually control and check their operations. If the "best men are appointed superintendents, it is difficult to obtain a sufficient number of efficient supervisors, and a Census cannot be "properly conducted. I think that the post of superintendent might be considered an honorary one to which zaildárs and men "of note in the district should be appointed. They would always be able to render very effective aid in making arrangements and "collecting the people, and impressing upon them the necessity of giving correct information and of furthering the work of "supervisors and enumerators to the utmost of their power; but the actual control of the work of the supervisors can best be performed "by responsible officials of experience, who are more likely to work in an intelligent and uniform manner than inexperienced "landholders, however influential and well-meaning they may be. The duties of a supervisor are of a most important nature, and "it is on them that the success or otherwise of a Census principally depends."

On the other hand Mr. Coldstream in Hushyárpur added intermediate officers between supervisors and superintendents for the final Census, employing for the purpose every man of position and available person in the district, in both towns and villages. Some of them rode 20 or 30 miles on the Census night. The mere fact of their appointment stirred up the enumerators and made them afraid to shirk their work; and for this purpose a zaildár who could not read was almost as useful as one who could. I should be inclined at a future Census to appoint all the best educated men I could get as supervisors; and to appoint as superintendents all the leading headmen, whether illiterate or otherwise, making it their duty to constantly visit their circles, stir up the enumerators, listen to complaints, and smooth away difficulties, rather than *to supervise* the actual entries, which task might be left to the supervisors. Mr. Coldstream points out the admirable effect of associating the natural leaders of the people with the operations, both in making the people careful and willing to give correct information, and in allaying their fear and suspicions. I think the supervising staff should be slightly larger than it was at this Census, especially if the patwáris are to make the preliminary record; and most of all in the sparsely inhabited tracts, where the distances to be traversed are great and where the intelligence of the enumerators is generally small. But if illiterate men are utilised as superintendents this will increase the number of educated men available as supervisors. I think (sections 49 to 52 and 854) that non-official agency should not be paid; but *whenever* they are sent to a distance from their homes, I would give them a small sum to cover actual expenses. I would avoid the use of Nágri and Mahájani writers as much as possible, even if the only alternative were to utilise school-boys as amanuenses (sections 855, 856). Where their use cannot be avoided, the best plan of transliteration is indicated in section 856. I would issue a second Government circular to heads of departments shortly before the Census as suggested in section 850, and would impress upon Deputy Commissioners the importance of meeting the convenience of the staff lent them by arrangements such as are described in section 850. I would make the preliminary record of villages entirely by patwáris (sections 851, 852).

957. The form of and entries in the Schedules and the enumerators' books.—I would put the name of the village on the label (section 858), omit the name of the tahsíl from the schedule (section 858), and add a column for the number and kind of house instead of writing it across the page (section 859). The bindings for the books should be made in the district, sample books being sent them to copy (section 860). Each village or urban suburb should have a separate book, even if it form only part of a block (section 860). Many officers point out that the printed character used is almost illegible to the people, and that the headings should be lithographed. This is impossible if the headings are to be repeated on every schedule. It is suggested however that a single lithographed heading should be supplied for each book, and the schedules consist of blank paper ruled by hand by the enumer-

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ator. This would save expense. The only danger is the headings being lost or torn. I think perhaps the plan might be adopted if the headings were pasted into the cover of the book, which should be made to project beyond the leaves so as to leave the headings clear above the top of each page (see however section 944). It would perhaps be an improvement to rule lines across the schedule, giving one space for each person. The number of spaces on the page should be even, to allow for transliteration (section 856).

Column 2.—I would add the relationship of the woman or child to the head of the house where the name was not given (section 859).

Column 3.—I would give instructions that unmarried prostitutes are to be entered as single (*kwári*, section 859). The question whether marriage or cohabitation (*mukláwa*) should be taken as the point to be recorded is an important one (section 681).

Column 4.—I would have only one column and would make the enumerator *write* "male" or "female" (section 859); and I would direct that eunuchs be entered as male or *mard* (section 859).

Column 5.—I would enter the age at the *next*, not at the last birthday (section 859).

Column 6.—I would have a separate column for sect (section 859). *All* sects of *all* religions should be recorded (section 196).

Column 7.—This column is fully discussed in sections 364 to 370 and 859, and suggestions made for a future Census. The *caste* of Native Christians should be shown, not the religion (section 291).

Column 8.—I think the translation would be better *zibán-i-pidari, yáni báp ki zibán*. "Father-tongue" would probably be nearer the native idiom.

Column 9.—I would direct in so many words that the name of a village should never be entered (section 905).

Column 10.—I would have the heading of the column "Occupation" only (section 859), and would enter the occupation of nobody under 15 years old (section 718). I would direct that under no circumstances should the name of a *caste* be shown in this column, but that if for instance the man was a Teli by caste and an oilman by trade, the words *tel nikálna* should be entered. Also that a woman should not be entered as of the same occupation as her husband unless she actually helped him in his work. I would I think distinguish between proprietors who cultivated with their own hands and those who did not, and I would direct that the sons of landowners were to be shown as landowners, not merely as cultivators (sections 726 and 774).

Column 11.—Very many officers have suggested that the character which the man can read and write should be shown. If so, two columns would be needed, one for "learning" and the other for "educated," and the name of the character would be entered in the proper column. The information would certainly be valuable (section 807). If a man wrote two characters he might be left to select the one to be entered. The point that children who are learning and men who have learnt to read only and not to write are *not* to be entered, should be emphasized (section 807).

958. Preliminary Record and final enumeration.—The preliminary record of the villages should be made almost wholly by the patwáris (sections 851, 852). The date of beginning should be as late as is safe (section 862). I would forbid a rough Census being made beforehand as practice for the enumerators (section 861). In fixing the date of the Census I would avoid *lagans* (section 863), and if fairs cannot be avoided, would take the day of the fair instead of the day before or after (section 863). If statistics for families are to be taken from the schedules, and not from the house-lists, which I should prefer (section 844), I would separate families entered for the first time on the final night (section 864). In no case would I enter temporary visitors in the preliminary record (section 862), and I would perhaps show people who were temporarily absent in order to arrive at the permanent population (section 865). A more difficult point is the question where people temporarily sleeping out of their houses at night are to be enumerated. It was found that some men absent for the night only at their shops or in their fields were cut out at the final Census, though this was contrary to the instructions. I do not see how to improve the rule. Men absent at their shops could easily be enumerated there, but that would be impossible in the case of men watching in the fields; and yet we must I think have one general rule for all similar cases. I think the rule must be left as it is; but the point might be emphasized thus: "But you must *not* cut "out those who are merely absent, &c." And the special attention of enumerators and supervisors should be directed to this point before the final Census.

959. Special measures.—The responsibility of Cantonment Magistrates for the Census of cantonments should be not only defined but enforced (section 867). Military lines should be treated as blocks (section 869). The lists of houses to which private schedules are to be granted should be made early in the operations (section 872). But there seems no necessity for giving them to natives at all (section 873). The European form of schedule should be recast, and separate columns substituted for foot-notes (section 875); and they should all be examined by a capable official in the district, and made really correct and complete before being sent to the compiling offices (section 875). Railway premises should be treated as circles (section 876) and house-lists prepared for them in large Railway centres (section 876). River turnpikes should be instituted (section 879). Tickets for travellers appear to be unnecessary (section 881). It is *most* important to avoid transfer of officers, and especially of Tahsíldárs, when the Census work has once been begun, till it is completely finished. Some remarks on the difficulties of a synchronous Census in mountain tracts will be found in section 885.

960. Discretion to be allowed in enumeration.—One *great* difficulty is the degree of discretion to be allowed to the enumerators and supervising staff in rejecting the answers given by the people and recording what they believe to be the truth. The subject has been noticed already in sections 32 and 37 of Chapter I. About age there can I think be no doubt. Discretion must here be exercised, for the man himself often does not know his own age. The really difficult columns are those for caste and occupation. Here I think that where the enumerator is the village accountant, who is personally acquainted with every man, woman, and child in the village, he may be trusted to make the right entries. What is wanted is the caste to which the man is ordinarily reputed to belong; not any theory of ancestral origin which he or his fellow castemen may have formed. One thing I feel quite positive about, and that is that there must be no "aiming at uniformity." I have already quoted in section 37 an example of the pernicious effects of such attempts. The same officer, a highly educated Native Extra Assistant Commissioner, writes: "To avoid "a description of the same occupation by a variety of names, a general list of occupations was issued, and "the enumerators directed to make a special report of every other occupation they had to enter. Similar "lists of the tribes and clans met with in the tahsíl were issued, and everything practicable done to secure "uniformity of results." No possible action could have been so eminently adapted as this to render the results of the Census absolutely worthless. There is no officer in the Panjáb, English or Native, who could draw up even a tolerably complete list of the occupations, tribes, and clans of a district or even of a single tahsíl; and the result of issuing such a list authoritatively naturally was, as it always would be, that some one of the entries in the list was made to fit every soul enumerated. Besides, it is useless securing one kind of uniformity in one district and another kind of uniformity in the next. What we want is *variety*. The greater diversity of entry, the larger our stock of information. Variations and discrepancies will set us thinking and inquiring. Such uniformity as is possible must be arrived at by a careful classification of the entries on one system in the central office, and not by forcing the entries into a predetermined mould. Instructions on the subject of what is and what is not to be entered cannot be too general; for not only are we without even a hundredth part of the knowledge necessary to enable us to enter into details effectively, but by attempting to do so we deprive ourselves of the very possibility of acquiring that knowledge. If we show the slightest preference for one entry rather than another, the natives will give us that entry, right or wrong. We cannot

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have our facts *recorded* in too great detail: we can classify, select, and reject when we are compiling the figures. I wrote to a district officer, when he wished to issue detailed instructions for his preliminary record: "My object throughout has been to lay down only the most general rules, to leave those rules to "be applied in detail by each enumerator making enquiries of each person in his block throughout the "Province, to get the results, swarming with errors, omissions, and discrepancies as they will be, and to make what enquiries we can, *based upon those very discrepancies.* When we have done all this we shall know, not the truth, but how to set to work next time to get nearer the truth." Some little has been done, I hope, in this present report towards bringing our mistakes and difficulties to the light, and perhaps towards smoothing away some few of them. But the great subject of caste I have only had time to glance at here, and hope to deal with it more in detail during the next few years. By next Census it is hoped that we shall have, as explained in section 930, classified tables of castes and occupations; doubtless with many errors and many omissions, but still giving an enormous advance upon anything that has been done or even attempted before in any part of India. I think that we shall do much better next time than we have done now, and with much less trouble. But I am certain that we must always *record* in detail, and leave classification, uniformity, and the like, to the later stages of the work. The greatest pains should be taken to impress this upon half-educated officials, who are apt to be injuriously obstructive in the plenitude of their self-conceit (see further section 32).

961. Abstracting the figures.—*Village Abstracts.*—I would have the preliminary tabulation done wholly by the patwáris, in the villages at least; and I think I would add a column showing the numbers added and cut out respectively at final Census, as suggested in section 865. The red-ink entries could easily be counted. If, as proposed in section 844, the figures for houses or families are to be taken from the house-lists and not from the schedules, they might be omitted from the village abstracts. Other simplifications in Part I. are suggested in section 900. Part II. I would omit altogether for the reasons there given. Part III. is all-important.

Examination of Schedules.—I would have all schedules examined in the tahsíl before being sent on (section 890), and I would have them all sent through the district office, where a certain percentage of them should be re-examined (section 891).

Tahsíl Abstracts.—These ought to be *most* carefully compiled, as they are the basis of the whole tabulation. They should be sent through the district office, and not direct, and Deputy Commissioners should be held responsible that they are thoroughly checked and examined in their offices (section 891).

System of abstracting.—I would keep to the system of Divisional offices (section 893) but would deal with the Bannu figures at Peshâwar (section 892, foot-note). I would adopt the method of abstracting proposed in section 897, and trust for my check chiefly to the system suggested in sections 896 and 898. Further proposals as to what particulars should be abstracted will be found at the end of this part of the chapter under the head "Final Tables." I think the registers we used might have been improved; but as they depend wholly upon the form of schedule and of final tables decided upon, it seems useless to discuss the subject here. The great thing is to avoid elaborate registers. It is better to have two or even three simple than one complicated one.

962. The tabulation of the figures.—The subject is fully discussed in Part II. of Chapter XII. I do not think the general system could be improved, nor do I think the tables could have been made more simple, supposing the facts to be tabulated to have stood unaltered. The system of check proposed for future use is described in sections 902 to 904. Care should be taken to follow the suggestions conveyed in section 904, and to tabulate male and female occupations in the same table; for though their occupations differ somewhat, yet it is surprising how little difference there is on the whole, and the loss of the check afforded by the double columns for sex is irreparable. In deciding what places to class as towns I think I would follow the strict numerical limit; that is to say, I would class no places of less than 5,000 souls as towns unless they were either Municipalities or Civil or Military Stations (section 909). Of course I would exclude, as has been done in this Census, populations widely scattered over large village areas. Arrangements for urban areas are suggested in section 911. The question of the village units in the Kúlu sub-division should be considered (section 910); but I fear any further sub-division would be impracticable, as Mr. Anderson tells me that the *tikas* and *phátis* are sometimes intermingled with one another (*chak bat*). If any plan can be devised for recording the number and size of hamlets the information would be most interesting. It would be quite impossible to tabulate throughout by hamlets. All that is wanted is the total population of each hamlet, and that perhaps might be taken out separately (see section 910). The English schedules should certainly be wholly dealt with at a central office (section 913). Indeed they should, after examination at the district head-quarters (section 875), be sent straight to that office. The Census once taken, the European figures should be kept quite distinct throughout. I think that the totals for each village should not be filled into the village tables till the check is complete. At the late Census we filled them in at once in red ink. I doubt if they are really necessary at all except for the towns; for few villages can contain more than five or six blocks, the total of which can easily be given when required. At any rate the having two independent sets of figures on the same page, one only of which is to be added up in order to get the page totals, is very confusing; and the second set should not be added until the table is completely checked, totalled, and corrected.

Too much importance cannot, in my opinion, be attached to making each Divisional office completely finish the tables of one district and send them into the central office before almost they begin another. I am not sure that I would not make them send in tables tahsíl by tahsíl, at any rate for the first district. Abstracting and tabulating should go on "*pari passú*," and the tables should be examined and checked in the central office as fast as they are ready, and returned at once for immediate correction. I should have saved quite four months to my compiling office if this had been possible (sections 918 and 931). The Government of India might perhaps be begged to fix the forms finally in good time. Changes in the middle of the work not only lead to great delay but make error and fudging much more probable. It takes the heart out of an office to have to do work over again from no fault of its own (section 918).

963. Compilation of the figures.—At a future Census the existence of the classified lists of castes and occupations mentioned in section 930 should immensely reduce the work of compilation, as the great mass of the entries will then be classified during tabulation instead of during compilation (section 930). Still, the great error I made was to take too small a staff for this work, and it should not be repeated. Above all, a really good active Superintendent of Settlement should be appointed to superintend the office, even if this prevents any English-speaking Assistant being given to the Deputy Superintendent. The real work is done in the vernacular office, and it is there that driving power and system are wanted (section 929). Above all things the vernacular office should never be finally broken up till every single table has been translated, checked, and *passed for the press in English.* For the consequences of neglecting this rule see section 931. I think the compiling staff *must* be patwáris selected as on this occasion (section 920). No other men can deal with the local terms.

964. Issue of instructions and schedules.—Suggestions regarding the supply of schedules will be found in section 946. The discussion of arrangements and instructions by Deputy Commissioners in Committee with all their Tahsíldárs, and as many of the supervising staff as they can collect, is *exceedingly* important (section 940). At the same time it should be explained that "uniformity" is not wished for in the entries (section 960). I think that the Deputy Superintendent's tour of inspection is most valuable (section 940). By next Census he will be able to reach almost every district in the Province by rail. I would issue translations of all instructions *with* the instructions on a future occasion (section 943). The schedules must I think be printed at Calcutta unless lithographed headings for each book be adopted (sections 944 and 957). If printed at Calcutta they might be distributed from there by rail (section 945). Above all things both schedules and instructions should be distributed at as early a date as possible. The complaints regarding late receipt of these papers at the present Census were numerous. But we did not fix on our form of schedule till the end of August, and did not receive the whole supply ordered from Calcutta till January. The schedule form should be fixed upon long before any sort of Census work is really begun in the districts, or even any instructions issued; and the schedules should be printed at once at Calcutta. The stock of schedules should be complete and ready for distribution to districts,

Part III.—Difficulties and Suggestions.

if not already distributed, by the middle of November at the very latest. It must be remembered that it takes a long time to reach parts of the Province from Lahore. Parts of Kúlu are 16 stages from Dharmsála over passes 10,000 feet high and often closed in winter. So with the instructions. On the present occasion the great delay in the issue of orders by the Government of India regarding the Railway and Military Census, and the alteration of the instructions regarding occupations in the middle of November, caused much trouble, delay, and confusion. But on a future occasion it ought to be possible to issue complete instructions for the whole operations at once, before work is begun at all. This would be the greatest possible boon to district officers, for men work at once more willingly and more intelligently if they know exactly what their work is to lead to. The complete instructions ought to be in the hands of Deputy Commissioners by the beginning of September if possible; for the first arrangements for demarcation of circles, and especially the selection of agency, give a great deal of trouble and take a great deal of time. The house-maps and house-lists could be prepared in November and December, and the preliminary record in January. Done in this way at leisure, I do not see why the Census work should anywhere prevent the preparation of the usual annual papers; and it certainly would be possible to test and check it more effectually than if the work were all crowded into the last few weeks. The only difficulty that I see arises from the fact that the issue of complete instructions by the 1st of September, and the completion of the printing of the schedules by the beginning of November, involve the appointment of a Deputy Superintendent of Census from the beginning of July at the latest. But when he had once got his forms and instructions complete, that is to say from the end of August, he would have little or nothing to do till about the middle of November, when he would begin his tour of inspection. During these two and a half months however, I think he might be employed in preparing classified lists of clans, tribes, castes, and occupations for the use of his tabulating offices as suggested in section 930.

965. Census in Native States.—I think that at a future Census the same schedule as is used for British Territory should be, as now, adopted throughout the Native States, not even excepting Hill States; though active superintendence on the part of the Superintendent of Simla Hill States and the Commissioners in political charge of the other Hill States will again be needed. (section 951). And I would, when the first instructions are issued, and before any operations are actually commenced, invite the States to send representatives to meet the Deputy Superintendent at Lahore, and there to discuss verbally the whole scheme (section 953).

966. Form of Final Tables.—I would, I think, show figures for towns and villages separately in *all* the tables. The urban population is exceedingly different from the rural in all respects; and the comparison would be most instructive. If it be thought unwise to double the bulk of the tables by showing separate details for towns and villages in each district, those details might be given for totals only. Where separate figures are not given for urban, rural, and total population, it would I think be better to show figures for urban and total population, rather than for rural and total as I have done. It is true that the rural population is more important and more normal than urban; but it is also so much larger that the variations in urban population are quite lost in the total figures, which may almost be taken as identical with those for villages so far as proportions and percentages are concerned.

Table I.—I would omit at any rate unoccupied houses. The figures are even more meaningless than those for occupied houses (section 841).

Table II.—For "Increase and decrease per mille" I would substitute "number living in 1891 per mille living in 1881," and so save half the columns at the end of the table.

Table IIIA.—See discussions of these figures in section 291. The table as it stands is useless. The European schedule should be remodelled (section 875); and I would separate race from sect, giving Native Christians in a separate table if the details are required.

Table IIIB.—I hope, for the reasons given in section 196, that at the next Census *all* sects, both Mahomedan and Hindu, will be both recorded and tabulated.

Table VI.—I would tabulate the civil condition of the earlier ages in greater detail, thus 0—5, 5—10 (section 687).

Table VII.—I would take only ten-yearly periods after 35, thus 35—45, 45—55, 55—65, and so on (section 666).

Table VIIIA.—I hope the classification of castes will have been greatly facilitated before next Census (section 930). I think all castes and all important tribes should be shown as now. But the "total" column in VIIIA. should have "both sexes" last instead of first, so as to allow of more ready comparison with the details for religion. I would omit details of Christians. I had hoped to arrive at the composition of Native Christians by caste, but they frustrated my desire by very generally returning *Kristán* as their caste.

Table XII.—The whole system of classification must, I think, be recast. The English system is utterly unsuited to the state of society in India (sections 715, 716), and I would suggest the adoption of the proposals set forth in section 720. I hope the lists of occupations to be published in connection with this Census will greatly facilitate the work in 1891 (section 930).

Tables XIV to XVII.—I doubt whether the details by age are of any value, unless the Sanitary authorities want them.

Table XIX.—The population by the present Census should be put first, and then that by the preceding enumeration. As now arranged it is difficult to find a town of any given population in the table.

967. Final counsel to my successor.—I would commend to the careful consideration of the next Deputy Superintendent of Census the experience described in sections 918, 919 and 931. I hope that he will find his task facilitated by my labours; and especially I hope that the detailed tables of caste divisions and occupational terms which it is intended to publish will do an immense deal to render the classification of these two entries simpler, more speedy, and more accurate. But I would once more earnestly recommend him to insist upon a sufficient compiling establishment, to have a first-rate *driving* man to superintend his office, and not to let his establishment go till the last table is passed in English and *ready for press*. If I had known what was before me and had acted on these principles, I should have had my work finished six months earlier. I have left him a complete set of my circulars bound up; and this volume, together with all files that can possibly be of any use either to him or for purposes of office reference, have been made over to the record department of the Panjáb Civil Secretariat with my No. 3928, dated 18th April 1883, to the address of the Secretary to the Panjáb Government, Home (General) Proceedings No. 119B of April 1883. I had intended also to leave him a complete set of the registers and other forms used in abstracting, and the vernacular instructions issued. But the surplus copies have been sold as waste paper, and I cannot complete a set. With the details given in this report he will probably be able to devise far better ones for his own use.

PART IV.—THE LAST.

968. Notice of officers.—In the Census reports for their districts the several Deputy Commissioners have brought to favourable notice the good work done by certain officers under their orders. I had intended to extract all these notices and to print them in this place. If Government should wish me to do so I can still submit them separately. But I do not propose to do so without orders to that effect, and that for two reasons. In the first place I have no time. But a more important reason is that, while some Deputy Commissioners have singled out three or four officers for favourable mention who had showed especial zeal, others have included in their praise all the higher officials and clerks who did good work. Under such circumstances those who had done equally good work under the first-mentioned class of Deputy Commissioners might fairly feel aggrieved at not being noticed. As for my own personal experience of the work, I saw good work in some places and bad work in some others, though not in many. But it by no means follows that what I saw was a fair sample of the whole in either case. I know positively that the whole work was admirable in certain districts; but I do not mention them because it may have been just as good in others where I had no opportunity of judging. But I have directly and indirectly seen a very great deal of the work and of the way in which it was done. I saw much of it on my tours of inspection; I heard much of it from officials and private persons both Native and European; I was in constant correspondence with many of the officers both officially and demi-officially; and finally the whole results passed through my hands in the end. And I may be allowed to say that the work was done in almost every case with an enthusiasm that compelled success. The officers felt that Government meant to have the Census well taken, and they set to work in earnest: the native subordinates followed the lead of their superiors, and the whole staff took a real active practical interest in the operations which I could hardly have realized had I not been brought into contact with it. They grumbled, but they worked with a will. I believe the Panjáb Census of 1881 to have been a great success; and I would submit for the consideration of Government that that success was wholly due to the zeal of the official staff, and that some public recognition of the fact might fittingly be made.

969. Of one matter I can speak with complete knowledge, and that is the nature of the Census reports sent in to me. I would specially mention the reports of Messrs. Wilson, Benton, Coldstream, T. W. Smythe, Steedman, and Alex. Anderson as most able, suggestive, and complete; and those of Mr. Frizelle, Captain Bartholomew, and Colonel Jenkins as exceedingly careful and complete. Mr. Frizelle's report on operations was especially suggestive. Messrs. Stogdon, Gardiner, and Lawrence sent in capital reports on the operations, and Colonel Beadon and Major Beckett on the results, none of these gentlemen reporting on both points, owing to transfer of officers. Messrs Walker, Dames, and Drummond, and Sardár Gurdiál Singh, C.S., supplied some most useful notes chiefly regarding castes. Only three of the Commissioners sent me reports on their divisions; among them Colonel Minchin's report was particularly interesting. I must here acknowledge the ability and industry of Rai Búta Mal, Extra Assistant Commissioner, who was my Assistant while the figures were being compiled. His unusual command of the English language saved me very much time and trouble. He never spared himself, and his knowledge of the people was of the greatest use to me.

970. Success of the Census-scheme.—The Census of 1881 was, as I have said before, practically a first experiment in the Panjáb, for if detailed instructions had been issued on previous occasions, no record of them existed for my guidance. Consequently the whole scheme had to be thought out from the beginning, and the greatest care was necessary to secure that each set of instructions as it issued should not only fit in with what had gone before, but, what was still more important, should pave the way for everything that was to follow after it. Consequently it is most gratifying to me to find that the district officers of the Province with one consent speak in the highest terms of the arrangements. I shall I hope be forgiven if I indulge in the egotism of quoting a few of their opinions. The one fault they find, and that very generally, is that the scheme was too complex. But the only complexity to which they take exception, and the only simplification which they would as a rule suggest, is with regard to the threefold division of the caste column. That division was deliberately adopted after the most careful consideration by Sir Robert Egerton, and defended by him against the criticism of the Government of India; and few men are so intimately acquainted with the people of the Panjáb as he was. The subject is discussed fully in sections 365 to 367, and I believe that the three columns were necessary for our purpose, though perhaps they may be safely reduced on a future occasion with the help of the knowledge we have gained by means of them. Indeed much if not most of the difficulty experienced was caused by the misunderstanding of the district officers themselves, who in the face of the precise words of the instructions, would insist upon considering the schedule incomplete till each of the three columns had an entry to itself. But, setting the caste columns aside, the scheme is spoken of as satisfactory without I think one single exception.

971. Mr. Coldstream of Hushyárpur writes :—"The general arrangements left little to be desired. Instructions from head-quarters "were very detailed and explicit, and experience suggests little in which they could with advantage have been altered. A few sugges- "tions on minor points will be made further on." Colonel Minchin, the Commissioner of Hissár, describes the instructions as "so "full and clear that no difficulty was experienced." Major Grey of Fírozpur found them "in all respects save the caste column simple "and practical." Mr. T. W. Smythe of Dehli writes: "The instructions issued were so full and clear that there was little room for "doubt." Mr. Bullock of Hushyárpur says: "I have no suggestion to make or difficulties to bring to notice. The instructions "issued by the Deputy Superintendent of Census were as simple as they were complete." Mr. Stogdon writes from Lahore: "*Difficulties and suggestions.*—I have very little to say under this head. I have already touched upon most of the difficulties I "met with, and I think that the general scheme prescribed was most complete and lucid. Its chief fault, if it had any, was that it "was too complex and intricate for the intelligence of many of the supervisors and enumerators, and too long for the patience of "men who knew that they were not likely to receive any reward for their labours beyond the approbation of Government. It is important that the work should be of as little harassing a nature as possible, and on that account." Mr. Wakefield of Lúdhiána

Part IV.—The Last.

says: "I remember feeling somewhat impatient at first of the elaboration of the machinery and checks upon checks which "were promulgated. But experience and actual working soon showed the excellence of the arrangements, and the positive necessity "for every portion of the system which has resulted in so great a success." Finally Mr. Frizelle writes from Sháhpur: "There can be no doubt that the Census was carried out on a well-conceived plan, and that the instructions were full and "complete. If there is any room for criticism it is on the ground that the work was made too elaborate and difficult; though on "looking over all the forms and instructions it is hard to see what could have been well omitted, if perfection was to be secured. "The instructions to enumerators were simple enough and left nothing to be desired. The great difficulty was the Index-register "(Form A), and fortunately this was confined to supervisors and those above them. Columns 5 to 10 especially might have been "simplified; although one is bound to say that any omission would have detracted from its value as a whole, and now that the Census "is over and the beauties have grown on one, it is easy to see that anything less complete might not have answered so well. As to "the rest of the scheme as drawn up by the Deputy Superintendent of Census, I think there is nothing to be found in it that could "have been improved upon in theory or that could have worked better in practice, and the result is I consider a very trustworthy "Census." And these are only a few of the opinions recorded to the same effect.

972. The great difficulty I felt throughout in framing my instructions was, where to draw the line so as to be neither too concise nor too diffuse. There is always a great danger of written instructions being misunderstood, and points that are omitted in them will often be overlooked altogether, or will be treated differently by different people. On the other hand too much detail disgusts and confuses the reader, and leaves no clear impression on his mind. The opinions I have quoted above lead me to hope that on the whole I succeeded in avoiding both dangers. That there were innumerable faults in the scheme, I have made it my special business to point out in the second Book of this Report: that I greatly under-estimated the amount of labour involved in the compilation of the figures, and that my doing so has delayed the publication of the Report and somewhat increased the expense of the Census, I am only too painfully aware. But I can honestly say that at no stage of the operations have I spared myself in any way, and that whatever may be the value of the final product, it is the result of toil and application on my part which have, from the day I took up the appointment to the day I laid it down, been absolutely unremitting and incessant.

APPENDIX C.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE A.

Table showing leading Statistics for each Tahsil and District.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
				Population.			Under 10 years old.		Unmarried.		Religion.			Education.		Number of persons per square mile.		
Serial No.	Name of District.	Name of Tahsil.	Area in square miles.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Hindu.	Sikh.	Musalman.	Under instruction.	Can read and write.	Rural population.	Total population.	Serial No.
1	Dehli	Dehli	434	170,579	147,223	317,802	35,362	32,223	70,770	40,278	220,352	892	91,105	5,148	7,959	323	732	1
		Sunpat	454	99,662	87,173	186,835	22,875	20,227	40,234	23,577	154,689	47	28,548	718	4,567	383	411	
		Ballabgarh	388	73,775	65,103	138,878	17,645	15,682	33,003	18,882	108,291	31	30,177	870	2,682	324	358	
		Total	*1,276*	*344,016*	*299,499*	*643,515*	*75,882*	*68,132*	*144,007*	*82,737*	*483,332*	*970*	*149,830*	*6,736*	*15,208*	*345*	*504*	
2	Gurgaon	Gurgáon	407	65,382	56,989	122,371	14,683	13,068	29,384	16,356	99,227	65	21,661	873	3,315	251	301	2
		Fírozpur	317	59,272	55,068	114,340	13,778	12,819	28,795	18,971	32,479	12	80,835	381	1,899	339	361	
		Núh	403	63,938	56,386	120,324	15,015	13,491	30,493	18,428	62,457	17	57,613	377	1,788	288	299	
		Palwal	385	75,233	67,025	142,258	17,051	15,095	32,137	18,890	121,576	15	20,494	540	2,972	325	369	
		Rewári	426	75,092	67,463	142,555	17,317	15,794	34,748	19,420	123,525	18	18,007	1,217	4,239	279	334	
		Total	*1,938*	*338,917*	*302,931*	*641,848*	*77,844*	*70,267*	*155,557*	*92,065*	*439,264*	*127*	*198,610*	*3,388*	*14,213*	*294*	*331*	
3	Karnal	Karnál	832	124,880	106,214	231,094	29,291	25,876	59,511	32,096	161,577	2,594	65,747	1,184	4,562	245	278	3
		Pánípat	458	100,301	86,492	186,793	23,145	20,352	41,551	24,495	137,803	213	45,908	718	4,444	353	408	
		Kaithal	1,106	110,990	93,744	204,734	27,207	24,181	55,850	30,784	154,282	5,229	44,528	876	4,310	162	185	
		Total	*2,396*	*336,171*	*286,450*	*622,621*	*79,643*	*70,409*	*156,912*	*87,375*	*453,662*	*8,036*	*156,183*	*2,778*	*13,316*	*227*	*260*	
4	Hissar	Hissár	841	52,286	45,820	98,106	12,828	11,955	27,007	15,444	81,200	4	16,290	277	1,984	100	117	4
		Hánsi	761	71,050	59,564	130,612	16,945	15,254	34,230	19,097	105,781	39	23,014	360	2,678	148	172	
		Bhiwáni	585	55,848	47,708	103,556	13,352	12,469	29,354	14,765	91,912	3	11,251	746	3,801	120	177	
		Barwála	580	42,844	35,705	78,549	11,012	10,118	22,111	13,261	51,279	677	26,317	162	882	128	135	
		Fatahábád	773	50,239	43,119	93,358	13,412	12,443	27,593	16,543	54,194	2,420	36,645	192	1,217	113	121	
		Total	*3,540*	*272,267*	*231,916*	*504,183*	*67,549*	*62,239*	*140,295*	*79,110*	*384,366*	*3,143*	*113,517*	*1,737*	*10,562*	*121*	*143*	
5	Rohtak	Rohtak	587	91,006	80,209	171,215	22,511	20,601	43,685	24,087	134,917	95	24,834	1,150	4,710	206	292	5
		Jhajjar	469	60,135	52,350	112,485	14,532	12,807	29,089	15,120	97,668	7	24,703	688	2,774	215	240	
		Sámpla	417	76,004	66,173	142,177	17,604	16,111	33,966	18,526	129,508	11	12,394	591	3,385	315	341	
		Gohána	338	69,079	58,653	127,732	15,973	14,247	27,998	16,225	106,812	46	17,579	468	3,042	300	378	
		Total	*1,811*	*296,224*	*257,385*	*553,609*	*70,620*	*63,766*	*134,738*	*73,958*	*468,905*	*159*	*79,510*	*2,897*	*13,911*	*251*	*306*	
6	Sirsa	Sirsa	994	51,540	42,705	94,245	12,665	11,673	28,072	15,734	60,793	176	32,601	830	2,576	74	95	6
		Dabwáli	814	38,806	32,330	71,136	11,126	9,862	22,245	13,412	32,704	19,153	18,907	284	1,296	84	87	
		Fázilka	1,196	48,345	39,549	87,894	13,725	12,832	27,513	17,188	37,085	8,974	41,781	575	2,343	68	74	
		Total	*3,004*	*138,691*	*114,584*	*253,275*	*37,516*	*34,367*	*77,830*	*46,334*	*130,582*	*28,303*	*93,289*	*1,689*	*6,215*	*74*	*84*	
7	Ambala	Ambála	366	122,988	97,489	220,477	26,524	23,778	57,747	30,712	132,124	12,167	72,007	2,182	9,381	418	602	7
		Kharar	366	91,856	76,013	167,869	23,290	19,609	45,142	23,614	110,445	25,019	32,286	1,041	4,421	447	459	
		Jagádhri	387	92,387	77,253	169,640	23,160	20,702	46,026	25,272	116,378	4,383	48,558	939	3,476	387	438	
		Náraingarh	429	79,295	66,338	145,633	20,067	17,994	40,505	22,656	103,066	2,512	39,870	641	2,919	314	339	
		Pípli	745	113,700	95,641	209,341	27,264	23,977	56,322	29,931	142,160	5,020	62,126	659	4,087	244	281	
		Rúpar	277	88,046	66,257	154,303	19,052	16,773	40,649	19,721	85,439	19,341	49,276	903	3,110	520	557	
		Total	*2,570*	*588,272*	*478,991*	*10,67,263*	*139,357*	*122,833*	*286,391*	*151,906*	*689,612*	*68,442*	*304,123*	*6,365*	*27,394*	*361*	*415*	
8	Ludhiana	Ludhiána	678	169,139	138,420	307,559	41,826	34,780	83,597	44,310	130,478	63,633	111,942	2,988	8,869	388	453	8
		Jagráon	409	85,621	73,146	158,767	22,254	18,580	42,389	24,479	55,608	46,617	55,789	1,204	3,674	324	388	
		Samrála	288	84,838	67,671	152,509	21,405	16,662	43,372	20,723	89,154	16,893	46,223	1,061	4,124	486	530	
		Total	*1,375*	*339,598*	*279,237*	*618,835*	*85,485*	*70,022*	*169,358*	*89,512*	*275,240*	*127,143*	*213,954*	*5,253*	*16,667*	*390*	*450*	

9	Simla	Simla	4	22,739	10,359	33,098	2,517	2,303	10,090	3,276	22,753	200	6,804	1,093	4,803	2,766	8,274	9
		Kot Khái and Kotgarh	14	4,854	4,993	9,847	1,194	1,242	2,392	1,778	9,675	2	131	120	248	703	703	
		Total	*18*	*27,593*	*15,352*	*42,945*	*3,711*	*3,545*	*12,482*	*5,054*	*32,428*	*202*	*6,935*	*1,213*	*5,051*	*1,162*	*2,386*	
10	Jalandhar	Jálandhar	392	133,594	110,165	243,759	28,787	24,436	61,921	31,246	95,786	24,834	121,215	2,807	8,258	449	622	10
		Nawáshahr	294	99,546	83,912	183,458	24,995	21,122	45,965	23,594	98,900	24,249	60,149	1,868	5,737	552	624	
		Philaur	294	92,871	75,398	168,269	23,050	18,827	43,666	22,339	85,016	24,532	58,620	1,566	4,930	457	573	
		Nakodar	342	105,424	88,645	194,069	25,491	21,457	48,288	28,067	58,590	16,705	118,617	1,521	3,430	525	567	
		Total	*1,322*	*431,435*	*358,120*	*789,555*	*102,323*	*85,842*	*199,840*	*105,246*	*338,292*	*90,320*	*358,601*	*7,762*	*22,355*	*493*	*597*	
11	Hushyarpur	Hushyárpur	478	127,101	112,385	239,486	31,150	27,532	62,083	33,807	117,831	16,199	104,941	3,044	7,675	436	501	11
		Dasúya	384	117,947	100,697	218,644	27,116	24,108	60,918	31,312	105,057	9,142	104,026	1,980	5,165	499	570	
		Una	867	109,203	98,883	208,086	27,286	26,289	54,826	28,661	174,318	9,897	23,845	1,776	7,240	228	240	
		Garhshankar	451	127,275	107,890	235,165	32,714	28,430	60,707	30,766	152,979	24,546	57,381	1,377	5,095	510	521	
		Total	*2,180*	*481,526*	*419,855*	*901,381*	*118,266*	*106,359*	*238,534*	*124,546*	*550,185*	*59,784*	*290,193*	*8,177*	*25,175*	*380*	*413*	
12	Kangra	Kángra	1,065	114,801	103,787	218,588	27,975	27,573	61,105	34,337	207,252	112	10,976	1,655	7,897	194	205	12
		Núrpur	514	58,191	47,053	105,244	13,061	12,064	33,282	14,700	88,268	183	16,781	764	2,861	194	205	
		Hamírpur	644	90,619	85,990	176,609	22,725	22,459	49,236	26,308	170,555	161	5,774	1,176	4,176	269	274	
		Dera	502	62,710	58,713	121,423	15,065	14,799	34,621	18,001	116,067	275	5,070	1,117	4,540	233	242	
		Kúlu*	6,344	54,546	54,435	108,981	14,345	15,207	28,626	20,747	105,493	7	547	420	1,623	17	17	
		Total	*9,069*	*380,867*	*349,978*	*730,845*	*93,171*	*92,102*	*206,870*	*114,093*	*687,635*	*738*	*39,148*	*5,132*	*21,097*	*78*	*81*	
13	Amritsar	Amritsar	550	238,936	191,482	430,418	53,976	47,427	117,857	62,451	149,279	88,125	191,830	6,087	17,540	475	783	13
		Taran Táran	596	143,013	118,663	261,676	38,091	30,827	74,645	40,375	65,156	91,957	104,556	1,760	5,306	416	440	
		Ajnála	428	108,745	92,427	201,172	28,133	24,774	56,244	32,310	48,096	36,255	116,821	1,259	2,615	460	470	
		Total	*1,574*	*490,694*	*402,572*	*893,266*	*120,200*	*103,028*	*248,746*	*135,136*	*262,531*	*216,337*	*413,207*	*9,106*	*25,461*	*448*	*567*	
14	Gurdaspur	Gurdáspur	484	114,285	93,943	208,228	26,797	23,181	57,411	31,045	86,325	14,887	106,836	1,969	4,044	394	431	14
		Batála	480	138,836	116,295	255,131	36,690	31,339	73,428	40,743	71,337	50,943	132,758	2,718	5,596	452	532	
		Pathánkot	357	78,060	62,765	140,825	16,740	15,050	41,667	19,279	92,426	1,475	46,630	1,241	3,831	342	394	
		Shakargarh	501	114,617	104,894	219,511	30,309	27,389	59,029	33,903	109,241	5,090	105,176	1,687	4,276	425	438	
		Total	*1,822*	*445,798*	*377,897*	*823,695*	*110,536*	*96,959*	*231,535*	*124,970*	*359,329*	*72,395*	*391,400*	*7,615*	*17,747*	*407*	*452*	
15	Sialkot	Siálkot	637	215,094	187,731	402,825	55,284	49,296	112,391	68,895	129,039	14,182	257,341	4,549	10,123	539	632	15
		Pasrúr	543	134,180	117,748	251,928	36,736	32,825	70,799	42,995	57,886	12,457	181,161	2,607	4,841	440	464	
		Ráya	476	104,472	89,733	194,205	27,616	24,745	54,579	32,425	53,214	11,084	129,796	1,496	2,729	399	408	
		Zafarwál	302	85,915	77,275	163,190	23,666	21,853	45,515	28,121	59,172	2,472	101,414	1,328	2,703	516	540	
		Total	*1,958*	*539,661*	*472,487*	*1,012,148*	*143,302*	*128,719*	*283,284*	*172,436*	*299,311*	*40,195*	*669,712*	*9,980*	*20,396*	*474*	*517*	
16	Lahore	Lahore	740	209,164	161,632	370,796	45,967	40,629	102,412	54,766	91,379	40,144	234,500	6,915	16,783	299	501	16
		Chúnián	1,227	109,921	92,140	202,061	31,619	28,649	62,018	39,015	42,787	30,101	128,905	1,300	5,360	156	165	
		Kasúr	794	124,783	105,015	229,798	34,904	29,879	67,293	40,382	42,160	48,136	138,828	1,351	4,240	239	289	
		Sharakpur	887	66,485	54,966	121,451	17,520	16,247	36,787	22,599	16,993	7,210	97,244	906	2,224	132	137	
		Total	*3,648*	*510,353*	*413,753*	*924,106*	*130,010*	*115,404*	*268,510*	*156,762*	*193,319*	*125,591*	*599,477*	*10,472*	*28,607*	*197*	*253*	
	* Note.—Composed thus.	Kúlu Proper	1,356	25,928	26,177	52,105	6,972	7,171	13,299	9,495	51,591	3	496	226	760	38	38	
		Plách	578	24,432	23,722	48,154	6,512	7,039	13,241	9,339	48,095	4	26	98	484	83	83	
		Láhul	2,255	2,828	3,032	5,860	617	708	1,402	1,295	5,806	...	25	63	183	3	3	
		Spiti	2,155	1,358	1,504	2,862	244	289	684	618	1	†	†	33	196	1	1	
		Total	*6,344*	*54,546*	*54,435*	*108,981*	*14,345*	*15,207*	*28,626*	*20,747*	*105,493*	*7*	*547*	*420*	*1,623*	*17*	*17*	

† The whole population Spiti is Buddhist, with the exception of two males.

Sup. A.

Tahsil Figures.

TABLE A—*continued.*

Serial No. (1)	Name of District (2)	Name of Tahsil (3)	Area in square miles (4)	Population: Males (5)	Population: Females (6)	Population: Both sexes (7)	Under 10 years old: Males (8)	Under 10 years old: Females (9)	Unmarried: Males (10)	Unmarried: Females (11)	Religion: Hindu (12)	Religion: Sikh (13)	Religion: Musalman (14)	Education: Under instruction (15)	Education: Can read and write (16)	Number of persons per square mile: Rural Population (17)	Number of persons per square mile: Total Population (18)	Serial No. (19)
17	Gujranwala	Gújránwála	770	135,258	115,462	250,720	35,057	31,516	71,621	43,187	66,343	20,644	163,061	3,661	7,884	285	326	17
		Wazírábád	455	90,896	78,672	169,568	23,058	20,460	46,744	28,652	29,654	4,610	135,211	2,587	5,377	302	373	
		Háfizábád	1,362	107,451	89,153	196,604	30,320	26,696	62,559	38,204	31,325	10,905	154,368	1,324	3,893	138	144	
		Total	*2,587*	*333,605*	*283,287*	*616,892*	*88,435*	*78,672*	*180,924*	*110,043*	*127,322*	*36,159*	*452,640*	*7,572*	*17,154*	*211*	*238*	
18	Firozpur	Fírozpur	495	86,366	66,802	153,168	21,077	18,988	46,149	26,407	34,334	15,034	101,963	1,520	6,010	229	309	18
		Zíra	500	89,047	75,501	164,548	23,901	20,695	46,184	28,238	30,815	25,840	107,555	808	2,403	307	329	
		Moga	811	121,076	100,093	221,169	33,274	27,025	65,127	36,146	66,936	105,025	49,096	832	4,624	258	273	
		Muktsar	946	60,830	50,804	111,634	18,235	16,687	35,619	22,524	36,560	22,917	51,938	363	2,419	115	118	
		Total	*2,752*	*357,319*	*293,200*	*650,519*	*96,487*	*83,395*	*193,079*	*113,315*	*168,645*	*168,816*	*310,552*	*3,523*	*15,456*	*212*	*236*	
19	Rawalpindi	Ráwalpindi	769	122,467	88,808	211,275	27,519	24,190	62,239	32,981	35,502	5,886	165,734	2,906	12,100	206	275	19
		Gújar Khán	565	68,163	65,233	133,396	20,921	18,974	37,699	25,705	7,551	6,094	119,734	1,408	2,675	236	236	
		Attak	568	79,629	59,123	138,752	20,616	18,879	45,074	26,285	14,559	762	123,097	1,960	4,098	223	244	
		Kahúta	434	46,188	41,022	87,210	12,901	11,720	25,512	15,909	6,201	3,364	77,563	724	1,699	201	201	
		Murree	210	22,135	17,063	39,198	5,851	5,453	11,689	6,785	1,987	175	36,620	321	839	175	187	
		Pindígheb	1,517	54,328	49,253	103,581	17,823	16,391	31,418	21,874	11,277	448	91,839	971	2,436	60	68	
		Fatahjang	798	56,377	50,723	107,100	17,576	15,756	32,018	21,016	9,085	1,051	96,959	1,125	1,789	128	134	
		Total	*4,861*	*449,287*	*371,225*	*820,512*	*123,207*	*111,363*	*245,649*	*150,555*	*86,162*	*17,780*	*711,546*	*9,415*	*25,636*	*151*	*169*	
20	Jahlam	Jahlam	885	96,479	77,690	174,169	24,219	21,914	50,735	30,568	17,465	3,424	152,916	1,546	5,078	173	197	20
		Pind Dádan Khán	1,006	87,047	79,139	166,186	25,962	24,098	49,112	33,505	21,713	1,091	143,273	1,481	3,360	148	166	
		Chakwál	818	80,206	73,938	154,144	24,993	22,609	45,106	30,357	14,487	5,122	134,534	937	2,396	175	188	
		Talágang	1,201	49,716	45,158	94,874	17,281	15,820	28,532	19,704	7,284	1,551	86,022	696	1,842	69	79	
		Total	*3,910*	*313,448*	*275,925*	*580,373*	*92,455*	*84,441*	*173,485*	*114,134*	*60,949*	*11,188*	*516,745*	*4,060*	*12,676*	*135*	*151*	
21	Gujrat	Gújrát	554	156,339	140,701	297,040	44,537	39,925	82,364	54,694	35,096	4,818	256,936	3,141	5,814	469	536	21
		Kharián	647	113,398	103,973	217,371	35,281	32,031	61,641	44,194	15,456	2,209	199,643	1,455	2,053	328	336	
		Phalián	772	92,425	82,279	174,704	27,426	25,311	50,883	35,265	21,898	1,858	150,946	1,398	3,997	226	226	
		Total	*1,973*	*362,162*	*326,953*	*680,115*	*107,244*	*97,267*	*194,888*	*134,153*	*72,450*	*8,885*	*607,525*	*5,994*	*11,864*	*328*	*349*	
22	Shahpur	Sháhpur	1,032	64,585	58,048	122,633	18,936	17,803	37,132	25,611	19,304	1,481	101,831	1,193	3,711	103	119	22
		Khusháb	2,478	67,282	64,333	131,615	21,892	20,503	39,659	29,343	14,970	2,006	114,629	915	2,452	48	53	
		Bhera	1,181	89,809	77,451	167,260	24,960	23,104	51,941	33,387	24,752	1,215	141,282	1,551	4,555	122	142	
		Total	*4,691*	*221,676*	*199,832*	*421,508*	*65,788*	*61,410*	*128,732*	*88,341*	*59,026*	*4,702*	*357,742*	*3,659*	*10,718*	*79*	*90*	
23	Multan	Multán	949	95,374	75,236	170,610	24,716	23,196	52,137	30,346	44,950	953	122,831	3,214	8,937	108	180	23
		Shújábád	322	33,394	28,228	61,622	9,378	8,601	18,834	11,393	10,747	144	50,705	1,000	2,394	171	191	
		Lodhrán	781	53,387	44,816	98,203	15,894	14,357	30,629	18,878	14,405	471	83,259	853	2,893	121	126	
		Mailsí	2,076	77,827	63,690	141,517	22,882	20,232	46,454	26,968	28,815	391	112,310	1,464	4,567	65	68	
		Serái Sidhú	1,752	44,535	35,477	80,012	13,719	11,801	27,993	16,054	13,084	126	66,796	710	2,862	44	46	
		Total	*5,880*	*304,517*	*247,447*	*551,964*	*86,589*	*78,187*	*176,047*	*103,639*	*112,001*	*2,085*	*435,901*	*7,241*	*21,653*	*79*	*94*	
24	Jhang	Jhang	2,347	92,792	78,921	171,713	26,296	26,407	54,997	34,676	32,168	2,417	137,121	2,138	7,353	64	73	24
		Chiniot	2,149	68,863	59,378	128,241	22,047	20,287	42,755	28,030	15,369	693	112,173	767	3,207	55	60	
		Shorkot	1,206	52,727	42,615	95,342	16,688	14,341	32,229	18,671	17,355	367	77,616	873	3,944	75	79	
		Total	*5,702*	*214,382*	*180,914*	*395,290*	*68,031*	*61,035*	*129,981*	*81,377*	*64,892*	*3,477*	*326,910*	*3,778*	*14,504*	*63*	*69*	
25	Montgomery	Montgomery	1,815	52,852	41,275	94,127	16,015	13,681	33,225	1,904	19,117	1,369	73,562	1,172	3,260	46	52	25
		Gugaira	1,498	53,863	45,337	99,200	16,248	14,982	33,101	21,025	14,527	3,064	81,609	897	2,734	64	66	
		Dipálpur	956	83,549	71,041	154,590	24,733	23,287	48,430	31,026	30,379	6,068	118,126	702	3,197	158	162	
		Pákpattan	1,305	42,683	35,929	78,612	13,317	11,962	25,708	16,262	19,951	1,463	57,198	685	2,212	56	60	
		Total	*5,574*	*232,947*	*193,582*	*426,529*	*70,313*	*63,912*	*140,464*	*87,317*	*83,974*	*11,964*	*330,495*	*3,456*	*11,403*	*72*	*77*	

26	Muzaffargarh	Muzaffargarh	925	80,351	66,534	146,885	23,150	20,476	45,662	27,246	20,390	631	125,820	1,213	4,445	152	159	26
		Alípur	887	60,503	50,366	110,869	19,203	16,799	34,699	21,024	13,352	1,445	95,072	1,287	3,915	112	125	
		Sanáwan	1,327	43,656	37,195	80,851	13,121	11,621	24,973	15,565	9,555	712	71,584	901	2,383	58	61	
		Total	*3,139*	*184,510*	*154,095*	*338,605*	*55,474*	*48,896*	*105,334*	*63,835*	*43,297*	*2,788*	*292,476*	*3,401*	*10,743*	*101*	*108*	
27	D. I. Khan	D. I. Khán	1,673	64,626	55,516	120,142	18,944	16,168	35,940	21,865	15,674	721	103,501	1,315	4,041	57	72	27
		Kuláchi	1,513	37,763	33,187	70,950	11,322	9,868	21,127	13,052	8,170	166	62,614	530	2,141	42	47	
		Bhakkar	3,114	60,989	51,440	112,429	18,514	15,974	35,604	22,021	15,086	59	97,265	559	2,793	35	36	
		Leiah	2,428	55,670	46,942	102,612	16,472	14,002	31,129	18,869	13,257	465	88,888	514	2,614	39	42	
		Tánk	568	19,420	16,096	35,516	6,154	5,259	11,189	6,858	2,259	280	32,976	161	718	58	63	
		Total	*9,296*	*238,468*	*203,181*	*441,649*	*71,406*	*61,271*	*134,989*	*82,665*	*54,446*	*1,691*	*385,244*	*3,079*	*12,308*	*42*	*47*	
28	D. G. Khan	D. G. Khán	1,362	88,120	71,613	159,733	27,069	23,122	48,547	29,195	22,750	525	136,388	1,550	4,619	101	117	28
		Sangarh	628	27,730	24,049	51,779	8,732	7,604	15,458	9,714	5,452	122	46,205	474	713	82	82	
		Rájanpur	1,615	46,758	35,917	82,675	13,555	10,920	26,257	13,673	10,678	552	71,432	716	2,299	46	51	
		Jámpur	912	38,059	31,100	69,159	12,653	10,637	21,825	12,934	7,817	127	61,215	694	1,586	62	76	
		Total	*4,517*	*200,667*	*162,679*	*363,346*	*62,009*	*52,283*	*112,087*	*65,516*	*46,697*	*1,326*	*315,240*	*3,434*	*9,217*	*71*	*80*	
29	Bannu	Bannu	445	59,396	47,763	107,159	18,084	16,213	34,417	20,947	10,919	503	95,674	902	2,755	221	241	29
		Marwat	1,269	40,045	35,536	75,581	13,408	12,624	23,807	16,405	5,496	69	70,015	303	1,089	56	60	
		Isa Khel	675	31,258	28,288	59,546	10,083	9,208	17,650	12,078	5,408	78	53,982	265	1,281	69	88	
		Miánwáli	1,479	46,804	43,487	90,291	15,851	14,695	27,202	19,274	8,820	140	81,331	646	1,716	61	61	
		Total	*3,868*	*177,503*	*155,074*	*332,577*	*57,426*	*52,740*	*103,076*	*68,704*	*30,643*	*790*	*301,002*	*2,116*	*6,841*	*79*	*86*	
30	Peshawar	Pesháwar	374	99,581	72,450	172,031	21,770	19,447	53,713	27,245	20,025	1,739	147,232	2,910	10,178	246	460	30
		Utmán Buláq	465	56,625	50,679	107,304	17,194	15,044	35,298	22,733	3,507	75	103,720	1,441	1,457	231	231	
		Mardán	632	44,863	39,076	83,939	13,354	11,682	26,670	16,573	4,582	405	78,926	1,074	1,832	129	133	
		Naushahra	548	52,373	38,211	90,584	13,441	11,873	29,469	16,349	7,005	568	81,961	1,147	3,023	142	165	
		Doába Dáúdzai	182	37,955	30,947	68,902	10,881	9,346	22,343	12,525	1,954	185	66,754	749	1,140	370	378	
		Hashtnaghar	303	38,127	31,787	69,914	11,289	9,854	22,479	13,095	2,248	131	67,524	1,183	1,184	127	231	
		Total	*2,504*	*329,524*	*263,150*	*592,674*	*87,929*	*77,246*	*189,972*	*108,520*	*39,321*	*3,103*	*546,117*	*8,504*	*18,714*	*185*	*237*	
31	Hazara	Abbottábád	714	72,910	62,576	135,486	22,298	20,872	41,192	26,918	8,263	1,019	126,121	564	1,978	177	189	31
		Harípur	666	66,318	58,214	124,532	20,500	19,112	38,586	25,290	7,712	350	116,461	714	1,630	172	187	
		Mansahra	1,455	65,975	57,038	123,013	20,143	17,722	37,748	23,387	3,323	8	119,682	841	822	85	85	
		Tanáwal	} 204 {	10,947	8,780	19,727	3,396	2,832	6,325	3,660	460	...	19,267	65	62	} 118	118	
		Phúlra		2,466	1,851	4,317	562	513	1,451	861	85	4	4,228	110	79			
		Total	*3,039*	*218,616*	*188,459*	*407,075*	*66,899*	*61,051*	*125,302*	*80,116*	*19,843*	*1,381*	*385,759*	*2,294*	*4,571*	*128*	*134*	
32	Kohat	Kohát	803	37,249	27,996	65,245	10,217	9,373	20,984	12,324	3,901	1,566	59,711	610	1,858	59	81	32
		Hangu	419	21,479	14,829	36,308	5,494	4,731	12,108	6,332	3,656	663	31,846	200	994	87	87	
		Terí	1,616	42,641	37,346	79,987	14,714	13,765	25,777	17,629	2,271	11	77,662	487	756	50	50	
		Total	*2,838*	*101,369*	*80,171*	*181,540*	*30,425*	*27,869*	*58,869*	*36,285*	*9,828*	*2,240*	*169,219*	*1,297*	*3,608*	*58*	*64*	
		*Total British Territory**	*106,632*	*10,202,083*	*8,640,181*	*18,842,264*	*2,685,532*	*2,395,031*	*5,347,767*	*3,129,755*	*7,127,489*	*1,120,260*	*10,522,802*	*163,723*	*496,441*	*154*	*177*	

* Excluding the Khaibar Pass.

SUPPLEMENTARY

Showing Statistics of Cultivation,

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Serial No.	Name of District.	Population.		Agricultural Population, Estimated.			Area in square miles of land paying Government Revenue or Quit-rent.				Area in square miles of land *not* paying Government Revenue or Quit-rent.				Total Area of British Punjab, in square miles.			
		Rural.	Total.	Rural.	Total.	Males above 15 years of age.	Unculturable.	Culturable.	Cultivated.	Total.	Unculturable.	Culturable	Cultivated.	Total.	Unculturable.	Culturable.	Cultivated.	Total.
1	Delhi	439,798	643,515	247,363	257,454	85,926	202	215	783	1,200	10	10	38	58	212	225	821	1,258
2	Gurgáon	569,589	641,848	337,122	347,704	106,265	250	132	1,537	1,919	3	1	15	19	253	133	1,552	1,938
3	Karnál	544,293	622,621	314,880	331,796	113,718	366	740	881	1,987	76	152	181	409	442	892	1,062	2,396
4	Hissar	428,065	504,183	309,171	327,284	107,530	266	1,446	1,800	3,512	2	11	15	28	268	1,457	1,815	3,540
5	Rohtak	454,147	553,609	263,745	300,506	98,819	137	254	1,396	1,787	2	3	19	24	139	257	1,415	1,811
6	Sirsa	222,312	253,275	159,214	165,138	51,982	296	1,328	1,478	3,102	1	6	7	14	297	1,334	1,485	3,116
7	Umballa	926,931	1,067,263	516,451	530,266	167,783	349	290	863	1,502	242	202	624	1,068	591	492	1,487	2,570
8	Ludhiána	535,783	618,835	337,220	355,394	115,890	90	116	899	1,105	22	28	220	270	112	144	1,119	1,375
9	Simla	20,909	42,945	11,440	11,713	4,140	...	2·6	13·3	16	...	0·3	1·6	2	...	3	15	18
10	Jullundur	652,334	789,555	344,881	376,661	111,912	134	131	959	1,224	11	10	77	98	145	141	1,036	1,322
11	Hoshiárpur	827,408	901,381	495,491	511,087	169,246	783	138	1,180	2,101	30	5	44	79	813	143	1,224	2,180
12	Kángra	706,363	730,845	465,122	468,067	146,690	6,621	360	898	7,879	428	23	59	510	7,049	383	957	8,389
13	Amritsar	705,367	893,266	354,389	368,502	113,076	164	128	933	1,225	48	35	265	348	212	163	1,198	1,573
14	Gurdáspur	742,333	823,695	385,088	396,386	130,778	293	118	1,139	1,550	52	21	199	272	345	139	1,338	1,822
15	Siálkot	928,158	1,012,148	482,563	492,764	148,797	303	261	1,223	1,787	27	23	121	171	330	284	1,344	1,958
16	Lahore	719,553	924,106	333,925	349,435	110,653	494	1,121	1,554	3,169	65	147	267	479	559	1,268	1,821	3,648
17	Gujránwála	544,898	616,892	264,480	274,490	82,478	424	855	713	1,992	117	235	243	595	541	1,090	956	2,587
18	Ferozepore	584,479	650,519	356,193	368,358	109,533	154	314	1,527	1,995	58	118	573	749	212	432	2,100	2,744
19	Ráwalpindi	735,186	820,512	437,855	444,520	141,301	4,186	368	1,458	6,012	136	11	59	206	4,322	379	1,517	6,218
20	Jhelum	528,264	589,373	318,019	329,006	98,277	2,191	323	1,292	3,806	55	8	41	104	2,246	331	1,333	3,910
21	Gujrát	646,719	689,115	388,552	400,104	112,647	293	472	1,070	1,835	21	33	84	138	314	505	1,154	1,973
22	Shahpur	369,877	421,508	193,835	203,602	57,499	727	2,908	746	4,381	48	188	74	310	775	3,096	820	4,691
23	Mooltan	463,881	551,964	213,559	218,940	66,314	380	4,204	1,217	5,801	4	43	32	79	384	4,247	1,249	5,880
24	Jhang	358,315	395,296	168,346	173,540	51,694	1,113	3,914	630	5,657	7	25	13	45	1,120	3,939	643	5,702
25	Montgomery	402,940	426,529	184,100	188,113	55,675	221	4,714	529	5,464	3	77	30	110	224	4,791	559	5,574
26	Muzaffargarh	316,749	338,605	179,029	182,705	54,294	926	1,584	620	3,180	2	3	1	6	928	1,587	621	3,136
27	D. I. Khan	393,767	441,649	211,349	215,714	60,928	2,613	4,320	1,056	7,989	416	688	203	1,307	3,029	5,008	1,259	9,296
28	D. G. Khan	320,142	363,346	174,474	179,821	54,364	960	1,580	1,404	3,944	99	163	171	433	1,059	1,743	1,575	4,377
29	Bannu	306,801	332,577	210,083	213,557	60,584	1,717	1,087	872	3,676	74	43	38	155	1,791	1,130	910	3,831
30	Pesháwar	463,901	592,674	272,935	288,073	90,075	535	405	1,219	2,159	85	65	195	345	620	470	1,414	2,504
31	Hazara	388,285	407,075	264,017	268,254	74,837	1,657	247	348	2,252	292	43	248	583	1,949	290	596	2,835
32	Kohát	163,361	181,540	95,805	98,520	29,751	2,089	185	230	2,504	278	25	31	334	2,367	210	261	2,838
	Total	16,410,907	18,842,264	9,290,696	9,637,474	2,983,446	30,934	34,261	32,467	97,662	2,714	2,445	4,189	9,348	33,648	36,706	36,656	107,010

Note.—For the manner in which these figures have been arrived at, and the degree

20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	
Amount of payment to Government as land revenue, quit-rent, or water-advantage rates, in rupees.	Amount of local rates and cesses paid to Government on land, in rupees.	Total Payments to Government on account of Revenue and cesses, in rupees.	Amount of Rent, including cesses where paid by actual cultivators, in rupees. (Estimated.)	Percentage of Total Cultivated Area which is			Average Annual Rainfall, in inches, at head-quarters of districts, from 1867 to 1881.	Percentage of Agricultural on Total Population.		Average number of culturable and cultivated acres per head of agricultural population.	Average Payment to Government per revenue-paying acre, in rupees. (Cesses excluded.)		Average Incidence per cultivated acre, in rupees.		Serial No.
				Irrigated.	Inundated.	Dry.		Rural.	Total.		On culturable and cultivated area.	On cultivated area.	Of local rates and cesses.	Of rent.	
852,853	89,525	942,378	1,891,174	37	2	61	26.8	56.2	40.0	2.6	1.34	1.70	0.17	3.60	1
1,232,059	104,949	1,337,008	2,606,247	19	—	81	28.9	59.2	54.2	3.1	1.15	1.25	0.11	2.62	2
669,261	85,149	754,410	1,725,245	39	1	60	29.2	57.9	53.3	3.8	0.65	1.19	0.13	2.54	3
426,406	41,644	468,050	906,147	5	23	72	17.1	72.2	65.1	6.4	0.20	0.37	0.04	0.78	4
1,009,001	109,017	1,118,018	2,127,417	13	1	86	19.5	58.1	54.3	3.6	0.96	1.13	0.12	2.35	5
177,777	18,604	196,381	389,091	3	5	92	15.2	71.6	65.2	10.9	0.09	0.19	0.02	0.41	6
785,574	122,996	908,570	2,748,928	18	1	81	32.8	55.7	49.7	2.4	1.06	1.42	0.13	2.89	7
796,558	91,797	888,355	1,999,000	17	1	82	24.7	62.9	57.4	2.3	1.23	1.38	0.13	2.79	8
13,849	1,577	15,426	32,339	6	—	94	64.1	54.7	27.3	1.0	1.35	1.66	0.16	3.37	9
1,226,708	127,481	1,354,189	2,758,720	33	4	63	30.4	52.9	47.7	2.0	1.76	1.91	0.19	4.14	10
1,264,361	130,643	1,395,004	2,821,377	3	3	94	36.4	59.9	56.7	1.7	1.50	1.67	0.17	3.60	11
618,705	78,856	697,561	1,651,798	27	—	73	130.5	65.8	64.0	1.8	0.77	1.08	0.13	2.70	12
886,874	113,472	1,000,346	2,368,305	39	3	58	25.9	50.2	41.3	2.4	1.30	1.49	0.15	3.09	13
1,116,718	132,990	1,249,708	2,743,723	50	10	40	30.1	51.9	48.1	2.4	1.39	1.53	0.16	3.20	14
1,113,364	124,519	1,237,883	2,583,648	16	15	69	38.8	52.0	48.7	2.1	1.17	1.42	0.14	3.00	15
690,025	85,732	775,757	1,691,222	37	9	54	17.0	46.4	37.8	5.7	0.40	0.69	0.07	1.45	16
504,603	64,947	569,550	1,336,459	14	3	83	26.9	48.5	44.5	4.8	0.50	1.11	0.11	2.18	17
518,246	63,511	581,757	1,329,741	70	4	26	19.0	60.9	56.6	4.4	0.44	0.53	0.05	0.99	18
694,557	71,239	765,796	1,545,692	2	—	98	33.3	59.6	54.2	2.7	0.59	0.75	0.07	1.59	19
753,517	81,937	835,454	1,621,062	3	3	94	21.7	60.2	55.8	3.2	0.73	0.91	0.10	1.90	20
591,529	77,018	668,547	1,335,949	13	9	78	27.4	60.1	58.1	2.7	0.60	0.86	0.10	1.81	21
433,348	41,092	474,440	922,524	64	19	17	13.6	52.4	48.3	12.3	0.19	0.91	0.08	1.76	22
762,985	77,679	840,664	1,532,273	79	21	—	6.6	46.0	39.7	16.1	0.22	0.98	0.10	1.92	23
443,850	47,307	491,157	870,477	69	30	1	10.1	47.0	43.9	16.9	0.15	1.10	0.11	2.12	24
441,801	50,933	492,734	841,310	62	8	30	9.6	45.7	44.1	18.2	0.13	1.30	0.14	2.35	25
411,093	56,191	467,284	872,250	65	35	—	6.6	56.5	51.0	7.7	0.29	1.04	0.14	2.19	26
446,238	52,366	498,604	1,075,411	32	35	33	8.6	53.7	48.8	18.6	0.13	0.66	0.00	1.33	27
377,847	44,292	422,139	809,631	57	10	33	7.1	54.5	49.5	11.8	0.20	0.42	0.04	0.80	28
402,119	41,521	443,640	923,953	15	13	72	12.7	68.5	64.2	6.1	0.32	0.72	0.07	1.59	29
684,950	88,315	773,265	1,831,261	25	3	72	13.6	58.8	48.6	4.2	0.66	0.88	0.10	2.02	30
222,950	31,140	254,090	647,081	38	2	60	48.1	68.0	65.9	2.1	0.59	1.00	0.08	1.62	31
92,942	12,485	105,427	251,089	10	—	90	21.4	58.6	54.3	3.1	0.35	0.63	0.07	1.50	32
20,662,668	2,360,924	23,023,592	48,790,544	26	8	66	26.7	56.6	51.1	4.9	0.48	0.99	0.10	2.08	

...alue which they possess, see paragraph 59 in Chapter II of the Report.

Table showing the distribution by birthplace of every

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Serial No.	DISTRICT.	Delhi.	Gurgaon.	Karnál.	Hissar.	Rohtak.	Sirsa.	Umballa.	Ludhiána.	Simla.	Jullundur.	Hoshiárpur.	Kángra.	Amritsar.	Gurdaspur.	Siálkot.	Lahore.	Gujránwála.	Ferozepore.	Ráwalpindi.	Jhelum.
1	Delhi	7,674	406	115	26	466	2	9	4	1	2	2	2	6	2	4	6	2	2	1	...
2	Gurgáon	220	8,173	3	11	138	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	2	1	...	...	...
3	Karnál	139	10	8,423	77	170	4	263	7	9	2	2	...	3	2	3	4	1	39	4	...
4	Hissar	20	35	51	7,761	191	88	4	4	...	2	1	...	4	2	2	3	...	6	...	...
5	Rohtak	370	255	142	205	8,205	3	5	1	...	1	2	...	3	1	2	1	1	1	...	...
6	Sirsa	17	20	9	502	19	6,253	6	26	...	7	5	...	11	7	4	34	2	308	1	...
7	Umballa	13	3	146	5	4	1	8,970	46	12	19	52	8	9	6	10	9	2	6	2	1
8	Ludhiána	6	...	9	4	4	3	90	8,522	1	202	97	5	19	8	25	8	4	165	1	1
9	Simla	67	19	64	...	13	75	543	50	5,214	102	296	647	25	12	1	41	5	22	11	6
10	Jullundur	5	2	3	1	1	1	25	152	2	8,724	520	8	67	24	18	12	2	79	2	1
11	Hoshiárpur	1	...	2	...	...	...	43	25	28	240	9,332	117	20	82	4	5	1	4	1	1
12	Kángra	1	...	1	...	...	...	3	2	45	12	160	9,503	5	80	4	2	1	1	1	...
13	Amritsar	5	...	1	1	...	2	11	20	...	72	56	27	8,602	411	200	196	29	25	9	8
14	Gurdáspur	2	...	1	1	2	...	3	3	...	23	119	69	246	8,990	189	24	6	3	2	2
15	Siálkot	3	...	1	...	1	...	6	3	...	5	6	2	73	151	9,086	36	198	1	3	4
16	Lahore	22	5	5	3	4	5	18	17	1	39	34	11	449	233	293	7,984	224	117	9	8
17	Gujránwála	2	..	...	...	1	...	1	2	...	3	3	1	21	11	380	80	9,141	3	4	8
18	Ferozepore	12	9	6	7	5	74	25	220	1	163	112	3	118	44	20	242	10	8,090	3	2
19	Ráwalpindi	8	3	4	1	...	...	9	8	1	16	17	2	34	29	76	30	46	4	8,882	138
20	Jhelum	4	1	1	...	...	...	3	4	...	8	7	7	17	14	51	17	30	4	152	9,194
21	Gujrát	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	1	1	10	7	115	15	129	2	7	56
22	Sháhpur	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	1	4	4	12	7	75	2	8	123
23	Mooltan	11	2	2	1	2	2	5	4	...	12	9	3	28	15	25	42	19	5	4	7
24	Jhang	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	1	...	6	3	5	11	96	1	2	5
25	Montgomery	2	1	1	4	1	80	2	5	...	8	5	1	25	12	18	351	29	50	1	2
26	Muzaffargarh	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	1	...	2	2	1	6	4	9	12	6	1	2	8
27	Dera Ismail Khan	1	1	...	1	2	...	2	2	...	1	2	3	12	6	8	4	3	1	9	10
28	Dera Ghazi Khan	3	4	1	...	3	...	1	1	...	3	3	3	17	6	13	16	5	2	3	9
29	Bannu	1	2	...	...	1	...	1	1	...	3	4	7	14	9	16	5	10	1	27	40
30	Peshawar	8	2	3	1	1	...	8	7	...	13	15	6	35	29	50	23	25	7	63	33
31	Hazára	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	...	3	4	1	5	6	7	5	4	1	112	14
32	Kohát	5	3	1	...	4	...	5	9	1	9	16	13	45	37	49	20	22	7	148	50
	Total British Territory.	291	304	298	225	274	92	529	302	16	400	50	383	462	448	549	431	338	301	401	304
	Total Native States.	11	29	67	62	43	26	175	113	7	68	55	25	26	10	3	11	1	80	...	...
	Total of the Province.	243	258	259	198	235	81	468	270	15	349	422	322	388	373	456	360	280	264	333	253

NOTE.—This table shows how many out of every 10,000 residents of the district given to the left-hand of the table were born in each of the places given at the head of the columns. Thus, of cols. 44 and 45 and 10,000

Table showing the distribution by residence within the

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1	Delhi	8,941	503	126	38	564	6	5	4	15	2	2	2	4	1	3	5	1	3	1	...
2	Gurgáon	260	8,970	4	16	166	3	1	1	2	...	1	...	1	...	1	1	...	1	...	...
3	Karnál	157	11	8,924	107	199	15	154	7	16	2	1	...	2	1	2	3	1	4	...	...
4	Hissar	17	31	44	8,721	181	242	2	4	2	1	1	...	2	1	1	2	...	5	...	...
5	Rohtak	371	242	134	253	8,522	10	3	1	2	1	1	...	2	1	1	1	1	1	...	...
6	Sirsa	7	10	4	283	9	8,655	1	11	...	2	1	...	3	2	1	11	1	130	...	...
7	Umballa	25	6	265	12	8	4	9,001	80	397	27	58	11	13	7	10	12	3	11	3	2
8	Ludhiána	7	...	10	6	4	11	53	8,603	15	160	63	4	13	6	3	6	4	171	...	2
9	Simla	5	2	5	...	1	2	22	4	6,769	6	13	38	1	1	1	2	...	2	1	...
10	Jullundur	7	3	4	2	1	4	18	195	36	8,821	428	9	60	23	14	11	3	104	2	1
11	Hoshiárpur	2	...	4	1	1	1	36	37	759	277	8,770	144	21	88	4	5	2	5	1	1
12	Kángra	2	...	1	...	...	...	2	2	987	11	122	9,499	5	69	3	2	1	1	1	1
13	Amritsar	8	...	2	1	...	7	9	28	8	82	52	32	8,729	434	172	215	40	37	11	12
14	Gurdáspur	3	...	2	1	3	1	3	4	9	25	102	78	230	8,741	150	24	8	4	2	3
15	Siálkot	6	1	2	1	2	...	6	4	7	6	6	3	85	181	8,874	45	315	2	4	7
16	Lahore	36	7	7	6	7	23	15	25	41	46	32	14	471	254	261	9,033	325	180	12	13
17	Gujránwála	3	...	...	...	2	...	1	2	2	2	2	1	15	8	226	61	8,860	3	3	9
18	Ferozepore	15	10	7	10	6	262	15	233	23	136	76	3	87	34	12	193	10	8,752	2	2
19	Ráwalpindi	12	4	5	1	1	1	7	11	19	17	15	3	32	28	60	31	59	6	9,652	198
20	Jhelum	4	1	1	...	1	1	2	4	...	6	4	6	12	9	29	13	28	4	119	9,468
21	Gujrát	2	...	...	1	1	...	1	1	2	2	1	1	8	6	77	13	140	2	6	68
22	Sháhpur	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1		2	2	5	4	50	1	5	91
23	Mooltan	11	2	2	2	2	7	3	4	8	9	5	2	17	9	13	29	17	5	3	7
24	Jhang	1	..	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	3	1	2	5	60	1	1	3
25	Montgomery	2	...	...	3	1	186	1	4	...	4	2	1	12	6	7	183	19	36	1	1
26	Muzaffargarh	1	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	3	5	3	1	1	4
27	Dera Ismail Khan	1	1	...	1	2	1	1	2	...	1	1	2	6	3	4	2	2	1	5	8
28	Dera Ghazi Khan	2	2	1	...	2	...	...	1	...	1	1	2	7	3	4	7	3	1	2	6
29	Bannu	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	1	1	1	3	5	3	5	2	5	...	12	28
30	Peshawar	8	2	3	2	1	...	5	7	8	10	9	5	24	20	29	17	22	6	49	34
31	Hazára	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	3	1	2	1	3	3	3	2	2	1	64	10
32	Kohát	2	1	...	...	1	...	1	3	5	2	3	3	9	8	9	4	7	1	35	16
	Total of British Territory.	9,921	9,810	9,557	9,469	9,689	9,444	9,369	9,285	9,138	9,663	9,778	9,868	9,886	9,955	9,989	9,949	9,992	9,482	9,998	9,997
	Total of Native States	79	190	443	531	341	556	631	715	862	337	222	132	114	45	11	51	8	518	2	3
	Total of the Province.	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000

NOTE.—This table shows how many out of every 10,000 persons born in the place given at the head of the column, and now living in the Punjab, are to be found in each of the districts are to be found in British

TABLE C.

(PROPORTIONAL DISTRIBUTION.)

10,000 persons residing in each part of the Province.

23 Gujrát.	24 Sháhpur.	25 Mooltan.	26 Jhang.	27 Montgomery.	28 Muzaffargarh.	29 D. I. Khan.	30 D. G. Khan.	31 Bannu.	32 Peshawar.	33 Hazára.	34 Kohát.	35 States of Eastern Plains.	36 States of Western Plains.	37 Hill States.	38 Total Punjab.	39 North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	40 Kashmir.	41 Rajputana.	42 Total of India.	43 Afghanistan.	44 Total of Asia.	45 Total of Europe.	46 Serial No.
...	...	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	...	67	...	...	8,855	821	2	280	9,984	1	9,986	4	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	201	...	1	8,764	487	...	737	10,000	...	10,000	1	2
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	423	...	1	9,547	412	1	34	9,998	...	9,999	...	3
...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	667	2	...	8,846	34	1	1,117	10,000	...	10,000	...	4
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	509	...	...	9,708	122	1	166	10,000	...	10,000	...	5
1	1	12	4	153	2	2	2	3	1	...	...	634	86	...	8,135	45	1	1,810	9,997	3	10,000	..	6
2	1	2	1	1	...	...	1	1	2	...	...	285	...	26	9,648	294	2	10	9,975	1	9,976	21	7
1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	782	1	6	9,952	31	8	4	9,998	1	9,999	...	8
3	...	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	168	...	162	7,515	1,658	74	6	9,458	8	9,582	352	9
2	...	3	1	1	1	...	1	...	2	...	...	256	...	4	9,918	44	3	...	9,984	1	9,984	15	10
1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	65	...	2	9,980	13	5	...	9,999	...	10,000	...	11
1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	97	9,923	21	39	...	9,998	...	9,999	1	12
29	2	2	3	2	1	...	...	...	6	...	...	84	1	...	9,797	81	98	8	9,994	3	9,997	3	13
5	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	34	...	...	9,731	20	239	1	9,999	...	10,000	1	14
96	3	...	1	...	...	1	...	1	2	1	...	2	...		9,690	55	242	1	9,98[illegible]	...	9,989	10	15
28	11	6	16	125	1	3	2	1	7	2	...	35	2	...	9,719	157	60	7	9,963	8	9,972	24	16
179	36	2	42	14	...	1	...	1	2	1	...	3	...	...	9,945	1	38	1	9,998	1	9,999	...	17
1	2	7	3	54	1	1	3	...	3	...	8	578	6	4	9,806	126	5	32	9,981	1	9,982	13	18
43	25	2	2	...	1	1	...	7	43	107	6	5	...	...	9,550	181	183	3	9,937	27	9,964	35	19
124	138	2	7	1	...	2	1	20	8	11	2	4	...	...	9,833	41	107	1	9,987	10	9,998	2	20
9,398	60	1	3	...	1	...	...	...	2	2	...	1	...	...	9,810	17	157	1	9,996	1	9,997	3	21
155	9,380	2	164	1	1	13	...	12	1	1	...	1	1	...	9,972	9	6	...	9,991	8	10,000	...	22
7	17	9,000	198	63	73	23	9	2	4	1	...	5	172	...	9,776	135	4	19	9,957	18	9,976	23	23
11	140	37	9,520	84	12	31	3	2	1	1	...	2	4	...	9,982	8	2	1	9,994	5	9,999	2	24
4	8	43	103	9,110	2	3	1	2	1	...	...	5	72	...	9,954	16	3	22	9,997	3	10,000	...	25
2	22	174	98	6	9,177	65	203	4	2	...	...	1	132	...	9,946	11	2	6	9,972	27	10,000	1	26
5	81	8	57	...	25	8,867	27	154	6	3	2	3	1	...	9,308	20	2	2	9,341	656	9,997	3	27
3	19	18	14	1	82	106	9,269	36	5	...	2	4	141	...	9,793	18	3	4	9,873	87	10,000	...	28
5	82	2	11	...	1	70	2	9,187	13	7	83	3	1	...	9,620	23	5	2	9,656	340	9,999	1	29
19	13	2	...	...	...	1	...	3	8,689	36	11	6	...	1	9,109	149	48	4	9,340	606	9,946	53	30
3	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	31	9,409	1	1	...	...	9,626	17	159	1	9,822	178	9,999	1	31
16	27	1	2	...	...	13	3	74	131	16	8,101	11	...	...	8,843	109	20	...	8,878	1,014	9,992	8	32
368	228	218	218	223	170	215	184	169	280	210	81	149	14	6	9,629	130	58	99	9,929	60	9,990	9	
1	1	11	2	39	3	1	5	...	1	...	...	5,669	1,359	1,909	9,814	39	12	121	9,997	2	9,999	...	
306	190	227	181	190	141	178	153	14	232	174	67	1,088	242	330	9,666	115	51	103	9,942	59	9,991	8	

of every 10,000 persons living in Jullundur, 8,724 were born in Jullundur (col. 12), 520 in Hoshiarpur (col. 13), 9,918 in the Punjab (col. 38), and so on. The difference between the sum is due to unspecified birthplaces.

TABLE D.

Province, of every 10,000 persons having a given birthplace.

23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46
1	...	1	...	...	...	3	...	...	3	...	1	17	...	...	259	2,024	10	771	285	6	283	134	1
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	52	...	...	256	1,199	1	2,026	284	1	283	4	2
...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	107	...	...	271	983	8	91	276	1	274	10	3
...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	136	2	...	203	65	6	2,411	223	...	222	7	4
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	114	...	...	245	259	1	394	245	...	243	3	5
...	...	6	3	90	2	1	2	2	1	...	...	65	40	...	94	46	2	1,962	112	6	112	2	6
2	2	4	2	1	...	1	2	2	5	1	...	123	...	37	469	1,205	23	46	472	5	470	1,250	7
1	1	1	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	...	...	196	...	5	281	73	45	11	274	8	273	16	8
...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	3	...	9	14	273	28	1	18	3	18	850	9
20	2	4	1	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	82	...	5	357	134	21	...	349	4	346	657	10
2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	24	...	5	410	46	37	...	399	3	397	3	11
1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	95	336	58	250	...	324	1	322	37	12
22	4	3	7	4	4	1	1	1	10	...	2	31	1	...	399	277	767	30	396	21	394	166	13
5	3	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	2	...	4	11	...	...	365	63	1,730	5	365	3	363	3	14
131	7	1	3	...	...	1	1	2	5	1	1	1	...	..	447	214	2,155	3	448	1	446	595	15
37	23	11	36	268	3	8	4	4	13	4	3	13	4	1	409	557	486	28	408	63	408	1,242	16
158	52	2	64	20	1	1	...	1	3	1	1	1	...	...	279	29	208	2	273	6	272	15	17
1	3	9	5	82	1	1	6	1	4	...	33	152	7	3	291	314	26	90	288	3	286	474	18
50	48	2	3	1	2	2	1	18	67	222	35	2	1	...	357	572	1,318	9	361	194	364	1,603	19
104	189	2	9	1	...	2	1	37	9	17	6	1	...	...	264	93	550	3	261	50	259	71	20
9,327	96	2	6	1	1	...	...	1	2	3	...	...	...	...	308	44	949	2	305	6	304	99	21
93	9,189	2	168	1	1	14	...	16	1	1	...	...	1	...	192	20	21	...	187	31	186	1	22
5	22	9,660	266	81	127	31	14	4	4	1	1	1	173	...	246	285	21	45	244	91	243	717	23
6	129	29	9,134	77	14	31	3	3	...	1	...	...	3	...	180	12	7	2	175	19	174	5	24
1	8	36	107	9,016	3	3	2	3	1	1	...	1	56	...	193	27	10	40	189	10	188	9	25
2	18	115	80	5	9,678	55	197	5	1	...	...	...	82	...	154	14	5	8	150	81	149	2	26
3	84	7	61	1	31	9,675	35	213	5	3	7	1	1	...	188	34	10	3	183	2,570	194	78	27
1	16	13	13	...	93	95	9,664	41	3	..	4	1	93	...	162	25	8	6	159	281	160	8	28
2	63	1	9	...	1	57	2	9,594	8	6	182	...	1	...	145	30	15	2	142	1,013	146	18	29
16	18	2	1	...	...	1	1	5	9,766	51	43	1	...	...	246	339	253	11	245	3,185	260	1,774	30
2	2	2	...	...	...	1	...	1	24	9,677	3	...	.	...	179	26	570	1	177	642	179	16	31
4	11	...	1	...	...	6	2	42	45	7	9,670	1	...	...	73	76	31	..	72	1,633	80	86	32
9,997	9,991	9,918	9,981	9,654	9,965	9,993	9,940	9,998	9,990	9,999	9,999	1,138	465	160	8,272	9,416	9,572	8,003	8,289	9,941	8,298	9,955	
3	9	82	19	346	35	7	60	2	10	1	1	8,862	9,535	9,840	1,728	584	428	1,997	1,711	59	1,702	45	
10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	

given to the left hand of the table. Thus, of every 10,000 persons born in Jullundur (column 12) and now living in the Punjab, 8,821 are residents of Jullundur, 277 of Hoshiarpur, 9,663 Territory, and so on.

SUPPLEMENTARY

Showing the birthplaces of the

Serial No.	DISTRICT.	VILLAGES.																		TOW								
		1			2			3			4			5			6			7			8			9		
		Birthplace specified.			Born in the District.			Born in the Panjab.			Born in other parts of India.			Born in other countries of Asia.			Born in other countries than Asia.			Birthplace specified.			Born in the District.			Born in the Panjab.		
		Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.	Males.	Females.	Both sexes.
1	Delhi	235,410	204,329	439,739	205,974	141,018	346,992	222,746	182,013	404,759	12,653	22,311	34,964	7	1	8	4	4	8	108,053	95,063	203,116	77,005	69,852	146,857	87,065	77,983	165,048
2	Gurgaon	302,039	267,544	569,583	271,468	199,998	471,466	281,034	221,310	502,344	20,998	46,233	67,231	7	1	8	...	...	...	36,870	35,382	72,252	29,398	23,742	53,140	32,329	27,811	60,140
3	Karnal	296,134	248,086	544,220	268,470	193,185	461,655	287,691	235,430	523,121	8,423	12,654	21,077	13	...	13	7	2	9	39,999	38,329	78,328	33,262	29,568	62,830	36,406	34,544	70,950
	I.—Total	833,583	719,959	1,553,542	745,912	534,201	1,280,113	791,471	638,753	1,430,224	42,074	81,198	123,272	27	2	29	11	6	17	184,922	168,774	353,696	139,665	123,162	262,827	155,800	140,338	296,138
4	Hissar	232,062	196,003	428,065	180,325	156,835	337,160	198,329	181,749	380,078	33,730	14,254	47,984	1	...	1	2	...	2	40,205	35,913	76,118	29,522	24,607	54,129	34,984	30,922	65,906
5	Rohtak	245,368	208,779	454,147	220,912	154,594	375,506	240,192	201,850	442,042	5,174	6,928	12,102	1	1	2	1	...	1	50,856	48,606	99,462	43,914	34,813	78,727	48,963	46,416	95,379
6	Sirsa	121,451	100,861	222,312	78,293	64,474	142,767	100,243	83,677	183,920	21,177	17,181	38,358	30	2	32	1	1	2	17,240	13,723	30,963	8,677	6,937	15,614	12,370	9,754	22,124
	II.—Total	598,881	505,643	1,104,524	479,530	375,903	855,433	538,764	467,276	1,006,040	60,081	38,363	98,444	32	3	35	4	1	5	108,301	98,242	206,543	82,113	66,357	148,470	96,317	87,092	183,409
7	Umballa	510,198	416,733	926,931	478,816	376,299	855,115	500,720	409,136	909,856	9,400	7,566	16,966	36	22	58	42	9	51	77,807	62,245	140,052	55,169	47,063	102,232	64,988	54,806	119,794
8	Ludhiána	294,230	241,553	535,783	272,230	193,822	466,052	293,434	241,017	534,451	785	536	1,321	11	...	11	...	...	...	45,368	37,684	83,052	34,587	26,718	61,305	44,456	36,972	81,428
9	Simla	11,336	9,301	20,637	8,059	7,974	16,033	10,348	8,891	19,239	946	383	1,329	14	4	18	28	23	51	16,138	5,898	22,036	4,032	2,308	6,340	9,368	3,658	13,026
	III.—Total	815,764	667,587	1,483,351	759,105	578,095	1,337,200	804,502	659,044	1,463,546	11,132	8,485	19,617	61	26	87	70	32	102	139,313	105,827	245,140	93,788	76,089	169,877	118,788	95,429	214,217
10	Jullundur	356,329	295,974	652,303	330,913	248,779	579,692	355,596	295,517	651,113	717	453	1,170	15	...	15	1	4	5	75,083	62,128	137,211	61,253	47,898	109,151	71,415	60,554	131,969
11	Hoshiarpur	442,162	385,246	827,408	426,866	349,421	776,287	441,330	384,852	826,182	814	381	1,195	15	12	27	3	1	4	39,361	34,606	73,967	35,967	28,925	64,892	38,958	34,432	73,390
12	Kángra	367,312	339,049	706,361	350,849	322,884	673,733	364,891	337,523	702,414	2,350	1,481	3,831	29	26	55	42	9	61	13,554	10,928	24,482	11,103	9,675	20,778	12,351	10,419	22,770
	IV.—Total	1,165,803	1,020,269	2,186,072	1,108,628	921,084	2,029,712	1,161,817	1,017,892	2,179,709	3,881	2,315	6,196	59	38	97	46	24	70	127,998	107,662	235,660	108,323	86,498	194,821	122,724	105,405	228,129
13	Amritsar	384,717	320,641	705,358	361,527	275,117	636,644	383,475	319,648	703,123	1,232	982	2,214	6	11	17	4	...	4	105,968	81,931	187,899	73,132	58,684	131,816	95,788	76,181	171,969
14	Gurdáspur	402,769	339,530	742,299	377,875	296,036	673,911	395,130	328,932	724,062	7,599	10,592	18,191	38	3	41	2	3	5	43,023	38,339	81,362	36,395	30,157	66,552	40,758	36,741	77,499
15	Sialkot	493,998	434,151	928,149	465,688	387,348	853,036	485,195	419,842	905,037	8,794	14,303	23,097	6	2	8	3	4	7	45,583	38,329	83,912	35,585	31,026	66,611	40,248	35,499	75,747
	V.—Total	1,281,484	1,094,322	2,375,806	1,205,090	958,501	2,163,591	1,263,800	1,068,422	2,332,222	17,625	25,877	43,502	50	16	66	9	7	16	194,574	158,599	353,173	145,112	119,867	264,979	176,794	148,481	325,275
16	Lahore	393,476	325,915	719,391	340,887	270,510	611,397	391,189	324,608	715,797	2,133	1,235	3,368	131	67	198	23	5	28	116,640	87,691	204,331	72,398	54,014	126,412	101,268	81,148	182,416
17	Gujránwálá	295,792	249,052	544,844	279,249	225,887	505,136	294,986	248,331	543,317	760	717	1,477	41	4	45	5	...	5	37,783	34,206	71,989	31,313	27,463	58,776	36,680	33,535	70,215
18	Ferozepore	318,652	265,507	581,159	273,006	212,221	485,227	316,695	264,253	580,948	1,930	1,247	3,177	27	1	28	...	6	6	38,419	27,619	66,038	21,947	17,127	39,074	32,244	24,737	56,981
	VI.—Total	1,007,920	840,474	1,848,394	893,142	708,618	1,601,760	1,002,870	837,192	1,840,062	4,823	3,199	8,022	199	72	271	28	11	39	192,842	149,516	342,358	125,658	98,604	224,262	170,192	139,420	309,612
19	Ráwalpindi	395,022	340,162	735,184	357,979	326,667	684,646	382,531	336,115	718,646	10,899	3,813	14,712	1,478	199	1,677	114	35	149	54,262	31,061	85,323	23,794	20,304	44,098	39,215	25,769	64,984
20	Jhelum	277,547	250,717	528,264	261,686	239,508	501,194	275,168	249,485	524,653	2,007	1,139	3,146	365	89	454	7	4	11	35,901	25,208	61,109	21,705	18,956	40,661	31,817	23,060	54,877
21	Gujrát	340,309	306,410	646,719	324,852	285,013	610,765	335,421	300,615	636,036	4,696	5,787	10,483	33	6	39	159	2	161	21,853	20,543	42,396	19,304	17,528	36,832	20,941	19,705	40,646
22	Shahpur	194,988	174,889	369,877	183,132	164,515	347,647	194,377	174,711	369,088	328	149	477	283	29	312	...	...	...	26,688	24,943	51,631	24,641	23,079	47,720	26,441	24,826	51,267
	VII.—Total	1,207,866	1,072,178	2,280,044	1,127,649	1,016,603	2,144,252	1,187,497	1,060,926	2,248,423	17,930	10,888	28,818	2,159	323	2,482	280	41	321	138,704	101,755	240,459	89,444	79,867	169,311	118,414	93,360	211,774
23	Mooltan	255,449	208,415	463,864	233,348	195,955	429,303	252,480	207,405	459,885	2,418	959	3,377	493	34	527	58	17	75	49,053	39,029	88,082	34,813	32,674	67,487	43,092	36,626	79,718
24	Jhang	195,138	163,176	358,314	186,106	155,452	341,558	194,909	163,099	358,008	129	59	188	95	18	113	5	...	5	19,243	17,738	36,981	17,895	16,854	34,749	18,914	17,665	36,579
25	Montgomery	219,773	183,167	402,940	201,231	167,651	368,882	218,828	182,605	401,433	856	551	1,407	81	7	88	8	4	12	13,174	10,415	23,589	10,659	9,051	19,710	12,844	10,271	23,115
26	Muzaffargarh	172,713	144,036	316,749	157,387	133,847	291,234	171,567	143,740	315,307	412	166	578	731	130	861	3	...	3	11,797	10,059	21,856	10,334	9,172	19,506	11,515	9,953	21,468
	VIII.—Total	843,073	698,794	1,541,867	778,072	652,905	1,430,977	837,784	696,849	1,534,633	3,815	1,735	5,550	1,400	189	1,589	74	21	95	93,267	77,241	170,508	73,701	67,751	141,452	86,365	74,515	160,880
27	Dera Ismáil Khán	212,109	181,658	393,767	187,594	162,631	350,225	197,463	168,123	365,586	448	124	572	14,192	13,411	27,603	6	...	6	26,359	21,523	47,882	21,459	19,920	41,379	24,661	20,840	45,501
28	Dera Ghazi Khán	175,848	144,294	320,142	164,115	136,534	300,649	172,877	142,684	315,561	546	240	786	2,424	1,370	3,794	1	...	1	24,819	18,385	43,204	19,365	16,758	36,123	22,550	17,718	40,268
29	Bannu	162,041	144,760	306,801	150,027	137,165	287,192	155,579	140,337	295,916	127	40	167	6,328	4,383	10,711	7	...	7	15,462	10,314	25,776	9,501	8,875	18,376	14,101	9,935	24,036
	IX.—Total	550,194	470,771	1,020,965	501,736	436,330	9,38,066	526,115	451,203	977,318	1,121	404	1,525	22,944	19,164	42,108	14	...	14	66,444	50,163	116,607	50,325	45,553	95,878	61,116	48,434	109,550
30	Peshawar	250,578	213,323	463,901	224,581	202,345	426,926	231,995	203,878	435,873	1,929	338	2,267	16,641	9,103	25,744	13	4	17	78,941	49,826	128,767	46,938	41,087	88,025	59,973	44,012	103,985
31	Hazára	207,530	180,755	388,285	196,542	173,289	369,831	200,411	175,741	376,152	3,329	2,306	5,635	3,789	2,708	6,497	1	...	1	11,085	7,704	18,789	7,020	6,164	13,184	8,950	6,754	15,704
32	Kohát	89,101	74,260	163,361	71,957	66,255	138,212	77,933	67,721	145,654	1,549	33	1,582	9,501	6,504	16,005	118	2	120	12,268	5,911	18,179	4,817	4,054	8,871	9,838	5,034	14,872
	X.—Total	547,209	468,338	1,015,547	493,080	441,889	934,969	510,339	447,340	957,679	6,807	2,677	9,484	29,931	18,315	48,246	132	6	138	102,294	63,441	165,735	58,775	51,305	110,080	78,761	55,800	134,561
	Khaibar Pass	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	725	47	772	...	...	...	331	44	375
	Total of British Territory.	8,851,581	7,558,276	16,409,857	8,091,944	6,624,129	14,716,073	8,624,763	7,344,838	15,969,601	169,288	175,141	344,429	56,862	38,148	95,010	668	149	817	1,349,580	1,081,326	2,430,906	966,904	815,053	1,781,957	1,185,826	988,329	2,174,155
	Total of Native States.	1,877,664	1,550,923	3,428,587	1,740,476	1,340,615	3,081,091	1,851,651	1,519,168	3,370,819	25,354	31,615	56,999	630	101	731	29	9	38	234,639	198,457	433,096	206,955	163,296	370,251	227,494	191,683	419,177
	Total of the Province.	10,729,245	9,109,199	19,838,444	9,832,420	7,964,744	17,797,164	10,476,414	8,864,006	19,340,420	194,642	206,786	401,428	57,492	38,249	95,741	697	158	855	1,584,219	1,279,783	2,864,002	1,173,859	978,349	2,152,208	1,413,320	1,180,012	2,593,332

Note.—The totals of columns for Divisions, British Territory, &c., show the numbers who were born in the District or State

rural and urban population of Districts.

Birthplace for Towns and Villages.

10 Born in other parts of India. Males	10 Females	10 Both sexes	11 Born in other countries of Asia. Males	11 Females	11 Both sexes	12 Born in other countries than Asia. Males	12 Females	12 Both sexes	TOTAL. 13 Birthplace specified. Males	13 Females	13 Both sexes	14 Born in the District. Males	14 Females	14 Both sexes	15 Born in the Panjab. Males	15 Females	15 Both sexes	16 Born in other parts of India. Males	16 Females	16 Both sexes	17 Born in other countries of Asia. Males	17 Females	17 Both sexes	18 Born in other countries than Asia. Males	18 Females	18 Both sexes	Serial No.
20,723	16,997	37,720	85	14	99	180	69	249	343,463	299,392	642,855	282,979	210,870	493,849	309,811	259,996	569,807	33,376	39,308	72,684	92	15	107	184	73	257	1
4,529	7,570	12,099	6	...	6	6	1	7	338,909	302,926	641,835	300,866	223,740	524,606	313,363	249,121	562,484	25,527	53,803	79,330	13	1	14	6	1	7	2
3,583	3,779	7,362	5	2	7	5	4	9	336,133	286,415	622,548	301,732	222,753	524,485	324,097	269,974	594,071	12,006	16,433	28,439	18	2	20	12	6	18	3
28,835	28,346	57,181	96	16	112	191	74	265	1,018,505	888,733	1,907,238	885,577	657,363	1,542,940	947,271	779,091	1,726,362	70,909	109544	180,453	123	18	141	202	80	282	
5,214	4,986	10,200	1	...	1	6	5	11	272,267	231,916	504,183	209,847	181,442	391,289	233,313	212,671	445,984	38,944	19,240	58,184	2	...	2	8	5	13	4
1,888	2,189	4,077	2	...	2	3	1	4	296,224	257,385	553,609	264,826	189,407	454,233	289,155	248,266	537,421	7,062	9,117	16,179	3	1	4	4	1	5	5
4,832	3,969	8,801	36	...	36	2	...	2	138,691	114,584	253,275	86,970	71,411	158,381	112,613	93,431	206,044	26,009	21,150	47,159	66	2	68	3	1	4	6
11,934	11,144	23,078	39	...	39	11	6	17	707,182	603,885	1,311,067	561,643	442,260	1,003,903	635,081	554,368	1,189,449	72,015	49,507	121,522	71	3	74	15	7	22	
10,894	7,136	18,030	26	25	51	1,899	278	2,177	588,005	478,978	1,066,983	533,985	423,362	957,347	565,708	463,942	1,029,650	20,294	14,702	34,996	62	47	109	1,941	287	2,228	7
844	647	1,491	55	50	105	13	15	28	339,598	279,237	618,835	306,817	220,540	527,357	337,890	277,989	615,879	1,629	1,183	2,812	66	50	116	13	15	28	8
5,037	1,988	7,025	467	44	511	1,266	208	1,474	27,474	15,199	42,673	12,091	10,282	22,373	19,716	12,549	32,265	5,983	2,371	8,354	481	48	529	1,294	231	1,525	9
16,799	9,778	26,577	548	119	667	3,178	501	3,679	955,077	773,414	1,728,491	852,893	654,184	1,507,077	923,289	754,473	1,677,762	27,931	18,263	46,194	609	145	754	3,248	533	3,781	
2,593	1,433	4,026	26	8	34	1,049	133	1,182	431,412	358,102	789,514	392,166	296,677	688,843	427,011	356,071	783,082	3,310	1,886	5,196	41	8	49	1,050	137	1,187	10
394	172	566	6	1	7	3	1	4	481,523	419,852	901,375	462,833	378,346	841,179	480,288	419,284	899,572	1,208	553	1,761	21	13	34	6	2	8	11
1,192	503	1,695	4	...	4	7	6	13	380,866	349,977	730,843	361,952	332,559	694,511	377,242	347,942	725,184	3,542	1,984	5,526	33	26	59	49	25	74	12
4,179	2,108	6,287	36	9	45	1,059	140	1,199	1,293,801	1,127,931	2,421,732	1,216,951	1,007,582	2,224,533	1,284,541	1,123,297	2,407,838	8,060	4,423	12,483	95	47	142	1,105	164	1,269	
9,733	5,636	15,369	186	84	270	261	30	291	490,685	402,572	893,257	434,659	333,801	768,460	479,263	395,829	875,092	10,965	6,618	17,583	192	95	287	265	30	295	13
2,254	1,595	3,849	11	2	13	...	1	1	445,792	377,869	823,661	414,270	326,193	740,463	435,888	365,673	801,561	9,853	12,187	22,040	49	5	54	2	4	6	14
4,395	2,707	7,102	1	...	1	939	123	1,062	539,581	472,480	1,012,061	501,273	418,374	919,647	525,443	455,341	980,784	13,189	17,010	30,199	7	2	9	942	127	1,069	15
16,382	9,938	26,320	198	86	284	1,200	154	1,354	1,476,058	1,252,921	2,728,979	1,350,202	1,078,368	2,428,570	1,440,594	1,216,843	2,657,437	34,007	35,815	69,822	248	102	350	1,209	161	1,370	
13,020	6,125	19,145	436	129	565	1,916	289	2,205	510,116	413,606	923,722	413,285	324,524	737,809	492,457	405,756	898,213	15,153	7,360	22,513	567	196	763	1,939	294	2,233	16
1,071	661	1,732	16	2	18	16	8	24	333,575	283,258	616,833	310,562	253,350	563,912	331,666	281,866	613,532	1,831	1,378	3,209	57	6	63	21	8	29	17
5,380	2,824	8,204	5	5	10	790	53	843	357,071	293,126	650,197	294,953	229,348	524,301	348,939	288,990	637,929	7,310	4,071	11,381	32	6	38	790	59	849	18
19,471	9,610	29,081	457	136	593	2,722	350	3,072	1,200,762	989,990	2,190,752	1,018,800	807,222	1,826,022	1,173,062	976,612	2,149,674	24,294	12,809	37,103	656	208	864	2,750	361	3,111	
12,321	4,730	17,051	460	98	558	2,266	464	2,730	449,284	371,223	820,507	381,773	346,971	728,744	421,746	361,884	783,630	23,220	8,543	31,763	1,938	297	2,235	2,380	499	2,879	19
3,846	2,103	5,949	155	11	166	83	34	117	313,448	275,925	589,373	283,391	258,464	541,855	306,985	272,545	579,530	5,853	3,242	9,095	520	100	620	90	38	128	20
879	822	1,701	21	11	32	12	5	17	362,162	326,953	689,115	344,156	303,441	647,597	356,362	320,320	676,682	5,575	6,609	12,184	54	17	71	171	7	178	21
208	109	317	38	7	45	1	1	2	221,676	199,832	421,508	207,773	187,594	395,367	220,818	199,537	420,355	536	258	794	321	36	357	1	1	2	22
17,254	7,764	25,018	674	127	801	2,362	504	2,866	1,346,570	1,173,933	2,520,503	1,217,093	1,096,470	2,313,563	1,305,911	1,154,286	2,460,197	35,184	18,652	53,836	2,833	450	3,283	2,642	545	3,187	
4,388	2,235	6,623	487	51	538	1,086	117	1,203	304,502	247,444	551,946	268,161	228,629	496,790	295,572	244,031	539,603	6,806	3,194	10,000	980	85	1,065	1,144	134	1,278	23
237	57	294	90	15	105	2	1	3	214,381	180,914	395,295	204,001	172,306	376,307	213,823	180,764	394,587	366	116	482	185	33	218	7	1	8	24
302	141	443	25	2	27	3	1	4	232,947	193,582	426,529	211,890	176,702	388,592	231,672	192,876	424,548	1,158	692	1,850	106	9	115	11	5	16	25
208	91	299	73	15	88	1	...	1	184,510	154,095	338,605	167,721	143,019	310,740	183,082	153,693	336,775	620	257	877	804	145	949	4	...	4	26
5,135	2,524	7,659	675	83	758	1,092	119	1,211	936,340	776,035	1,712,375	851,773	720,656	1,572,429	924,149	771,364	1,695,513	8,950	4,259	13,209	2,075	272	2,347	1,166	140	1,306	
697	186	883	886	479	1,365	115	18	133	238,468	203,181	441,649	209,053	182,551	391,604	222,124	188,963	411,087	1,145	310	1,455	15,078	13,890	28,968	121	18	139	27
1,752	352	2,104	509	310	819	8	5	13	200,667	162,679	363,346	183,480	153,292	336,772	195,427	160,402	355,829	2,298	592	2,890	2,933	1,680	4,613	9	5	14	28
834	169	1,003	510	202	712	17	8	25	177,503	155,074	332,577	159,528	146,040	305,568	169,680	150,272	319,952	961	209	1,170	6,838	4,585	11,423	24	8	32	29
3,283	707	3,990	1,905	991	2,896	140	31	171	616,638	520,934	1,137,572	552,061	481,883	1,033,944	587,231	499,637	1,086,868	4,404	1,111	5,515	24,849	20,155	45,004	154	31	185	
9,072	2,383	11,455	7,012	3,156	10,168	2,884	275	3,159	329,519	263,149	592,668	271,519	243,432	514,951	291,968	247,890	539,858	11,001	2,721	13,722	23,653	12,259	35,912	2,897	279	3,176	30
1,660	663	2,323	458	276	734	17	11	28	218,615	188,459	407,074	203,562	179,453	383,015	209,361	182,495	391,856	4,989	2,969	7,958	4,247	2,984	7,231	18	11	29	31
748	124	872	1,652	749	2,401	30	4	34	101,369	80,171	181,540	76,774	70,309	147,083	87,771	72,755	160,526	2,297	157	2,454	11,153	7,253	18,406	148	6	154	32
11,480	3,170	14,650	9,122	4,181	13,303	2,931	290	3,221	649,503	531,779	1,181,282	551,855	493,194	1,045,049	589,100	503,140	1,092,240	18,287	5,847	24,134	39,053	22,496	61,549	3,063	296	3,359	
388	2	390	3	1	4	3	...	3	725	47	772	...	...	...	331	44	375	388	2	390	3	1	4	3	...	3	
135,112	85,079	220,191	13,753	5,749	19,502	14,889	2,169	17,058	10,201,161	8,639,602	18,840,763	9,058,848	7,439,182	16,498,030	9,810,589	8,333,167	18,143,756	304,400	260,220	564,620	70,615	43,897	114,512	15,557	2,318	17,875	
6,917	6,724	13,641	200	34	234	28	16	44	2,112,303	1,749,380	3,861,683	1,947,431	1,503,911	3,451,342	2,079,145	1,710,851	3,789,996	32,271	38,169	70,640	830	135	965	57	25	82	
142,029	91,803	233,832	13,953	5,783	19,736	14,917	2,185	17,102	12,313,464	10,388,982	22,702,446	11,006,279	8,943,093	19,949,372	11,889,734	10,044,018	21,933,752	336,671	298,589	635,260	71,445	44,032	115,477	15,614	2,343	17,957	

(not Division or set of States) in which they now live. They are merely the totals of the details for Districts and States.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE F.

Showing the Gain or Loss to each District by migration.

PERSONS.

Serial No.	Districts, Divisions, &c.	Total population.	Immigration: From other parts of the Province.	Immigration: From other parts of India.	Immigration: From other parts of Asia.	Immigration: From outside Asia.	Immigration: Total.	Emigration: To other parts of the Province.	Emigration: To other parts of India.	Emigration: Total.	Net gain.	Per mille of total population: Immigration: From other parts of the Province.	Per mille: Immigration: From other parts of India.	Per mille: Immigration: From other parts of Asia.	Per mille: Immigration: From outside Asia.	Per mille: Immigration: Total.	Per mille: Emigration: To other parts of the Province.	Per mille: Emigration: To other parts of India.	Per mille: Emigration: Total.	Net gain.	Districts, Divisions, &c.	Serial No.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
1	Delhi	643,515	75,958	72,684	107	917	149,666	58,492	51,500	109,992	39,674	118	113	...	1	232	91	80	171	61	Delhi	1
2	Gurgaon	641,848	37,878	79,330	14	20	117,242	60,247	71,650	131,897	—14,655	59	124	...	...	183	94	112	206	—23	Gurgaon	2
3	Karnál	622,621	69,586	28,439	20	91	98,136	63,243	24,000	87,243	10,893	112	46	...	...	158	102	39	140	18	Karnál	3
4	Hissar	504,183	54,695	58,184	2	13	112,894	57,406	11,300	68,706	44,188	109	115	...	...	224	114	22	136	88	Hissar	4
5	Rohtak	553,609	83,188	16,179	4	5	99,376	78,769	...	78,769	20,607	150	29	...	...	179	142	...	142	37	Rohtak	5
6	Sirsa	253,275	47,663	47,159	68	4	94,894	24,617	3,000	27,617	67,277	189	186	...	...	375	97	12	109	266	Sirsa	6
7	Umballa	1,067,263	72,303	34,996	109	2,508	109,916	106,161	18,000	124,161	—14,245	68	33	...	2	103	99	17	116	—13	Umballa	7
8	Ludhiána	618,835	88,522	2,812	116	28	91,478	85,595	...	85,595	5,883	143	5	...	...	148	138	...	138	10	Ludhiána	8
9	Simla	42,945	9,901	8,345	529	1,797	20,572	10,679	...	10,679	9,893	230	195	12	42	479	248	...	248	231	Simla	9
10	Jullundur	789,555	94,239	5,196	49	1,228	100,712	92,031	...	92,031	8,681	118	7	...	2	127	117	...	117	10	Jullundur	10
11	Hoshiárpur	901,381	58,393	1,761	34	14	60,202	117,948	...	117,948	—57,746	65	2	...	...	67	131	...	131	—64	Hoshiárpur	11
12	Kángra	730,845	30,673	5,526	59	76	36,334	36,621	...	36,621	—287	41	8	...	...	49	50	...	50	—1	Kángra	12
13	Amritsar	893,266	106,632	17,583	287	304	124,806	111,917	...	111,917	12,889	119	20	...	...	139	125	...	125	14	Amritsar	13
14	Gurdáspur	823,695	61,098	22,040	54	40	83,232	106,681	...	106,681	—23,449	74	27	...	...	101	129	...	129	—28	Gurdáspur	14
15	Siálkot	1,012,148	61,137	30,199	9	1,156	92,501	116,777	...	116,777	—24,276	61	30	...	1	92	115	...	115	—23	Siálkot	15
16	Lahore	924,106	160,404	22,513	763	2,617	186,297	78,992	...	78,992	107,305	174	24	1	3	202	85	...	85	117	Lahore	16
17	Gujránwála	616,892	49,620	3,209	63	88	52,980	72,564	...	72,564	—19,584	81	5	...	...	86	118	...	118	—32	Gujránwála	17
18	Ferozepore	650,519	113,628	11,381	38	1,171	126,218	74,740	...	74,740	51,478	175	17	...	2	194	115	...	115	79	Ferozepore	18
19	Ráwalpindi	820,512	54,886	31,763	2,235	2,884	91,768	26,305	...	26,305	65,463	66	39	3	4	112	32	...	32	80	Ráwalpindi	19
20	Jhelum	589,373	37,675	9,095	620	128	47,518	30,481	...	30,481	17,037	65	15	1	...	81	52	...	52	29	Jhelum	20
21	Gujrát	689,115	29,085	12,184	71	178	41,518	46,639	...	46,639	—5,121	43	18	...	...	61	68	...	68	—7	Gujrát	21
22	Shahpur	421,508	24,988	794	357	2	26,141	34,889	...	34,889	—8,748	59	2	1	...	62	82	...	82	—20	Shahpur	22
23	Multan	551,964	42,813	10,000	1,065	1,296	55,174	17,474	...	17,474	37,700	77	18	2	2	99	32	...	32	67	Multan	23
24	Jhang	395,296	18,280	482	218	9	18,989	35,688	...	35,688	—16,699	46	1	1	...	48	91	...	91	—43	Jhang	24
25	Montgomery	426,529	35,956	1,850	115	16	37,937	42,408	...	42,408	—4,471	85	4	...	...	89	99	...	99	—10	Montgomery	25
26	Muzaffargarh	338,605	26,035	877	949	4	27,865	10,351	...	10,351	17,514	76	3	3	...	82	31	...	31	51	Muzaffargarh	26
27	D. I. Khan	441,649	19,483	1,455	28,968	139	50,045	13,155	...	13,155	36,890	45	3	65	...	113	29	...	29	84	D. I. Khan	27
28	D. G. Khan	363,346	19,057	2,890	4,613	14	26,574	11,697	...	11,697	14,877	52	8	13	...	73	32	...	32	41	D. G. Khan	28
29	Bannu	332,577	14,384	1,170	11,423	32	27,009	12,944	...	12,944	14,065	43	4	34	...	81	39	...	39	42	Bannu	29
30	Peshawar	592,674	24,907	13,722	35,912	3,182	77,723	12,389	...	12,389	65,334	42	23	61	5	131	21	...	21	110	Peshawar	30
31	Hazára	407,075	8,841	7,958	7,231	30	24,060	12,772	...	12,772	11,288	22	19	18	...	59	31	...	31	28	Hazára	31
32	Kohát	181,540	13,443	2,454	18,406	154	34,457	5,026	...	5,026	29,431	73	14	101	1	189	28	...	28	161	Kohát	32
I	Delhi	1,907,984	122,702	180,453	141	1,028	304,324	121,262	147,150	268,412	35,912	65	94	...	1	160	63	77	140	20	Delhi	I
II	Hissar	1,311,067	146,757	121,522	74	22	268,375	122,003	14,300	136,303	132,072	112	93	...	...	205	93	11	104	101	Hissar	II
III	Umballa	1,729,043	156,286	46,153	754	4,333	207,526	187,995	18,000	205,995	1,531	90	27	...	3	120	109	10	119	1	Umballa	III
IV	Jullundur	2,421,781	96,876	12,483	142	1,318	110,819	160,171	...	160,171	—49,352	40	5	...	1	46	66	...	66	—20	Jullundur	IV
V	Amritsar	2,729,109	115,670	69,822	350	1,500	187,342	222,178	...	222,178	—34,836	43	25	...	1	69	81	...	81	—12	Amritsar	V
VI	Lahore	2,191,517	270,635	37,103	864	3,876	312,478	173,279	...	173,279	139,199	124	17	...	2	143	79	...	79	64	Lahore	VI
VII	Ráwalpindi	2,520,508	84,819	53,836	3,283	3,192	145,130	76,499	...	76,499	68,631	35	21	1	1	58	31	...	31	27	Ráwalpindi	VII
VIII	Multan	1,712,394	83,564	13,209	2,347	1,325	100,445	66,401	...	66,401	34,044	49	8	1	1	59	39	...	39	20	Multan	VIII
IX	Deraját	1,137,572	37,406	5,515	45,004	185	88,110	22,278	...	22,278	65,832	34	5	39	...	78	21	...	21	57	Deraját	IX
X	Peshawar	1,181,289	40,537	24,134	61,549	3,366	129,586	23,533	...	23,533	106,053	35	20	52	3	110	19	...	19	91	Peshawar	X

No.	District																					District	No.
XI	Khaibar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Khaibar	XI
—	British Territory	18,850,437	318,682	564,620	114,512	27,549	1,025,363	338,654	261,000	599,654	425,709	17	30	6	1	54	18	14	32	22	British Territory	—
—	Native States	23,861,683	338,654	70,640	965	82	410,341	318,607	22,000	340,607	69,734	88	18	...	...	106	83	6	88	18	Native States	—
—	Province	2,712,120	...	635,260	115,477	27,631	778,368	...	284,270	284,270	494,098	...	28	5	1	34	...	13	13	21	Province	—
									MALES.													
1	Delhi	344,016	26,832	33,376	92	737	61,037	21,343	22,300	43,643	17,394	78	97	...	2	177	62	65	127	50	Delhi	1
2	Gurgaon	338,917	12,497	25,527	13	14	38,051	20,538	28,750	49,288	—11,237	37	75	...	...	112	61	85	145	—33	Gurgaon	2
3	Karnál	336,171	22,365	12,006	18	50	34,439	22,273	11,000	33,273	1,166	66	36	...	...	102	66	33	99	3	Karnál	3
4	Hissar	272,267	23,466	38,944	2	8	62,420	21,105	4,000	25,105	37,315	86	143	...	...	229	78	15	92	137	Hissar	4
5	Rohtak	296,224	24,329	7,062	3	4	31,398	26,056	...	26,056	5,342	82	24	...	...	106	88	...	88	18	Rohtak	5
6	Sirsa	138,691	25,643	26,009	66	3	51,721	10,959	1,000	11,959	39,762	184	188	...	...	372	79	7	86	286	Sirsa	6
7	Umballa	588,272	31,723	20,294	62	2,208	54,287	41,580	8,000	49,580	4,707	53	35	...	4	92	71	14	84	8	Umballa	7
8	Ludhiána	339,598	31,073	1,629	66	13	32,781	30,955	...	30,955	1,826	91	5	...	...	96	91	...	91	5	Ludhiána	8
9	Simla	27,593	7,629	5,979	481	1,413	15,502	4,432	...	4,432	11,070	277	217	17	51	562	161	...	161	401	Simla	9
10	Jullundur	431,435	34,845	3,310	41	1,073	39,269	37,202	...	37,202	2,067	81	8	...	2	91	86	...	86	5	Jullundur	10
11	Hoshiárpur	481,526	17,455	1,208	21	9	18,693	51,684	...	51,684	—32,991	36	3	...	...	39	107	...	107	—68	Hoshiárpur	11
12	Kángra	380,867	15,290	3,542	33	50	18,915	18,730	...	18,730	185	40	9	...	...	49	49	...	49	...	Kángra	12
13	Amritsar	490,694	44,604	10,965	192	274	56,035	53,621	...	53,621	2,414	91	22	...	1	114	109	...	109	5	Amritsar	13
14	Gurdáspur	445,798	21,618	9,853	49	8	31,528	44,798	...	44,798	—13,270	49	22	...	...	71	101	...	101	—30	Gurdáspur	14
15	Siálkot	539,661	24,170	13,189	7	1,022	38,388	58,123	...	58,123	—19,735	45	24	...	2	71	108	...	108	—37	Siálkot	15
16	Lahore	510,353	79,172	15,153	567	2,176	97,068	41,602	...	41,602	554,466	156	30	1	4	191	82	...	82	109	Lahore	16
17	Gujránwála	333,605	21,104	1,831	57	51	23,043	36,455	...	36,455	—13,412	64	5	...	...	69	109	...	109	—40	Gujránwála	17
18	Ferozepore	357,319	53,986	7,310	32	1,038	62,366	32,634	...	32,634	29,732	152	20	...	3	175	91	...	91	84	Ferozepore	18
19	Ráwalpindi	449,287	39,973	23,220	1,938	2,383	67,514	17,248	...	17,248	50,266	90	52	4	5	151	38	...	38	113	Ráwalpindi	19
20	Jhelum	313,448	23,594	5,853	520	90	30,057	18,370	...	18,370	11,687	75	19	2	...	96	59	...	59	37	Jhelum	20
21	Gujrát	362,162	12,206	5,575	54	171	18,006	25,898	...	25,898	—7,892	35	15	...	...	50	72	...	72	—22	Gujrát	21
22	Shahpur	221,676	13,045	536	321	1	13,903	19,644	...	19,644	—5,741	60	2	1	...	63	89	...	89	—26	Shahpur	22
23	Multan	304,517	27,411	6,806	980	1,159	36,356	10,439	...	10,439	25,917	90	22	3	4	119	34	...	34	85	Multan	23
24	Jhang	214,382	9,862	366	185	8	10,381	21,628	...	21,628	—11,247	46	2	1	...	49	101	...	101	—52	Jhang	24
25	Montgomery	232,947	19,782	1,158	106	11	21,057	23,350	...	23,350	—2,293	86	5	...	...	91	101	...	101	—10	Montgomery	25
26	Muzaffargarh	184,510	15,361	620	804	4	16,789	6,599	...	6,599	10,190	84	3	4	...	91	36	...	36	55	Muzaffargarh	26
27	D. I. Khan	238,468	13,071	1,145	15,078	121	29,415	8,462	...	8,462	20,953	55	5	63	1	124	36	...	36	88	D. I. Khan	27
28	D. G. Khan	200,667	11,947	2,298	2,933	9	17,187	7,139	...	7,139	10,048	59	11	15	...	85	36	...	36	49	D. G. Khan	28
29	Bannu	177,503	10,152	961	6,838	24	17,975	7,504	...	7,504	10,471	57	5	39	...	101	42	...	42	59	Bannu	29
30	Peshawar	329,524	20,449	11,001	23,653	2,902	58,005	8,861	...	8,861	49,144	62	33	72	9	176	27	...	27	149	Peshawar	30
31	Hazára	218,616	5,799	4,989	4,247	19	15,054	8,196	...	8,196	6,858	27	23	19	...	69	37	...	37	32	Hazára	31
32	Kohát	101,369	10,997	2,297	11,153	148	24,595	3,261	...	3,261	21,334	109	23	110	1	243	32	...	32	211	Kohát	32
I	Dehli	1,019,104	41,417	70,909	123	801	113,250	43,877	62,050	105,927	7,323	40	70	...	1	111	43	61	104	7	Dehli	I
II	Hissar	707,182	57,438	72,015	71	15	129,539	42,120	5,000	47,120	82,419	81	102	...	...	183	60	7	67	116	Hissar	II
III	Umballa	955,463	63,931	27,902	609	3,634	96,076	70,473	8,000	78,473	17,603	67	29	1	4	101	74	8	82	19	Umballa	III
IV	Jullundur	1,293,828	40,480	8,060	95	1,132	49,767	80,506	...	80,506	—30,739	31	6	...	1	38	62	...	62	—24	Jullundur	IV
V	Amritsar	1,476,153	50,076	34,007	248	1,304	85,635	116,226	...	116,226	—30,591	34	23	...	1	58	79	...	79	—21	Amritsar	V
VI	Lahore	1,201,277	127,079	24,294	656	3,265	155,294	83,508	...	83,508	71,786	105	20	1	3	129	69	...	69	60	Lahore	VI
VII	Ráwalpindi	1,346,573	54,150	35,184	2,833	2,645	94,812	46,492	...	46,492	48,320	40	26	2	2	70	34	...	34	36	Ráwalpindi	VII
VIII	Multan	936,356	48,944	8,950	2,075	1,182	61,151	38,584	...	38,584	22,567	52	10	2	1	65	41	...	41	24	Multan	VIII
IX	Deraját	616,638	26,288	4,404	24,849	154	55,695	14,223	...	14,223	41,472	43	7	40	...	90	23	...	23	67	Deraját	IX
X	Peshawar	649,509	32,401	18,287	39,053	3,069	92,810	15,474	...	15,474	77,336	50	28	60	5	143	24	...	24	119	Peshawar	X
XI	Khaibar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Khaibar	XI
—	British Territory	10,210,053	122,766	304,400	70,615	24,449	522,230	131,714	130,000	261,714	260,516	12	30	7	2	51	13	13	26	25	British Territory	—
—	Native States	2,112,303	131,714	32,271	830	57	164,872	122,710	12,000	134,710	30,162	63	15	...	..	78	58	6	64	14	Native States	—
—	Province	12,322,356	...	336,671	71,445	24,506	432,622	...	141,813	141,813	290,809	...	27	6	2	35	...	12	12	23	Province	—

NOTE.—The emigration to "other parts of India" is taken for the whole province from the figures of the Indian Census. But the details are estimated, as explained in the report. (See § 154.) The totals do not agree exactly with the details given in the body of the report, owing to the inclusion of the figures for doubtful and unspecified birthplace.

Sup. F.

Gain and loss by Migration.

(DISTRICTS.)

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE F—*continued.*

Showing the Gain or Loss to each District by migration.

FEMALES.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
			Immigration.					Emigration.				Per mille of total population.										
												Immigration.					Emigration.					
Serial No.	Districts, Divisions, &c.	Total population.	From other parts of the Province.	From other parts of India.	From other parts of Asia.	From outside Asia.	Total.	To other parts of the Province.	To other parts of India.	Total.	Net gain.	From other parts of the Province.	From other parts of India.	From other parts of Asia.	From outside Asia.	Total.	To other parts of the Province.	To other parts of India.	Total.	Net gain.	Districts, Divisions, &c.	Serial No.
1	Delhi	299,499	49,126	39,308	15	180	88,629	37,149	29,200	66,349	22,280	162	132	...	1	295	124	98	222	73	Delhi	1
2	Gurgaon	302,931	25,381	53,803	1	6	79,191	39,709	42,900	82,609	—3,418	83	178	...	...	261	131	142	273	—12	Gurgaon	2
3	Karnál	286,450	47,221	16,433	2	41	63,697	40,970	13,000	53,970	9,727	165	57	...	...	222	143	45	189	33	Karnál	3
4	Hissar	231,916	31,229	19,240	...	5	50,474	36,301	7,300	43,601	6,873	135	83	...	...	218	157	31	188	30	Hissar	4
5	Rohtak	257,385	58,859	9,117	1	1	67,978	52,713	...	52,713	15,265	229	35	...	...	264	205	...	205	59	Rohtak	5
6	Sirsa	114,584	22,020	21,150	2	1	43,173	13,658	2,000	15,658	27,515	191	184	...	...	375	119	18	136	239	Sirsa	6
7	Umballa	478,991	40,580	14,702	47	300	55,629	64,581	10,000	74,581	—18,952	84	31	...	1	116	135	21	156	—40	Umballa	7
8	Ludhiána	279,237	57,449	1,183	50	15	58,697	54,640	...	54,640	4,057	207	4	...	...	211	196	...	196	15	Ludhiána	8
9	Simla	15,352	2,272	2,366	48	384	5,070	6,247	...	6,247	—1,177	148	154	3	25	330	407	...	407	—77	Simla	9
10	Jullundur	358,120	59,394	1,886	8	155	61,443	54,829	...	54,829	6,614	167	5	...	...	172	153	...	153	19	Jullundur	10
11	Hoshiárpur	419,855	40,938	553	13	5	41,509	66,264	...	66,264	—24,755	98	1	...	...	99	158	...	158	—59	Hoshiárpur	11
12	Kángra	349,978	15,383	1,984	26	26	17,419	17,891	...	17,891	—472	43	6	...	...	49	51	...	51	—2	Kángra	12
13	Amritsar	402,572	62,028	6,618	95	30	68,771	58,296	...	58,296	10,475	155	16	...	...	171	145	...	145	26	Amritsar	13
14	Gurdáspur	377,897	39,480	12,187	5	32	51,704	61,883	...	61,883	—10,179	105	32	...	...	137	164	...	164	—27	Gurdáspur	14
15	Siálkot	472,487	36,967	17,010	2	134	54,113	58,654	...	58,654	—4,541	78	36	...	...	114	124	...	124	—10	Siálkot	15
16	Lahore	413,753	81,232	7,360	196	441	89,229	37,390	...	37,390	51,839	197	18	...	1	216	91	...	91	125	Lahore	16
17	Gujránwála	283,287	28,516	1,378	6	37	29,937	36,109	...	36,109	—6,172	101	5	...	...	106	128	...	128	—22	Gujránwála	17
18	Ferozepore	293,200	59,642	4,071	6	133	63,852	42,106	...	42,106	21,746	204	14	...	...	218	144	...	144	74	Ferozepore	18
19	Ráwalpindi	371,225	14,913	8,543	297	501	24,254	9,057	...	9,057	15,197	40	23	1	1	65	24	...	24	41	Ráwalpindi	19
20	Jhelum	275,925	14,081	3,242	100	38	17,461	12,111	...	12,111	5,350	51	12	...	...	63	44	...	44	19	Jhelum	20
21	Gujrát	326,953	16,879	6,609	17	7	23,512	20,741	...	20,741	2,771	52	20	...	...	72	63	...	63	9	Gujrát	21

22	Shahpur	199,832	11,943	258	36	1	12,238	15,245	...	15,245	—3,007	60	1	...	...	61	77	...	77	—16	Shahpur	22
23	Multan	247,447	15,402	3,194	85	137	18,818	7,035	...	7,035	11,783	62	13	...	1	76	29	...	29	47	Multan	23
24	Jhang	180,914	8,458	116	33	1	8,608	14,060	...	14,060	—5,452	47	1	...	...	48	78	...	78	—30	Jhang	24
25	Montgomery	193,582	16,174	692	9	5	16,880	19,058	...	19,058	—2,178	83	4	...	...	87	98	...	98	—11	Montgomery	25
26	Muzaffargarh	154,095	10,674	257	145	...	11,076	3,752	...	3,752	7,324	69	2	1	...	72	25	...	25	47	Muzaffargarh	26
27	D. I. Khan	203,181	6,412	310	13,890	18	20,630	4,693	...	4,693	15,937	32	2	68	...	102	23	...	23	79	D. I. Khan	27
28	D. G. Khan	162,679	7,110	592	1,680	5	9,387	4,558	...	4,558	4,829	44	4	10	...	58	28	...	28	30	D. G. Khan	28
29	Bannu	155,074	4,232	209	4,585	8	9,034	5,440	...	5,440	3,594	27	1	30	...	58	35	...	35	23	Bannu	29
30	Peshawar	263,150	4,458	2,721	12,259	280	19,718	3,528	...	3,528	16,190	17	10	47	1	75	13	...	13	62	Peshawar	30
31	Hazara	188,459	3,042	2,969	2,984	11	9,006	4,576	...	4,576	4,430	16	16	16	...	48	24	...	24	24	Hazara	31
32	Kohát	80,171	2,446	157	7,253	6	9,862	1,765	...	1,765	8,097	31	3	89	...	123	22	...	22	101	Kohát	32
I	Delhi	888,880	81,285	109,544	18	227	191,074	77,385	85,100	162,485	28,589	92	123	...	...	215	87	96	183	32	Delhi	I
II	Hissar	603,885	89,319	49,507	3	7	138,836	79,883	9,300	89,183	49,653	148	82	...	...	230	132	16	148	82	Hissar	II
III	Umballa	773,580	92,355	18,251	145	699	111,450	117,522	10,000	127,522	—16,072	119	24	...	1	144	152	13	165	—21	Umballa	III
IV	Jullundur	1,127,953	56,396	4,423	47	186	61,052	79,665	...	79,665	—18,613	50	4	...	...	54	71	...	71	—17	Jullundur	IV
V	Amritsar	1,252,956	65,594	35,815	102	196	101,707	105,952	...	105,952	—4,245	52	29	...	...	81	85	...	85	—4	Amritsar	V
VI	Lahore	990,240	143,556	12,809	208	611	157,184	89,771	...	89,771	67,413	145	13	...	1	159	91	...	91	68	Lahore	VI
VII	Ráwalpindi	1,173,935	30,669	18,652	450	547	50,318	30,007	...	30,007	20,311	27	16	...	...	43	26	...	26	17	Ráwalpindi	VII
VIII	Multan	776,038	34,620	4,259	272	143	39,294	27,817	...	27,817	11,477	46	5	...	...	51	36	...	36	15	Multan	VIII
IX	Deraját	520,934	11,118	1,111	20,155	31	32,415	8,055	...	8,055	24,360	21	2	39	...	62	15	...	15	47	Deraját	IX
X	Peshawar	531,780	8,136	5,847	22,496	297	36,776	8,059	...	8,059	28,717	15	11	42	1	69	15	...	15	54	Peshawar	X
XI	Khaibar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Khaibar	XI
	British Territory	8,640,384	195,916	260,220	43,897	3,100	503,133	206,940	131,000	337,940	165,193	23	30	5	...	58	24	15	39	19	British Territory.	
	Native States	1,749,380	206,940	38,369	135	25	245,469	195,897	10,000	205,897	39,572	119	22	...	...	141	112	6	118	23	Native States	
	Province	10,389,764	...	298,589	44,032	3,125	345,746	...	142,457	142,457	203,289	...	29	4	...	33	...	14	14	19	Province	

NOTE.—The emigration to "other parts of India" is taken for the whole province, from the figures of the Indian Census. But the details are estimated, as explained in the Report. (See § 154).

Sup. F.

Gain and loss by Migration.

(DISTRICTS).

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE F.

Showing the Gain or Loss to each State by migration.

PERSONS.

Serial No.	States, &c.	Total population.	Immigration: From other parts of the Province.	Immigration: From other parts of India.	Immigration: From other parts of Asia.	Immigration: From outside Asia.	Immigration: Total.	Emigration: To other parts of the Province.	Emigration: To other parts of India.	Emigration: Total.	Net gain.	Per mille of total population, Immigration: From other parts of the Province.	Per mille, Immigration: From other parts of India.	Per mille, Immigration: From other parts of Asia.	Per mille, Immigration: From outside Asia.	Per mille, Immigration: Total.	Per mille, Emigration: To other parts of the Province.	Per mille, Emigration: To other parts of India.	Per mille, Emigration: Total.	Net gain.	States, &c.	Serial No.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
1	Patiála	1,467,433	166,941	26,470	186	19	193,616	205,618	6,900	212,518	—18,902	114	18	...	...	132	140	5	145	—13	Patiála	1
2	Nábha	261,824	60,211	6,834	4	3	67,052	60,032	...	60,032	7,020	230	26	...	...	256	229	...	299	27	Nábha	2
3	Kapurthala	252,617	51,038	863	23	9	51,933	37,154	...	37,154	14,779	202	3	...	...	205	147	...	147	58	Kapurthala	3
4	Jind	249,862	59,281	7,813	7	4	67,105	59,966	...	59,966	7,139	237	31	...	...	268	239	...	239	29	Jind	4
5	Faridkot	97,034	28,365	1,369	6	...	29,740	15,378	...	15,378	14,362	293	14	...	...	307	159	...	159	148	Faridkot	5
6	Maler Kotla	71,051	15,027	456	16	...	15,499	16,930	...	16,930	—1,431	212	6	...	...	218	238	...	238	—20	Maler Kotla	6
7	Kalsia	67,708	23,514	1,308	1	1	24,824	6,626	...	6,626	18,198	348	19	...	...	367	98	...	98	269	Kalsia	7
8	Dujána	23,416	6,220	261	2	...	6,483	5,454	...	5,454	1,029	266	11	...	...	277	233	...	233	44	Dujána	8
9	Pataudi	17,847	4,921	1,436	1	...	6,358	3,546	...	3,546	2,812	276	81	...	...	357	199	...	199	158	Pataudi	9
10	Lohárú	13,754	2,619	3,063	4	...	5,686	5,464	...	5,464	222	190	222	...	...	412	396	...	396	16	Lohárú	10
	Total East. Plains	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		Total East. Plains	
11	Baháwalpur	573,494	35,537	12,905	293	4	48,739	25,648	9,000	34,648	14,091	61	23	1	...	85	45	16	60	25	Baháwalpur	11
12	Mandi	147,017	4,277	381	45	6	4,709	7,507	...	7,507	—2,798	29	3	...	...	32	51	...	51	—19	Mandi	12
13	Chamba	115,773	2,737	2,962	47	7	5,753	6,275	...	6,275	—522	24	26	...	...	50	54	...	54	—4	Chamba	13
14	Náhan	112,371	9,768	2,982	56	12	12,818	2,020	...	2,020	10,798	87	27	...	...	114	18	...	18	96	Náhan	14
15	Bilåspur	86,546	2,422	57	...	...	2,479	4,000	...	4,000	—1,521	28	1	...	...	29	46	...	46	—17	Bilåspur	15
16	Bashahr	64,345	437	58	12	5	512	2,346	...	2,346	—1,834	7	1	...	...	8	37	...	37	—29	Bashahr	16
17	Nálagarh	53,373	6,941	322	50	3	7,316	5,457	...	5,457	1,859	130	6	1	...	137	102	...	102	35	Nálagarh	17
18	Suket	52,484	5,677	149	31	...	5,857	1,891	...	1,891	3,966	108	3	1	...	112	36	...	36	76	Suket	18
19	Keonthal	31,154	3,081	320	149	5	3,555	1,360	...	1,360	2,195	99	10	5	...	114	44	...	44	70	Keonthal	19
20	Bághal	20,633	1,888	46	11	...	1,945	2,524	...	2,524	—579	91	2	1	...	94	122	...	122	—28	Bághal	20
21	Jubbal	19,196	645	67	...	...	712	879	...	879	—167	33	4	...	...	37	46	...	46	—9	Jubbal	21
22	Bhajji	12,106	745	12	...	...	757	514	...	514	243	62	1	...	...	63	42	...	42	21	Bhajji	22
	Minor Hill States	50,645	7,379	506	21	4	7,910	3,035	...	3,035	4,875	146	10	...	...	156	60	...	60	96	Minor Hill States	
	Total Hill States	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Total Hill States	
	Total Native States	3,861,683	338,654	70,640	965	82	410,341	318,607	22,000	340,607	69,734	88	18	...	...	106	83	6	89	17	Total Native States	

MALES.

Serial No.	States, &c.	Total population.	Immigration: From other parts of the Province.	Immigration: From other parts of India.	Immigration: From other parts of Asia.	Immigration: From outside Asia.	Immigration: Total.	Emigration: To other parts of the Province.	Emigration: To other parts of India.	Emigration: Total.	Net gain.	Per mille of total population, Immigration: From other parts of the Province.	Per mille, Immigration: From other parts of India.	Per mille, Immigration: From other parts of Asia.	Per mille, Immigration: From outside Asia.	Per mille, Immigration: Total.	Per mille, Emigration: To other parts of the Province.	Per mille, Emigration: To other parts of India.	Per mille, Emigration: Total.	Net gain.	States, &c.	Serial No.
1	Patiála	806,984	48,876	9,635	149	15	58,675	70,325	2,500	72,825	—14,150	61	12	...	...	73	87	3	90	—17	Patiála	1
2	Nábha	145,155	17,549	2,248	4	3	19,804	16,936	...	16,936	2,868	122	15	...	...	137	117	...	117	20	Nábha	2
3	Kapurthala	138,638	17,272	567	22	4	17,865	13,798	...	13,798	4,067	125	4	...	...	129	99	...	99	30	Kapurthala	3
4	Jind	136,909	21,656	3,714	5	4	25,379	18,586	...	18,586	6,793	158	27	...	...	185	136	...	136	49	Jind	4
5	Faridkot	53,848	12,399	862	4	...	13,265	6,317	...	6,317	6,948	230	16	...	...	246	117	...	117	129	Faridkot	5
6	Maler Kotla	38,550	3,817	262	14	...	4,093	4,823	...	4,823	—730	99	7	...	...	106	125	...	125	—19	Maler Kotla	6
7	Kalsia	36,896	8,895	520	1	...	9,416	2,882	...	2,882	6,534	241	14	...	...	255	78	...	78	177	Kalsia	7
8	Dujána	12,525	1,543	99	1	...	1,643	1,748	...	1,748	—105	124	8	...	...	132	141	...	141	—9	Dujána	8
9	Pataudi	9,510	1,416	392	1	...	1,809	1,196	...	1,196	613	149	41	...	...	190	126	...	126	64	Pataudi	9

10	Loháru	7,539	1,174	1,251	4	...	2,429	2,251	...	2,251	178	155	166	1	...	322	299	...	299	23	Loháru	10
	Total East. Plains	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Total East. Plains	
11	Baháwalpur	314,395	21,461	7,685	263	4	29,413	14,967	5,000	19,967	9,446	69	24	1	...	94	48	16	64	30	Baháwalpur	11
12	Mandi	75,588	2,665	271	36	2	2,974	5,408	...	5,408	—2,434	35	4	...	...	39	71	...	71	—32	Mandi	12
13	Chamba	60,382	1,658	1,740	39	4	3,441	3,309	...	3,309	132	27	29	1	...	57	55	...	55	2	Chamba	13
14	Náhan	63,305	5,857	1,931	53	10	7,851	989	...	989	6,862	93	30	1	...	124	16	...	16	108	Náhan	14
15	Biláspur	47,133	1,242	37	...	...	1,279	1,882	...	1,882	—603	26	1	...	...	27	40	...	40	—13	Bilàspur	15
16	Bashahr	33,019	290	35	11	2	338	1,234	...	1,234	—896	9	1	...	...	10	37	...	37	—27	Bashahr	16
17	Nálagarh	29,982	3,190	268	43	1	3,502	2,350	...	2,350	1,152	110	9	1	...	120	81	...	81	39	Nálagarh	17
18	Suket	29,280	4,244	109	31	...	4,384	1,174	...	1,174	3,210	146	3	1	...	150	40	...	40	110	Suket	18
19	Keonthal	17,329	2,071	228	119	4	2,422	481	...	481	1,941	120	13	7	...	140	28	...	28	112	Keonthal	19
20	Bághal	11,036	654	42	11	...	707	1,098	...	1,098	—391	59	4	1	...	64	99	...	99	—35	Bághal	20
21	Jubbal	10,605	172	10	...	...	182	388	...	388	—206	16	1	...	...	17	37	...	37	—20	Jubbal	21
22	Bhajjí	6,720	601	7	...	...	608	157	...	157	451	90	1	...	...	91	23	...	23	68	Bhajjí	22
	Minor Hill States	27,875	614	358	19	4	4,095	1,113	...	1,113	2,982	133	13	1	...	147	40	...	40	107	Minor Hill States	
	Total Hill States	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Total Hill States	
	Total Native States	2,112,303	131,714	32,271	830	57	164,872	122,710	12,000	134,710	30,162	63	15	...	...	78	58	6	64	14	Total Native States	

FEMALES.

1	Patiála	660,449	118,065	16,835	37	4	134,941	135,293	4,400	139,693	—4,752	178	26	...	...	204	205	7	212	—8	Patiála	1
2	Nábha	116,669	42,662	4,586	...	...	47,248	43,096	...	43,096	4,152	365	39	...	...	404	368	...	368	36	Nábha	2
3	Kapurthala	113,979	33,766	296	1	5	34,068	23,356	...	23,356	10,712	296	3	...	...	299	205	...	205	94	Kapurthala	3
4	Jind	112,953	37,625	4,099	2	...	41,726	41,380	...	41,380	346	333	36	...	...	369	366	...	366	3	Jind	4
5	Faridkot	43,186	15,966	507	2	...	16,475	9,061	...	9,061	7,414	369	12	...	...	381	210	...	210	171	Faridkot	5
6	Maler Kotla	32,501	11,210	194	2	...	11,406	12,107	...	12,107	—701	345	6	...	...	351	372	...	372	—21	Maler Kotla	6
7	Kalsia	30,812	14,619	788	...	1	15,408	3,744	...	3,744	11,664	474	26	...	...	500	122	...	122	378	Kalsia	7
8	Dujana	10,891	4,677	162	1	...	4,840	3,706	...	3,706	1,134	429	15	...	...	444	340	...	340	104	Dujána	8
9	Pataudi	8,337	3,505	1,044	...	...	4,549	2,350	...	2,350	2,199	420	125	...	...	545	282	...	282	263	Pataudi	9
10	Loháru	6,215	1,445	1,812	...	...	3,257	3,213	...	3,213	44	233	291	...	..	524	517	...	517	7	Loháru	10
	Total East. Plains	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Total East. Plains	
11	Baháwalpur	259,099	14,076	5,220	30	...	19,326	10,681	4,000	14,681	4,645	55	20	...	...	75	41	15	56	19	Baháwalpur	11
12	Mandi	71,429	1,612	110	9	4	1,735	2,099	...	2,099	—364	22	2	...	...	24	29	...	29	—5	Mandi	12
13	Chamba	55,391	1,079	1,222	8	3	2,312	2,966	...	2,966	—654	20	22	...	...	42	54	...	54	—12	Chamba	13
14	Náhan	49,066	3,911	1,051	3	2	4,967	1,031	...	1,031	3,936	79	22	...	...	101	21	...	21	80	Náhan	14
15	Bilàspur	39,413	1,180	20	...	...	1,200	2,118	...	2,118	—918	29	1	...	...	30	54	...	54	—24	Bilàspur	15
16	Bashahr	31,326	147	23	1	3	174	1,112	...	1,112	—938	5	1	...	...	6	36	..	36	—30	Bashahr	16
17	Nálagarh	24,291	3,751	54	7	2	3,814	3,107	...	3,107	707	155	2	...	...	157	128	...	128	29	Nálagarh	17
18	Suket	23,204	1,433	40	...	...	1,473	717	...	717	756	61	2	..	...	63	31	...	31	32	Suket	18
19	Keonthal	13,825	1,010	92	30	1	1,133	879	...	879	254	73	7	2	...	82	63	...	63	19	Keonthal	19
20	Bághal	9,597	1,234	4	...	...	1,238	1,426	...	1,426	—188	129	...	...	...	129	149	...	149	—20	Bághal	20
21	Jubbal	8,591	473	57	...	...	530	491	...	491	39	55	7	...	...	62	57	...	57	5	Jubbal	21
22	Bhajjí	5,386	144	5	...	...	149	357	...	357	—208	27	1	...	...	28	66	...	66	—38	Bhajjí	22
	Minor Hill States	22,770	3,665	148	2	...	3,815	1,922	...	1,922	1,893	160	7	...	...	167	85	...	85	82	Minor Hill States	
	Total Hill States	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Total Hill States	
	Total Native States	1,749,380	206,940	38,369	135	25	245,469	195,897	10,000	205,897	39,572	118	22	...	...	140	112	6	118	22	Total Native States	

NOTE.—The emigration to "other parts of India" is taken, for the whole province, from the figures of the Indian Census. But the details are estimated, as explained in the Report. (See § 154.)

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE G.

Showing the movement of persons between each two districts of the Panjab.

	Delhi.	Gurgaon.	Karnal.	Hissar.	Rohtak.	Sirsa.	Umballa.	Ludhiána.	Simla.	Jullundur.	Hoshiárpur.	Kángra.
Delhi		29,416 14,394 +15,022	7,406 8,672 −1,266	1,692 986 +706	30,038 20,510 +9,528	115 440 −325	569 1,433 −864	240 394 −154	48 288 −240	134 363 −229	151 87 +64	124 83 +41
Gurgaon	14,394 29,416 −15,022		189 643 −454	720 1,788 −1,068	8,848 14,134 −5,286	54 521 −467	95 348 −253	39 24 +15	8 81 −73	30 148 −118	57 17 +40	2 16 −14
Karnal	8,672 7,406 +1,266	643 189 +454		4,805 2,547 +2,258	10,611 7,845 +2,766	270 221 +49	16,353 15,532 +821	415 582 −167	54 274 −220	146 220 −74	108 214 −106	17 50 −33
Hissar	986 1,692 −706	1,788 720 +1,068	2,547 4,805 −2,258		9,623 11,340 −1,717	4,429 12,719 −8,290	193 536 −343	224 265 −41	6 ... +5	77 87 −10	75 27 +48	33 4 +29
Rohtak	20,510 30,038 −9,528	14,134 8,848 +5,286	7,845 10,611 −2,766	11,340 9,623 +1,717		183 495 −312	285 439 −154	55 223 −168	7 54 −47	47 78 −31	89 33 +56	10 2 +8
Sirsa	440 115 +325	521 54 +467	221 270 −49	12,719 4,429 +8,290	495 183 +312		142 69 +73	671 210 +461	... 32 −32	172 64 +108	117 26 +91	3 4 −1
Umballa	1,433 569 +864	348 95 +253	15,532 16,353 −821	536 193 +343	439 285 +154	69 142 −73		4,923 5,604 −681	1,312 2,333 −1,021	2,080 1,958 +122	5,576 3,903 +1,673	853 201 +652
Ludhiána	394 240 +154	24 39 −15	582 415 +167	265 224 +41	223 55 +168	210 671 −461	5,604 4,923 +681		52 216 −164	12,518 11,982 +536	6,051 2,276 +3,775	290 114 +176
Simla	288 48 +240	81 8 +73	274 54 +220	.. 6 −6	54 7 +47	32 ... +32	2,333 1,312 +1,021	216 52 +164		437 121 +316	1,273 2,509 −1,236	2,782 3,263 −481
Jullundur	363 134 +229	148 30 +118	220 146 +74	87 77 +10	78 47 +31	64 172 −108	1,958 2,080 −122	11,982 12,518 −536	121 437 −316		41,058 21,599 +19,459	629 872 −243
Hoshiárpur	87 151 −64	17 57 −40	214 108 +106	27 75 −48	33 89 −56	26 117 −91	3,903 5,576 −1,673	2,276 6,051 −3,775	2,509 1,273 +1,236	21,599 41,058 −19,459		10,560 11,711 −1,151
Kángra	83 124 −41	16 2 +14	50 17 +33	4 33 −29	2 10 −8	4 3 +1	201 853 −652	114 290 −176	3,263 2,782 +481	872 629 +243	11,711 10,560 +1,151	
Amritsar	457 368 +89	20 98 −78	127 197 −70	50 183 −133	23 174 −151	137 285 −149	946 1,095 −149	1,764 1,148 +616	25 109 −84	6,398 5,306 +1,092	5,035 1,844 +3,191	2,371 393 +1,978
Gurdáspur	163 116 +47	14 32 −18	130 115 +15	49 113 −64	152 54 +98	16 171 −155	273 591 −318	274 502 −228	30 53 −23	1,029 1,020 +9	9,766 7,426 +2,340	5,709 5,840 −131
Siálkot	344 260 +84	49 124 −75	122 158 −36	42 97 −55	87 97 −10	.. 122 −122	624 1,064 −440	274 320 −46	23 90 −67	466 1,436 −970	561 391 +170	242 310 −68

	Amritsar.	Gurdáspur.	Siálkot.	Lahore.	Gujranwála.	Ferozepore.	Rawal Pindi.	Jehlum.	Gujrat.	Shahpur.
Delhi	358 457 −99	116 163 −47	260 344 −84	386 2,035 −1,649	57 140 −83	156 801 −645	45 663 −618	25 215 −190	37 85 −48	3 42 −39
Gurgaon	98 20 +78	32 14 +18	124 49 75	98 425 −327	24 7 +17	42 582 −540	15 238 −223	2 69 −67	22 19 +3	15 8 +7
Karnal	197 127 +70	115 130 −15	158 122 +36	225 420 −195	60 17 +43	242 414 −172	22 311 −289	25 59 −34	18 18 ...	10 ... +10
Hissar	183 50 +133	113 49 +64	97 42 +55	144 282 −138	4 16 −12	279 430 −151	9 53 −44	6 15 −9	21 23 −2	1 2 −1
Rohtak	174 23 +151	54 152 −98	97 87 +10	67 348 −281	41 91 −50	42 340 −298	10 31 −21	3 28 −25	10 27 −17	2 2 ...
Sirsa	286 137 +149	171 16 +155	122 ... +122	867 426 +441	55 3 +52	7,790 4,800 +2,990	22 14 +8	7 11 −4	22 .. +22	21 1 +20
Umballa	1,095 916 +149	591 273 +318	1,064 624 +440	966 1,618 −652	196 77 +119	633 1,614 −981	226 716 −490	110 203 −93	194 71 +123	91 17 +74
Ludhiána	1,148 1,764 −616	502 274 +228	320 274 +46	525 1,533 −1,008	273 116 +157	10,265 14,282 −4,017	36 668 −632	91 239 −148	66 87 −21	63 17 +46
Simla	109 25 +84	53 30 +23	90 23 +67	177 134 +43	20 5 +15	93 72 +21	49 64 −15	26 ... +26	13 7 +6	... ...
Jullundur	5,306 6,398 −1,092	1,020 1,029 −9	1,436 466 +970	928 3,562 −2,634	186 193 −7	6,203 10,632 −4,429	118 1,340 −1,222	70 474 −404	146 128 +18	22 77 −55
Hoshiárpur	1,844 5,035 −3,191	7,426 9,766 −2,340	391 561 −170	449 3,108 −2,659	90 195 −105	329 7,265 −6,936	54 1,408 −1,354	61 424 −363	123 92 +31	45 63 −18
Kángra	393 2,371 −1,978	5,840 5,709 +131	310 242 +68	155 1,022 −867	62 81 −19	73 194 −121	46 202 −156	31 406 −375	38 50 −12	2 32 −30
Amritsar		30,757 20,277 +10,480	17,896 7,430 +10,466	17,548 41,483 −23,935	2,540 1,293 +1,250	2,221 7,691 −5,470	868 2,807 −1,939	699 1,012 −313	1,518 672 +846	192 104 +30
Gurdáspur	20,277 30,757 −10,480		15,543 15,294 +249	1,937 21,531 −19,594	530 659 −129	231 2,859 −2,628	145 2,371 −2,226	192 809 −617	301 409 −108	114 160 −46
Siálkot	7,430 17,896 −10,466	15,294 15,543 −249		3,670 27,113 −23,443	20,018 23,459 −3,441	116 1,277 −1,161	296 6,217 −5,921	428 3,007 −2,579	9,719 7,949 +1,770	322 503 −181

	Multan.	Jhang.	Montgomery.	Muzaffargarh.	D. I. Khan.	D. G. Khan.	Bannu.	Peshawar.	Hazára.	Kohát.	
Delhi	42 581 −539	7 43 −36	8 106 −98	1 45 −44	108 48 +60	7 101 −94	1 47 −46	152 450 −298	12 32 −20	11 94 −83	Delhi
Gurgaon	5 107 −102	... 15 −15	1 22 −21	... 14 −14	2 42 −40	1 129 −128	1 67 −66	25 102 −77	4 2 +2	2 63 −61	Gurgaon
Karnal	10 130 −120	23 26 −3	11 29 −18	... 9 −9	... 21 −21	1 43 −42	2 7 −5	36 194 −158	1 11 −10	2 24 −22	Karnal
Hissar	15 76 −61	... 1 −1	57 154 −97	... 32 −32	14 30 −16	... 10 −10	1 10 −9	11 85 −74	... 4 −4	... 6 −6	Hissar
Rohtak	2 97 −95	9 10 −1	3 50 −47	... 12 −12	... 104 −104	2 115 −113	... 48 −48	5 76 −71	... 5 −5	... 78 −78	Rohtak
Sirsa	303 123 +180	112 14 +98	3,876 3,410 +466	48 10 +38	50 13 +37	56 4 +52	71 3 +68	35 6 +29	... 2 −2		Sirsa
Umballa	184 296 −112	82 17 +65	63 77 −14	... 41 −41	25 77 −52	68 44 +24	68 19 +49	254 483 −229	22 74 −52	1 84 −83	Umballa
Ludhiána	40 257 −217	7 26 −19	11 230 −219	... 33 −33	23 94 −71	20 40 −20	6 31 −25	103 438 −335	5 49 −44	5 159 −154	Ludhiána
Simla	30 27 +3		... 1 −1	... 6 −6	... 1 −1		... 3 −3	45 27 +18	... 9 −9	... 15 −15	Simla
Jullundur	222 672 −450	40 26 +14	47 324 −277	79 53 +26	31 45 −14	48 98 −50	18 104 −86	157 793 −636	24 113 −89	18 171 −153	Jullundur
Hoshiárpur	29 510 −481	19 55 −36	19 203 −184	12 63 −51	13 75 −62	14 127 −113	17 128 −111	15 883 −868	8 174 −166	2 285 −283	Hoshiár-pur
Kángra	11 158 −147	11 8 +3	... 56 −56	4 40 −36	13 122 −109	1 111 −110	5 244 −239	34 341 −307	11 60 −49	1 236 −235	Kángra
Amritsar	148 1,532 −1,384	271 239 +32	161 1,086 −925	124 208 −84	44 516 −472	27 616 −589	38 479 −441	556 2,100 −1,544	10 221 −211	34 821 −787	Amritsar
Gurdáspur	60 828 −768	56 115 −59	33 513 −480	28 133 −105	31 254 −223	10 223 −213	15 285 −270	88 1,716 −1,628	12 258 −246	64 664 −600	Gurdáspur
Siálkot	47 1,375 −1,328	142 201 −59	20 766 −746	13 288 −275	58 369 −311	42 457 −415	65 528 −463	284 2,956 −2,672	52 273 −221	19 897 −878	Siálkot

Sup. G.

Migration between districts.

(PERSONS.)

District	Delhi.	Gurgaon.	Karnal.	Hissar.	Rohtak.	Sirsa.	Umballa.	Ludhiana.	Simla.	Jullundur.	Hoshiárpur.	Kangra.	Amritsar.	Gurdáspur.	Siálkot.
Lahore	2,035 386 +1,649	425 98 +327	420 225 +195	282 144 +138	348 67 +281	426 867 -441	1,618 966 +652	1,533 525 +1,008	134 177 -43	3,562 928 +2,634	3,108 449 +2,659	1,022 155 +867	41,483 17,548 +23,935	21,531 1,937 +19,594	27,113 3,679 +23,434
Gujranwála	140 57 +83	7 24 -17	17 60 -43	16 4 +12	91 41 +50	3 55 -52	77 196 -119	116 273 -157	5 20 -15	193 186 +7	195 90 +105	81 62 +19	1,293 2,549 -1,256	659 530 +129	23,459 20,018 +3,441
Ferozepore	801 156 +645	582 42 +540	414 242 +172	430 279 +151	340 42 +298	4,800 7,790 -2,990	1,614 633 +981	14,282 10,265 +4,017	72 93 -21	10,632 6,203 +4,429	7,265 329 +6,935	194 73 +121	7,691 2,221 +5,470	2,859 231 +2,628	1,277 116 +1,161
Ráwalpindi	663 45 +618	238 15 +223	311 22 +289	53 9 +44	31 10 +21	14 22 -8	716 226 +490	668 36 +632	64 49 +15	1,340 118 +1,222	1,408 54 +1,354	202 46 +156	2,807 868 +1,939	2,371 145 +2,226	6,217 296 +5,921
Jhelum	215 25 +190	69 2 +67	59 25 +34	15 6 +9	28 3 +25	11 7 +4	203 110 +93	239 91 +148	... 26 -26	474 70 +404	424 61 +363	406 31 +375	1,012 699 +313	809 192 +617	3,007 428 +2,579
Gujrat	85 37 +48	19 22 -3	18 18 ...	23 21 +2	27 10 +17	... 22 -22	71 194 -123	87 66 +21	7 13 -6	128 146 -18	92 123 -31	50 38 +12	672 1,518 -846	499 391 +108	7,949 9,719 -1,770
Sháhpur	42 3 +39	8 15 -7	... 10 -10	2 1 +1	2 2 ...	1 21 -20	17 91 -74	17 63 -46		77 22 +55	63 45 +18	32 2 +30	162 192 -30	160 114 +46	503 322 +181
Multan	581 42 +539	107 5 +102	130 10 +120	76 15 +61	97 2 +95	123 303 -180	296 184 +112	257 40 +217	27 30 -3	672 222 +450	510 29 +481	158 11 +147	1,532 148 +1,384	828 60 +768	1,375 47 +1,328
Jhang	43 7 +36	15 ... +15	26 23 +3	1 ... +1	10 9 +1	14 112 -98	17 82 -65	26 7 +19		26 40 -14	55 19 +36	8 11 -3	239 271 -32	115 56 +59	201 142 +59
Montgomery	106 8 +98	22 1 +21	29 11 +18	154 57 +97	50 3 +47	3,410 3,876 -466	77 63 +14	230 11 +219	1 ... +1	324 47 +277	203 19 +184	56 ... +56	1,086 161 +925	513 33 +480	766 20 +746
Muzaffargarh	45 1 +44	14 ... +14	9 ... +9	32 ... +32	12 ... +12	10 48 -38	41 ... +41	33 ... +33	6 ... +6	53 79 -26	63 12 +51	40 4 +36	208 124 +84	133 28 +105	288 13 +275
D. I. Khan	48 108 -60	42 2 +40	21 ... +21	30 14 +16	104 ... +104	13 50 -37	77 25 +52	94 23 +71	1 ... +1	45 31 +14	75 13 +62	122 13 +109	516 44 +472	254 31 +223	369 58 +311
D. G. Khan	101 7 +94	129 1 +128	43 1 +42	10 ... +10	115 2 +113	4 56 -52	44 68 -24	40 20 +20		98 48 +50	127 14 +113	111 1 +110	616 27 +589	223 10 +213	457 42 +415
Bannu	47 1 +46	67 1 +66	7 2 +5	10 1 +9	48 ... +48	3 71 -68	19 68 -49	31 6 +25	3 ... +3	104 18 +86	128 17 +111	244 5 +239	479 38 +441	285 15 +270	528 65 +463
Peshawar	450 152 +298	102 25 +77	194 36 +158	85 11 +74	76 5 +71	6 35 -29	483 254 +229	438 103 +335	27 45 -18	793 157 +636	883 15 +868	341 34 +307	2,100 556 +1,544	1,716 88 +1,628	2,956 284 +2,672
Hazára	32 12 +20	2 4 -2	11 1 +10	4 ... +4	5 ... +5	2 ... +2	74 22 +52	49 5 +44	9 ... +9	113 24 +89	174 8 +166	60 11 +49	221 10 +211	258 12 +246	273 52 +221
Kohát	94 11 +83	63 2 +61	24 3 +21	5 ... +5	78 ... +78		84 1 +83	159 5 +154	15 ... +15	171 18 +153	285 2 +283	236 1 +235	821 34 +787	664 64 +600	897 19 +878

District	Lahore.	Gujránwála.	Ferozepore.	Rawal Pindi.	Jhelum.	Gujrat.	Sháhpur.	Multan.	Jhang.	Montgomery.	Muzaffargarh.	D. I. Khan.	D. G. Khan.	Bannu.	Peshawar.	Hazára.	Kohát.
Lahore		20,657 4,966 +15,691	10,816 15,773 -4,957	870 2,493 -1,623	758 1,030 -272	2,596 1,037 +1,559	986 301 +685	568 2,318 -1,750	1,500 416 +1,084	11,562 14,974 -3,412	80 434 -354	317 183 +134	149 577 -428	117 150 -33	680 1,377 -697	161 204 -43	46 369 -323
Gujranwála	4,966 20,657 -15,691		179 626 -447	248 3,729 -3,481	506 1,768 -1,262	11,053 8,886 +2,167	2,240 3,167 -927	98 1,076 -978	2,616 3,817 -1,201	861 1,217 -356	20 220 -200	44 153 -109	10 187 -177	35 331 -296	154 1,490 -1,336	55 155 -100	15 393 -378
Ferozepore	15,773 [illegible] +4,957	626 179 +447		172 369 -197	100 230 -130	66 141 -75	137 69 +68	469 288 +181	206 32 +174	3,541 2,148 +1,393	41 37 +4	57 43 +14	206 76 +130	29 28 +1	193 386 -193	6 44 -38	501 119 +382
Ráwalpindi	2,493 870 +1,623	3,739 248 +3,491	369 172 +197		11,353 8,051 +3,302	3,496 474 +3,022	2,066 350 +1,716	124 240 -116	132 63 +69	22 46 -24	48 68 -20	76 404 -328	30 119 -89	585 914 -329	3,509 3,736 -227	8,775 4,863 +3,912	533 2,684 -2,151
Jhelum	1,030 758 +272	1,768 506 +1,262	230 100 +130	8,051 11,353 -3,302		7,280 3,889 +3,391	8,118 5,184 +2,934	93 413 -320	389 194 +195	33 70 -37	10 255 -245	96 430 -334	32 326 -294	1,186 1,616 -430	499 1,947 -1,448	664 560 +104	89 908 -819
Gujrat	1,037 2,596 -1,559	8,885 11,053 -2,167	141 66 +75	474 3,496 -3,022	3,889 7,280 -3,391		4,137 6,517 -2,380	97 370 -273	240 437 -197	30 165 -135	41 53 -12	20 230 -210	5 94 -89	28 179 -151	121 1,131 -1,010	114 141 -27	5 291 -286
Sháhpur	301 986 -685	3,167 2,240 +927	69 137 -68	350 2,066 -1,716	5,184 8,118 -2,934	6,517 4,137 +2,380		105 930 -825	6,906 5,549 +1,357	51 330 -279	32 753 -721	561 3,598 -3,037	17 685 -668	498 2,731 -2,233	40 762 -722	30 93 -63	6 490 -484
Multan	2,328 578 +1,750	1,076 98 +978	288 469 -181	240 124 +116	413 93 +320	370 97 +273	930 105 +825		10,944 1,478 +9,466	3,480 1,838 +1,642	4,073 5,904 -1,831	1,245 375 +870	497 648 -151	129 72 +57	218 112 +106	28 101 -73	16 25 -9
Jhang	416 1,500 -1,084	3,817 2,616 +1,201	32 206 -174	63 132 -69	194 389 -195	437 240 +197	5,549 6,906 -1,357	1,478 10,944 -9,466		3,336 4,410 -1,074	465 3,309 -2,844	1,244 2,526 -1,282	99 522 -423	92 301 -209	22 26 -4	24 3 +21	4 42 -38
Montgomery	14,974 11,562 +3,412	1,217 861 +356	2,148 3,541 -1,393	46 22 +24	70 33 +37	165 30 +135	330 51 +279	1,838 3,480 -1,642	4,410 3,336 +1,074		89 194 -105	136 22 +114	58 20 +38	106 11 +95	32 12 +20	21 2 +19	... 8 -8
Muzaffargarh	434 80 +354	220 20 +200	37 41 -4	68 48 +20	255 10 +245	53 41 +12	753 32 +721	5,904 4,073 +1,831	3,309 465 +2,844	194 89 +105		2,209 996 +1,213	6,867 2,987 +3,880	149 26 +123	61 8 +53	7 ... +7	5 4 +1
D. I. Khan	183 317 -134	153 44 +109	43 57 -14	404 76 +328	430 96 +334	230 20 +210	3,598 561 +3,037	375 1,245 -870	2,526 1,244 +1,282	22 136 -114	996 2,209 -1,213		1,206 3,839 -2,633	6,782 2,312 +4,470	266 39 +227	126 17 +109	105 243 -138
D. G. Khan	577 149 +428	187 10 +177	76 206 -130	119 30 +89	326 32 +294	94 5 +89	685 17 +668	648 497 +151	522 99 +423	20 58 -38	2,987 6,867 -3,880	3,839 1,206 +2,633		1,307 72 +1,235	175 17 +158	18 ... +18	57 54 +3
Bannu	150 117 +33	331 35 +296	28 29 -1	914 585 +329	1,616 1,186 +430	179 28 +151	2,731 498 +2,233	72 129 -57	361 92 +269	11 106 -95	26 149 -123	2,312 6,782 -4,470	72 1,307 -1,235		443 157 +286	235 32 +203	2,770 1,343 +1,427
Peshawar	1,377 680 +697	1,490 154 +1,336	386 193 +193	3,736 3,509 +227	1,947 499 +1,448	1,131 121 +1,010	762 40 +722	112 218 -106	26 22 +4	12 32 -20	8 61 -53	39 266 -227	17 175 -158	157 443 -286		2,027 1,253 +774	654 2,385 -1,731
Hazára	204 161 +43	155 55 +100	44 6 +38	4,863 8,775 -3,912	560 664 -104	141 114 +27	93 30 +63	101 28 +73	3 24 -21	2 21 -19	... 7 -7	17 126 -109	... 18 -18	32 235 -203	1,253 2,027 -774		42 293 -251
Kohát	369 46 +323	393 15 +378	119 501 -382	2,684 533 +2,151	908 89 +819	291 5 +286	490 6 +484	25 16 +9	42 4 +38	8 ... +8	4 5 -1	243 105 +138	54 57 -3	1,343 2,770 -1,427	2,385 654 +1,731	293 42 +251	

NOTE.—Of the three rows of figures opposite the name of each district, the top row shows immigrants into that district from the other districts under whose names the respective figures stand; the middle row shows emigrants from that district into each of the other districts as before; the bottom row shows the resulting gain and loss to that district, by exchange of population with each of the other districts as before, *gain being printed in roman type and loss in italics.* *Thus,* Ambala receives 348 immigrants from and sends 95 emigrants to Gurgaon, and gains 253 by the exchange. It receives 15,532 immigrants from and sends 16,353 emigrants to Karnal, and loses 821 by the exchange.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE II.

Showing the movement of each sex separately between each two districts of the Panjab.

MALES.

	Dehli.	Gurgáon.	Karnál.	Hissár.	Rohtak.	Sirsa.	Ambála.	Ludhiána.	Simla.	Jálandhar.	Hushyárpur.	Kángra.	Amritsar.	Gurdáspur.	Sialkot.	Lahore.
Dehli		10,280 4,956 +5,324	2,317 2,235 +82	889 512 +377	8,628 5,316 +3,312	64 264 −200	359 832 −473	185 207 −22	24 199 −175	99 200 −101	117 47 +70	115 56 +59	262 235 +27	92 85 +7	215 229 −14	218 1,215 −997
Gurgáon	9,438 19,135 −9,698		92 397 −305	261 743 −482	3,020 3,647 −627	27 354 −327	53 231 −178	34 15 +19	5 71 −66	12 96 −84	53 10 +43	1 11 −10	82 17 +65	21 11 +10	108 36 +72	58 295 −237
Karnál	6,437 5,089 +1,348	246 97 +149		1,521 990 +531	2,917 2,466 +451	156 135 +21	5,721 5,685 +36	200 310 −110	35 194 −159	97 110 −13	79 155 −76	13 43 −30	163 72 +91	97 109 −12	134 73 +61	159 310 −151
Hissár	474 803 −329	1,045 459 +586	1,557 3,284 −1,727		3,655 3,484 +171	2,048 6,371 −4,323	108 351 −243	124 109 +15	3 ... +3	50 56 −6	57 21 +36	24 3 +21	135 20 +115	80 31 +49	82 29 +53	99 210 −111
Rohtak	15,194 21,410 −6,216	10,487 5,828 +4,659	5,379 7,694 −2,315	7,856 5,968 +1,888		93 349 −256	144 260 −116	38 135 −97	5 42 −37	35 50 −15	64 23 +41	7 2 +5	163 12 +151	42 97 −55	76 73 +3	47 266 −219
Sirsa	176 51 +125	167 27 +140	86 114 −28	6,348 2,381 +3,967	146 90 +56		114 47 +67	360 97 +263	... 20 −20	121 36 +85	77 20 +57	3 4 −1	204 56 +148	136 9 +127	90 ... +90	558 225 +333
Ambála	601 210 +391	117 42 +75	9,847 10,632 −785	185 85 +100	179 141 +38	22 28 −6		2,070 2,025 +45	520 1,706 −1,186	1,372 866 +506	3,089 1,327 +1,762	678 141 +537	825 450 +375	459 158 +301	675 350 +325	617 956 −339
Ludhiána	187 55 +132	9 5 +4	272 215 +57	156 100 +56	88 17 +71	113 311 −198	3,579 2,853 +726		20 153 −133	5,504 4,386 +1,118	3,116 652 +2,464	148 79 +69	629 902 −273	318 137 +181	189 177 +12	293 929 −636
Simla	89 24 +65	10 3 +7	80 19 +61	... 3 −3	12 2 +10	12 ... +12	627 792 −165	63 32 +31		368 57 +311	1,108 820 +288	2,299 1,197 +1,102	83 17 +66	44 17 +27	64 15 +49	91 76 +15
Jálandhar	163 35 +128	52 18 +34	110 49 +61	31 27 +4	28 12 +16	28 51 −23	1,092 708 +384	7,596 7,014 +582	64 69 −5		12,754 5,240 +7,514	274 593 −319	2,547 2,425 +122	1,016 531 +485	812 274 +538	505 1,917 −1,412
Hushyárpur	40 34 +6	7 4 +3	59 29 +30	6 18 −12	10 25 −15	6 40 −34	2,576 2,487 +89	1,624 2,935 −1,311	1,689 165 +1,524	16,359 28,304 −11,945		2,458 5,791 −3,333	887 2,622 −1,735	2,897 3,167 −270	236 332 −96	254 2,160 −1,906
Kángra	27 9 +18	5 1 +4	7 4 +3	1 9 −8	... 3 −3		60 175 −115	35 142 −107	2,066 483 +1,583	279 355 −76	5,920 8,102 −2,182		276 1,368 −1,092	2,703 2,106 +597	217 155 +62	111 759 −648
Amritsar	222 106 +116	3 16 −13	55 34 +21	30 48 −18	11 11 ...	81 82 −1	496 270 +226	862 519 +343	8 26 −18	3,973 2,759 +1,214	2,413 957 +1,456	1,003 117 +885		13,754 6,676 +7,078	7,714 2,799 +4,915	7,232 17,833 −10,601
Gurdáspur	78 24 +54	3 11 −8	21 18 +3	18 33 −15	55 12 +43	7 35 −28	115 132 −17	137 184 −47	13 9 +4	1,398 904 +494	6,599 4,529 +2,070	3,603 3,137 +466	13,601 23,003 −9,402		4,863 4,510 +353	998 7,226 −6,228
Sialkot	115 45 +70	13 16 −3	49 24 +25	13 15 −2	14 21 −7	... 32 −32	274 389 −115	97 131 −34	8 26 −18	192 624 −432	229 155 +74	87 93 −6	4,631 10,182 −5,551	10,784 10,680 +104		1,528 15,454 −13,926
Lahore	820 168 +652	130 40 +90	110 66 +44	72 45 +27	82 20 +62	201 309 −108	662 349 +313	604 232 +372	58 86 −28	1,645 423 +1,222	948 195 +753	263 44 +219	23,650 10,316 +13,334	14,305 937 +13,356	11,659 2,151 +9,508	

	Gújránwála.	Firozpur.	Ráwalpindi.	Jhelum.	Gujrát.	Shahpur.	Multán.	Jhang.	Montgomery.	Muzaffargarh.	D. I. Khan.	D. G. Khan.	Bannu.	Pesháwar.	Hazára.	Kohát.
Dehli	48 80 −32	104 469 −365	30 528 −498	21 147 −126	31 59 −28	2 32 −30	30 381 −351	7 29 −22	7 65 −58	1 29 −28	107 35 +72	7 76 −69	1 38 −37	123 336 −213	6 25 −19	3 67 −64
Gurgáon	17 5 +12	29 389 −360	8 179 −171	... 62 −62	21 17 +4	13 6 +7	1 77 −76	... 9 −9	1 16 −15	... 13 −13	2 38 −36	1 119 −118	1 63 −62	19 99 −80	1 2 −1	2 57 −55
Karnál	55 7 +48	167 235 −68	12 240 −228	15 46 −31	12 14 −2	10 ... +10	6 93 −87	20 23 −3	8 22 −14	... 6 −6	... 20 −20	... 24 −24	2 6 −4	30 154 −124	... 11 −11	1 21 −20
Hissár	3 10 −7	141 257 −116	4 48 −44	6 13 −7	12 18 −6	... 2 −2	8 54 −46	... 1 −1	38 60 −22	... 20 −20	14 27 −13	... 9 −9	... 10 −10	5 72 −67	... 3 −3	... 6 −6
Rohtak	35 79 −44	22 223 −201	8 28 −20	3 26 −23	10 24 −14	2 2 ...	1 73 −72	9 8 +1	2 50 −48	... 9 −9	... 100 −100	... 113 −113	... 42 −42	4 70 −66	... 1 −1	... 77 −77
Sirsa	52 1 +51	4,360 1,996 +2,364	15 10 +5	6 6 ...	16 ... +16	19 1 +18	209 64 +145	89 12 +77	2,231 1,753 +478	44 6 +38	48 6 +42	52 3 +49	54 2 +52	31 4 +27	... 2 −2	... ...
Ambála	174 49 +125	411 858 −447	147 462 −315	71 147 −76	165 54 +111	81 14 +67	160 198 −38	74 12 +62	62 47 +15	... 27 −27	24 59 −35	68 40 +28	25 16 +9	183 371 −188	10 62 −52	1 76 −75
Ludhiána	178 76 +102	4,064 5,483 −1,419	27 556 −529	56 195 −139	49 66 −17	41 12 +29	26 175 −149	3 21 −18	10 157 −147	... 14 −14	18 84 −66	15 33 −18	4 24 −20	71 397 −326	3 38 −35	1 134 −133
Simla	14 2 +12	58 43 +15	30 34 −4	18 ... +18	10 6 +4		24 20 +4			... 5 −5	... 1 −1		... 3 −3	29 23 +6	... 7 −7	... 15 −15
Jálandhar	125 102 +23	2,460 5,625 −3,165	76 1,154 −1,078	57 396 −339	106 74 +32	10 55 −45	191 539 −348	32 19 +13	36 217 −181	57 38 +19	24 36 −12	40 87 −47	16 83 −67	114 675 −561	20 95 −75	12 157 −145
Hushyárpur	54 131 −77	225 4,263 −4,038	33 1,261 −1,228	52 360 −308	85 68 +17	33 49 −16	22 409 −387	11 45 −34	13 151 −138	8 57 −49	7 66 −59	12 115 −103	12 120 −108	10 844 −834	6 162 −156	2 258 −256
Kángra	50 48 +2	58 139 −81	27 176 −149	27 389 −362	26 39 −13	... 29 −29	8 139 −131	7 7 ...	... 45 −45	3 28 −25	12 121 −109	1 109 −108	4 239 −235	25 331 −306	5 46 −41	1 234 −233
Amritsar	1,355 630 +725	522 4,746 −4,224	542 2,149 −1,607	340 816 −476	871 430 +441	121 124 −3	100 1,114 −1,014	201 168 +33	112 661 −549	58 152 −94	34 457 −423	19 521 −502	32 435 −403	351 1,782 −1,431	5 195 −190	15 756 −741
Gurdáspur	306 380 −74	123 1,776 −1,653	68 1,900 −1,832	135 669 −534	226 278 −52	87 128 −41	40 678 −638	39 95 −56	23 362 −339	22 105 −83	16 221 −205	8 208 −200	7 249 −242	46 1,541 −1,495	7 218 −211	42 622 −580
Sialkot	7,249 8,494 −1,245	70 823 −753	167 5,121 −4,954	285 2,116 −1,831	4,965 3,114 +1,851	214 313 −99	29 1,026 −997	102 152 −50	11 530 −519	8 202 −194	48 279 −237	29 361 −332	27 418 −391	179 2,437 −2,258	37 212 −175	15 739 −724
Lahore	10,712 2,252 +8,460	4,783 8,905 −4,122	568 1,927 −1,359	553 772 −219	1,639 503 +1,136	623 206 +417	354 1,476 −1,122	953 245 +708	6,124 7,601 −1,477	55 267 −212	255 104 +151	111 396 −285	86 115 −29	480 1,060 −580	119 152 −33	34 303 −269

Sup. H.

Migration between districts.

(MALES AND FEMALES.)

MALES. / FEMALES.

	Dehli.	Gurgáon.	Karnál.	Hissár.	Rohtak.	Sirsa.	Ambála.	Ludhiána.	Simla.	Jálandhar.	Hushyárpur.	Kángra.	Amritsar.	Gurdáspur.	Sialkot.	Lahore.
Gújránwála	60 9 +51	2 7 −5	10 5 +5	6 1 +5	12 6 +6	2 3 −1	28 22 +6	40 95 −55	3 6 −3	91 61 +30	64 36 +28	33 12 +21	663 1,194 −531	279 224 +55	14,965 12,769 +2,196	2,714 9,945 −7,231
Firozpur	332 52 +280	193 13 +180	179 75 +104	173 138 +35	117 20 +97	2,804 3,430 −626	756 222 +534	8,799 6,201 +2,598	29 35 −6	5,007 3,743 +1,264	3,002 104 +2,898	55 15 +40	2,945 1,699 +1,246	1,083 108 +975	454 46 +408	6,868 6,033 +835
Ráwalpindi	135 15 +120	59 7 +52	71 10 +61	5 5 ...	3 2 +1	4 7 −3	254 79 +175	112 9 +103	30 19 +11	186 42 +144	147 21 +126	26 19 +7	658 326 +332	471 77 +394	1,096 129 +967	566 302 +264
Jhelum	68 4 +64	7 2 +5	13 10 +3	2 ... +2	2 ... +2	5 1 +4	56 39 +17	44 35 +9	... 8 −8	78 13 +65	64 9 +55	17 4 +13	196 359 −163	140 57 +83	891 143 +748	258 205 +53
Gujrát	26 6 +20	2 1 +1	4 6 −2	5 9 −4	3 ... +3	... 6 −6	17 29 −12	21 17 +4	1 3 −2	54 40 +14	24 38 −14	11 12 −1	242 647 −405	221 165 +56	4,835 4,754 +81	534 957 −423
Shahpur	10 1 +9	2 2 ...		... 1 −1		... 3 −3	3 10 −7	5 22 −17		22 12 +10	14 12 +2	3 2 +1	38 71 −33	32 27 +5	190 108 +82	95 363 −268
Multán	200 12 +188	30 4 +26	37 4 +33	22 7 +15	24 1 +23	59 94 −35	98 24 +74	82 14 +68	7 6 +1	133 31 +102	101 7 +94	19 3 +16	418 48 +370	150 20 +130	349 18 +331	852 224 +628
Jhang	14 ... +14	6 ... +6	3 3 ...		2 ... +2	2 23 −21	5 8 −3	5 4 +1		7 8 −1	10 8 +2	1 4 −3	71 70 +1	20 17 +3	49 40 +9	171 547 −376
Montgomery	41 1 +40	6 ... +6	7 3 +4	94 19 +75	... 1 −1	1,657 1,645 +12	30 1 +29	73 1 +72	1 ... +1	107 11 +96	52 6 +46	11 ... +11	425 49 +376	151 10 +141	236 9 +227	7,373 5,438 +1,935
Muzaffargarh	16 ... +16	1 ... +1	3 ... +3	12 ... +12	3 ... +3	4 4 ...	14 ... +14	19 ... +19	1 ... +1	15 22 −7	6 4 +2	12 1 +11	56 66 −10	28 6 +22	86 5 +81	167 25 +142
D. I. Khan	13 1 +12	4 ... +4	1 ... +1	3 ... +3	4 ... +4	7 2 +5	18 1 +17	10 5 +5		9 7 +2	9 6 +3	1 1 ...	59 10 +49	33 15 +18	90 16 +74	79 62 +17
D. G. Khan	25 ... +25	10 ... +10	19 1 +18	1 ... +1	2 2 ...	1 4 −3	4 ... +4	7 5 +2		11 8 +3	12 2 +10	2 ... +2	95 8 +87	15 2 +13	96 13 +83	181 38 +143
Bannu	9 ... +9	4 ... +4	1 ... +1	... 1 −1	6 ... +6	1 17 −16	3 43 −40	7 2 +5		21 2 +19	8 5 +3	5 1 +4	44 6 +38	36 8 +28	110 38 +72	35 31 +4
Pesháwar	114 29 +85	3 6 −3	40 6 +34	13 6 +7	6 1 +5	2 4 −2	112 71 +41	41 32 +9	4 16 −12	118 43 +75	39 5 +34	10 9 +1	318 205 +113	175 42 +133	519 105 +414	317 200 +117
Hazára	7 6 +1	... 3 −3	... 1 −1	1 ... +1	4 ... +4		12 12 ...	11 2 +9	2 ... +2	18 4 +14	12 2 +10	14 6 +8	26 5 +21	40 5 +35	61 15 +46	52 42 +10
Kohát	27 8 +19	6 ... +6	3 1 +2		1 ... +1		8 ... +8	25 4 +21		14 6 +8	27 ... +27	2 ... +2	65 19 +46	42 22 +20	158 4 +154	66 12 +54

	Gújránwála.	Firozpur.	Ráwalpindi.	Jhelum.	Gujrát.	Shahpur.	Multán.	Jhang.	Montgomery.	Muzaffargarh.	D. I. Khan.	D. G. Khan.	Bannu.	Pesháwar.	Hazára.	Kohát.
Gújránwála		121 410 −289	148 3,147 −2,999	288 1,247 −959	4,842 3,336 +1,506	1,070 1,664 −594	60 776 −716	1,432 1,917 −485	457 727 −270	10 165 −155	31 123 −92	5 139 −134	30 261 −231	102 1,265 −1,163	29 116 −87	11 339 −328
Firozpur	216 58 +158		96 256 −160	74 177 −103	41 121 −80	88 60 +28	302 171 +131	149 21 +128	1,509 1,100 +409	29 24 +5	41 39 +2	153 58 +95	18 21 −3	113 291 −178	5 41 −36	278 112 +166
Ráwalpindi	592 100 +492	113 76 +37		7,154 5,403 +1,751	2,958 278 +2,680	1,586 207 +1,379	88 185 −98	107 45 +62	16 34 −18	38 50 −12	59 344 −285	25 102 −77	386 737 −351	2,431 2,879 −448	5,250 2,785 +2,465	344 2,079 −1,735
Jhelum	521 218 +303	53 26 +27	3,548 4,199 −651		4,117 1,515 +2,602	4,265 2,331 +1,934	69 298 −229	276 141 +135	24 51 −27	8 176 −168	65 346 −281	19 244 −225	636 1,037 −401	384 1,698 −1,314	483 423 +60	67 798 −731
Gujrát	5,550 6,211 −661	20 25 −5	196 538 −342	2,374 3,163 −789		1,681 3,173 −1,492	56 273 −217	130 242 −112	20 113 −93	35 42 −7	11 185 −174	4 82 −78	21 145 −124	78 918 −840	83 118 −35	3 260 −257
Shahpur	1,503 1,170 +333	9 49 −40	143 480 −337	2,853 3,853 −1,000	3,344 2,456 +888		63 637 −574	3,732 2,595 +1,137	44 204 −160	26 472 −446	346 2,222 −1,876	13 426 −413	307 1,780 −1,473	26 621 −595	23 63 −40	4 452 −448
Multán	300 38 +262	117 167 −50	54 36 +18	115 24 +91	97 41 +56	293 42 +251		6,720 792 +5,928	2,096 1,050 +1,046	2,456 3,293 −837	897 251 +646	327 449 −122	111 44 +67	149 79 +70	26 49 −23	14 19 −5
Jhang	1,900 1,184 +716	11 57 −46	18 25 −7	53 113 −60	195 110 +85	2,954 3,174 −220	686 4,224 −3,538		1,975 2,620 −645	236 1,991 −1,755	733 1,738 −1,005	55 361 −306	55 265 −210	15 24 −9	15 2 +13	3 40 −37
Montgomery	490 404 +86	1,048 2,032 −984	12 6 +6	19 9 +10	52 10 +42	126 7 +119	788 1,384 −596	1,790 1,351 +439		65 138 −73	102 16 +86	51 15 +36	86 9 +77	25 12 +13	10 1 +9	... 8 −8
Muzaffargarh	55 10 +45	13 12 +1	18 10 +8	79 2 +77	11 6 +5	281 6 +275	2,611 1,617 +994	1,318 229 +1,089	56 24 +32		1,275 867 +408	4,023 1,796 +2,227	112 19 +93	38 7 +31	6 ... +6	5 4 +1
D. I. Khan	30 13 +17	4 16 −12	60 17 +43	84 31 +53	45 9 +36	1,376 215 +1,161	124 348 −224	788 511 +277	6 34 −28	129 934 −805		685 2,285 −1,600	4,012 1,508 +2,504	206 34 +172	110 13 +97	84 199 −115
D. G. Khan	48 5 +43	18 53 −35	17 5 +12	82 13 +69	12 1 +11	259 4 +255	199 170 +29	161 44 +117	5 7 −2	1,191 2,844 −1,653	1,554 521 +1,033		340 52 +288	148 15 +133	16 ... +16	52 42 +10
Bannu	70 5 +65	7 11 −4	177 199 −22	579 550 +29	34 7 +27	951 191 +760	28 18 +10	96 37 +59	2 20 −18	7 37 −30	804 2,770 −1,966	20 967 −947		346 123 +223	204 19 +185	1,748 935 +813
Pesháwar	225 52 +173	95 80 +15	857 1,078 −221	249 115 +134	213 43 +170	141 14 +127	33 69 −36	2 7 −5	... 7 −7	1 23 −22	5 60 −55	2 27 −25	34 97 −63		1,468 868 +600	468 1,771 −1,303
Hazára	39 26 +13	3 1 +2	2,078 3,525 −1,447	137 181 −44	23 31 −8	30 7 +23	52 2 +50	1 9 −8	1 11 −10	... 1 −1	4 16 −12	... 2 −2	13 31 −18	385 559 −174		39 230 −191
Kohát	54 4 +50	7 223 −216	605 189 +416	110 22 +88	31 2 +29	38 2 +36	6 2 +4	2 1 +1			44 27 +23	12 5 +7	408 1,022 −614	614 185 +428	63 3 +60	

FEMALES.

NOTE.—This table is divided into two halves by a thick black diagonal; the half above and to the right of the diagonal shows the movement of *males*; the half below and to the left of the diagonal shows the movement of *females*.

Of the three rows of figures opposite the name of each district, the top row shows immigrants into that district from the other districts under whose names the respective figures stand; the middle row shows emigrants from that district into each of the other districts as before; the bottom row shows the resulting gain or loss to that district by exchange of population with each of the other districts as before, *gain being printed in roman type and loss in italics.*

The whole movement to and from any district is contained in the pair of columns, one horizontally opposite to and the other vertically above or below the name of the district. But in reading the *vertical* column, the movement of population is reversed, the top row of figures showing emigration, the middle row immigration, roman type loss, and italics gain.

Thus, in the lower or female half of the table, Sialkot receives 10,784 female immigrants from and sends 10,680 female emigrants to Gurdáspur, gaining 104 by the exchange. It sends 11,659 female emigrants to and receives 2,151 female immigrants from Lahore, losing 9,508 by the exchange.

In the upper or male half of the table, Sialkot receives 1,528 male immigrants from and sends 15,454 male emigrants to Lahore, losing 13,926 by the exchange. It sends 4,863 male emigrants to and receives 4,510 male immigrants from Gurdáspur, losing 353 by the exchange.

The corresponding figures for males and females for any pair of districts, lie in similar positions on opposite sides of the black diagonal.

SUPPLEMENTARY

Showing the estimated population for each year from 1882 to

Serial No.	Districts and Divisions.	Logarithms of population of 1881. Persons.	Males.	Females.	Logarithms of annual increase, 1868—1881. Persons.	Males.	Females.
1	Dehli	5·8085587	5·5365787	5·4763954	0·0011594	0·0010680	0·0012647
2	Gurgáon	5·8074322	5·5300934	5·4813437	$\bar{1}$·9976301	$\bar{1}$·9974201	$\bar{1}$·9978666
3	Karnál	5·7942238	5·5265603	5·4572004	0·0002490	0·0001510	0·0003761
4	Hissár	5·7025882	5·4349950	5·3653307	0·0013179	0·0006717	0·0020927
5	Rohtak	5·7432031	5·4716202	5·4105833	0·0013932	0·0008004	0·0020719
6	Sirsa	5·4035924	5·1420482	5·0591240	0·0061332	0·0056669	0·0067066
7	Ambála	6·0282714	5·7695782	5·6803273	0·0012393	0·0014054	0·0010349
8	Ludhiána	5·7915749	5·5309651	5·4459730	0·0019241	0·0019262	0·0017513
9	Simla	4·6329126	4·4407989	4·1861650	0·0078075	0·0081510	0·0071988
10	Jálandhar	5·8973824	5·6349154	5·5540286	$\bar{1}$·9997908	1·9996004	0·0000213
11	Hushyárpur	5·9549084	5·6826197	5·6230994	$\bar{1}$·9986803	$\bar{1}$·9984931	$\bar{1}$·9988965
12	Kángra	5·8638253	5·5807734	5·5440407	$\bar{1}$·9994093	$\bar{1}$·9989039	$\bar{1}$·9999682
13	Amritsar	5·9509808	5·6908108	5·6048436	0·0023400	0·0017886	0·0030247
14	Gurdaspur	5·9157665	5·6491381	5·5773735	$\bar{1}$·9968136	$\bar{1}$·9960836	$\bar{1}$·9976960
15	Sialkot	6·0052440	5·7321210	5·6743898	0·0002469	1·9996100	0·0009895
16	Lahore	5·9657218	5·7078707	5·6167412	0·0053054	0·0051359	0·0055156
17	Gujránwála	5·7902091	5·5232326	5·4522266	0·0037784	0·0028311	0·0049294
18	Firozpur	5·8132600	5·5530561	5·4671640	0·0056309	0·0054309	0·0058763
19	Ráwalpindi	5·9140850	5·6525239	5·5696373	0·0047738	0·0052207	0·0042407
20	Jhelum	5·7703902	5·4961655	5·4407911	0·0054279	0·0056483	0·0051793
21	Gujrát	5·8382918	5·5589029	5·5144853	0·0037194	0·0029041	0·0046464
22	Shahpur	5·6248058	5·3457187	5·3006650	0·0045091	0·0041925	0·0048638
23	Multán	5·7419108	5·4836115	5·3934822	0·0052094	0·0050484	0·0054087
24	Jhang	5·5969224	5·3311883	5·2574722	0·0043492	0·0035009	0·0053831
25	Montgomery	5·6299486	5·3672571	5·2868650	0·0056238	0·0049398	0·0063905
26	Muzaffargarh	5·5296934	5·2662552	5·1877886	0·0042473	0·0040398	0·0045195
27	D. I. Khan	5·6450772	5·3774301	5·3078831	0·0037386	0·0038109	0·0036540
28	D. G. Khan	5·5603204	5·3024760	5·2113315	0·0053917	0·0054530	0·0053162
29	Bannu	5·5218922	5·2492057	5·1905390	0·0051790	0·0050617	0·0053139
30	Pesháwar	5·7728159	5·5178871	5·4202034	0·0041683	0·0047317	0·0034759
31	Hazára	5·6096745	5·3396819	5·2752169	0·0036155	0·0046239	0·0024825
32	Kohát	5·2589723	5·0059052	4·9040173	0·0074116	0·0081928	0·0064494
I	Dehli	6·2805747	6·0082185	5·9488431	$\bar{1}$·9996410	$\bar{1}$·9995161	$\bar{1}$·9997849
II	Hissár	6·1176249	5·8495312	5·7809542	0·0022249	0·0016496	0·0029115
III	Ambala	6·2378057	5·9802139	5·8885052	0·0016045	0·0017674	0·0014045
IV	Jálandhar	6·3841348	6·1118764	6·0522910	$\bar{1}$·9992603	$\bar{1}$·9989825	$\bar{1}$·9995819
V	Amritsar	6·4360208	6·1691313	6·0979358	$\bar{1}$·9998224	$\bar{1}$·9991905	0·0005825
VI	Lahore	6·3407448	6·0796431	5·9957405	0·0049635	0·0045656	0·0054527
VII	Ráwalpindi	6·4014880	6·1292298	6·0696440	0·0045884	0·0045102	0·0046785
VIII	Multán	6·2336037	5·9714410	5·8898830	0·0049191	0·0044732	0·0054652
IX	Derajät	6·0559788	5·7900303	5·7167827	0·0046714	0·0046974	0·0046573
X	Pesháwar	6·0723561	5·8125851	5·7257320	0·0044524	0·0052119	0·0035476
Total	British territory	7·2753215	7·0090279	6·9365330	0·0022746	0·0020780	0·0025091

Serial No.	Districts and Divisions.	Estimated population at the beginning of each — Persons. 1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.
1	Dehli	645,2	647,0	648,7	650,4	652,2	653,9	655,7	657,4	659,2	660,9
2	Gurgáon	638,4	634,9	631,4	628,0	624,6	621,2	617,8	614,4	611,1	607,8
3	Karnál	623,0	623,3	623,7	624,1	624,4	624,8	625,1	625,5	625,8	626,2
4	Hissár	505,7	507,3	508,8	510,3	511,9	513,5	515,0	516,6	518,1	519,7
5	Rohtak	555,4	557,2	559,0	560,8	562,6	564,4	566,2	568,0	569,8	571,7
6	Sirsa	256,9	260,5	264,2	268,0	271,8	275,7	279,6	283,6	287,6	291,7
7	Ambála	1,070,3	1,073,4	1,076,4	1,079,5	1,082,6	1,085,7	1,088,8	1,091,9	1,095,0	1,098,1
8	Ludhiána	621,6	624,3	627,1	629,9	632,7	635,5	638,3	641,2	644,0	646,9
9	Simla	43,7	44,5	45,3	46,2	47,0	47,8	48,7	49,6	50,5	51,4
10	Jálandhar	789,2	788,8	788,4	788,0	787,7	787,3	787,0	786,6	786,2	785,8
11	Hushyárpur	898,6	895,9	893,2	890,5	887,8	885,1	882,4	879,7	877,1	874,4
12	Kángra	729,9	728,9	727,9	726,9	725,9	724,9	723,9	722,8	722,0	721,0
13	Amritsar	898,1	903,0	907,9	912,7	917,7	922,6	927,6	932,6	937,7	942,7
14	Gurdaspur	817,7	811,7	805,8	799,9	794,0	788,2	782,5	776,7	771,1	765,4
15	Sialkot	1,012,7	1,013,3	1,013,9	1,014,5	1,015,0	1,015,6	1,016,2	1,016,8	1,017,3	1,017,9
16	Lahore	935,5	947,0	958,6	970,4	982,3	994,4	1,006,6	1,019,0	1,031,5	1,044,2
17	Gujránwála	622,3	627,7	633,2	638,7	644,3	650,0	655,6	661,4	667,1	673,0
18	Firozpur	659,0	667,6	676,3	685,2	694,1	703,2	712,3	721,6	731,0	740,6
19	Ráwalpindi	829,6	838,8	848,0	857,4	866,9	876,5	886,1	895,9	905,8	915,9
20	Jhelum	596,8	604,3	611,9	619,6	627,4	635,3	643,3	651,4	659,5	667,8
21	Gujrát	695,1	701,0	707,1	713,1	719,3	725,5	731,7	738,0	744,3	750,7
22	Shahpur	425,9	430,4	434,9	439,4	444,0	448,6	453,3	458,0	462,8	467,6
23	Multán	558,6	565,4	572,2	579,1	586,1	593,2	600,3	607,6	614,9	622,3
24	Jhang	399,3	403,3	407,4	411,5	415,6	419,8	424,0	428,3	432,6	436,9
25	Montgomery	432,1	437,7	443,4	449,2	455,0	461,0	467,0	473,1	479,3	485,5
26	Muzaffargarh	341,9	345,3	348,7	352,1	355,6	359,1	362,6	366,2	369,8	373,4
27	D. I. Khan	445,5	449,3	453,2	457,1	461,1	465,1	469,1	473,1	477,2	481,4
28	D. G. Khan	367,9	372,5	377,1	381,8	386,6	391,5	396,3	401,3	406,3	411,4
29	Bannu	336,6	340,6	344,7	348,8	353,0	357,2	361,5	365,9	370,3	374,7
30	Pesháwar	598,4	604,2	610,0	615,9	621,8	627,8	633,9	640,0	646,2	652,4
31	Hazára	410,5	413,9	417,4	420,9	424,4	427,9	431,5	435,1	438,8	442,4
32	Kohát	184,7	187,9	191,1	194,4	197,7	201,1	204,6	208,1	211,7	215,3
I	Dehli	1,906,4	1,904,8	1,903,2	1,901,7	1,900,1	1,898,5	1,897,0	1,895,4	1,893,8	1,892,3
II	Hissár	1,317,8	1,324,6	1,331,4	1,338,2	1,345,1	1,352,0	1,358,9	1,365,9	1,372,9	1,380,0
III	Ambala	1,735,5	1,741,9	1,748,3	1,754,8	1,761,3	1,767,8	1,774,3	1,780,9	1,787,5	1,794,1
IV	Jálandhar	2,417,7	2,413,5	2,409,4	2,405,3	2,401,2	2,397,1	2,393,1	2,389,0	2,384,9	2,380,9
V	Amritsar	2,728,0	2,726,9	2,725,8	2,724,7	2,723,5	2,722,4	2,721,3	2,720,2	2,719,1	2,718,0
VI	Lahore	2,216,7	2,242,2	2,268,0	2,294,0	2,320,4	2,347,1	2,374,0	2,401,3	2,428,9	2,456,9
VII	Ráwalpindi	2,547,3	2,574,3	2,601,7	2,629,3	2,657,2	2,685,5	2,714,0	2,742,8	2,771,9	2,801,4
VIII	Multán	1,731,9	1,751,6	1,771,6	1,791,8	1,812,1	1,832,8	1,853,7	1,874,8	1,896,2	1,917,8
IX	Derajät	1,149,9	1,162,3	1,174,8	1,187,6	1,200,4	1,213,4	1,226,5	1,239,8	1,253,2	1,266,8
X	Pesháwar	1,193,5	1,205,8	1,218,2	1,230,7	1,243,4	1,256,2	1,269,2	1,282,3	1,255,5	1,308,8
Total	British territory	18,949,4	19,048,9	19,148,9	19,249,5	19,350,6	19,452,2	19,554,4	19,657,1	19,760,3	19,864,1

TABLE J.

1891, supposing past rates of increase to remain unchanged.

YEAR FROM 1882 TO 1891, ASSUMING PAST RATES OF INCREASE BETWEEN 1868 AND 1881 TO CONTINUE—IN HUNDREDS.

Males.

Serial No.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.
1	344,9	345,7	346,6	347,4	348,3	349,1	350,0	350,9	351,7	352,6
2	336,9	334,9	332,9	331,0	329,0	327,1	325,1	323,2	321,3	319,4
3	336,3	336,4	336,5	336,6	336,7	336,9	337,0	337,1	337,2	337,3
4	272,7	273,1	273,5	273,9	274,4	274,8	275,2	275,7	276,1	276,5
5	296,8	297,3	297,9	298,4	299,0	299,5	300,1	300,6	301,2	301,7
6	140,5	142,4	144,2	146,1	148,0	150,0	152,0	154,0	156,0	158,0
7	590,2	592,1	594,0	595,9	597,9	599,8	601,8	603,7	605,7	607,6
8	341,1	342,6	344,2	345,7	347,2	348,8	350,3	351,9	353,4	355,0
9	28,1	28,7	29,2	29,8	30,3	30,9	31,4	32,0	32,7	33,2
10	431,0	430,6	430,2	429,9	429,5	429,1	428,7	428,3	427,9	427,5
11	479,9	478,2	476,5	474,9	473,2	471,6	470,0	468,3	466,7	465,1
12	379,9	379,0	378,0	377,0	376,1	375,1	374,2	373,3	372,3	371,4
13	492,7	494,8	496,8	498,8	500,9	503,0	505,1	507,1	509,2	511,3
14	441,8	437,8	433,9	430,0	426,1	422,3	418,5	414,8	411,1	407,4
15	539,2	538,7	538,2	537,7	537,2	536,8	536,3	535,8	535,3	534,8
16	516,4	522,6	528,8	535,1	541,4	547,9	554,4	561,0	567,7	574,4
17	335,8	338,0	340,2	342,4	344,7	346,9	349,2	351,5	353,8	356,1
18	361,8	366,4	371,0	375,6	380,4	385,2	390,0	394,9	399,9	404,9
19	454,7	460,2	465,8	471,4	477,1	482,9	488,7	494,6	500,6	506,7
20	317,6	321,7	325,9	330,2	334,5	338,9	343,3	347,8	352,4	357,0
21	364,6	367,0	369,5	372,0	374,5	377,0	379,5	382,6	384,6	387,2
22	223,8	226,0	228,2	230,4	232,6	234,9	237,2	239,5	241,8	244,1
23	308,1	311,7	315,3	319,0	322,7	326,5	330,3	334,2	338,1	342,1
24	216,1	217,9	219,6	221,4	223,2	225,0	226,8	228,7	230,5	232,4
25	235,6	238,4	241,1	243,9	246,8	249,6	252,5	255,4	258,4	261,4
26	186,3	188,1	189,8	191,6	193,4	195,2	197,0	198,9	200,7	202,6
27	240,6	242,7	244,8	247,0	249,2	251,4	253,6	255,8	258,1	260,3
28	203,2	205,8	208,4	211,0	213,7	216,4	219,1	221,9	224,7	227,5
29	179,6	181,7	183,8	186,0	188,2	190,4	192,6	194,9	197,1	199,4
30	333,1	336,8	340,5	344,2	348,0	351,8	355,7	359,5	363,5	367,5
31	221,0	223,3	225,7	228,1	230,6	233,0	235,5	238,1	240,6	243,2
32	103,3	105,3	107,3	109,3	111,4	113,5	115,7	117,9	120,1	122,4
I	1,018,0	1,016,8	1,015,7	1,014,6	1,013,4	1,012,3	1,011,2	1,010,1	1,008,9	1,007,8
II	709,9	712,6	715,3	718,0	720,7	723,5	726,2	729,0	731,8	734,6
III	959,4	963,3	967,2	971,1	975,1	979,1	983,1	987,1	991,1	995,2
IV	1,290,8	1,287,8	1,284,7	1,281,8	1,278,7	1,275,8	1,272,8	1,269,8	1,266,8	1,263,9
V	1,473,4	1,470,7	1,467,9	1,465,2	1,462,5	1,459,7	1,457,0	1,454,3	1,451,6	1,448,9
VI	1,214,0	1,226,8	1,239,8	1,252,9	1,266,1	1,279,5	1,293,0	1,306,7	1,320,5	1,334,4
VII	1,360,6	1,374,8	1,389,2	1,403,7	1,418,4	1,433,1	1,448,2	1,463,2	1,478,5	1,493,9
VIII	946,1	955,9	965,7	975,7	985,8	996,1	1,006,4	1,016,8	1,027,3	1,037,9
IX	623,3	630,1	637,0	643,9	650,9	658,0	665,1	672,4	679,7	687,1
X	657,4	665,3	673,3	681,5	689,7	698,0	706,4	715,0	723,6	732,3
Total	10,259,1	10,308,2	10,357,7	10,407,3	10,457,3	10,507,4	10,557,8	10,608,4	10,659,3	10,710,5

Females.

Serial No.	1882.	1883.	1884.	1885.	1886.	1887.	1888.	1889.	1890.	1891.
1	300,4	301,3	302,1	303,0	303,9	304,8	305,7	306,6	307,5	308,4
2	301,5	300,0	298,5	297,0	295,6	294,1	292,7	291,3	289,8	288,4
3	286,8	287,1	287,3	287,6	287,8	288,0	288,3	288,5	288,8	289,0
4	233,0	234,2	235,3	236,4	237,6	238,7	239,9	241,0	242,2	243,4
5	258,6	259,9	261,1	262,3	263,6	264,9	266,1	267,4	268,7	270,0
6	116,4	118,2	120,0	121,9	123,8	125,7	127,7	129,7	131,7	133,7
7	480,1	481,3	482,4	483,6	484,7	485,9	487,1	488,2	489,4	490,5
8	280,4	281,5	282,6	283,8	284,9	286,1	287,2	288,4	289,6	290,7
9	15,6	15,9	16,1	16,4	16,7	17,0	17,2	17,5	17,8	18,1
10	358,1	358,2	358,2	358,2	358,2	358,2	358,2	358,3	358,3	358,3
11	418,8	417,7	416,7	415,6	414,6	413,5	412,5	411,4	410,4	409,3
12	350,0	349,9	349,9	349,9	349,8	349,8	349,8	349,8	349,8	349,7
13	405,4	408,2	411,1	414,0	416,8	419,8	422,7	425,6	428,6	431,6
14	375,9	373,9	371,9	370,0	368,0	366,1	364,1	362,2	360,3	358,4
15	473,6	474,6	475,7	476,8	477,9	479,0	480,1	481,2	482,3	483,4
16	419,0	424,4	429,8	435,3	440,9	446,5	452,2	458,0	463,9	469,8
17	286,5	289,8	293,1	296,5	299,8	303,3	306,7	310,2	313,8	317,3
18	297,2	301,2	305,4	309,5	313,7	318,0	322,3	326,7	331,2	335,7
19	374,9	378,5	382,3	386,0	389,8	393,6	397,5	401,4	405,3	409,3
20	279,2	282,6	286,0	289,4	292,9	296,4	300,0	303,5	307,2	310,9
21	330,5	334,0	337,6	341,3	344,9	348,6	352,4	356,2	360,0	363,9
22	202,1	204,4	206,7	209,0	211,3	213,7	216,1	218,6	221,0	223,5
23	250,6	253,7	256,9	260,1	263,4	266,7	270,0	273,4	276,8	280,3
24	183,2	185,5	187,8	190,1	192,5	194,9	197,3	199,8	202,3	204,8
25	196,5	199,4	202,3	205,3	208,4	211,5	214,6	217,8	221,0	224,3
26	155,7	157,3	159,0	160,6	162,3	164,0	165,7	167,5	169,2	171,0
27	204,9	206,6	208,4	210,1	211,9	213,7	215,5	217,3	219,2	221,0
28	164,7	166,7	168,8	170,8	173,0	175,1	177,2	179,4	181,6	183,9
29	157,0	158,9	160,9	162,9	164,9	166,9	168,9	171,0	173,1	175,3
30	265,3	267,4	269,6	271,7	273,9	276,1	278,3	280,6	282,8	285,1
31	189,5	190,6	191,7	192,8	193,9	105,0	196,2	197,3	198,4	199,6
32	81,3	82,6	83,9	85,0	86,3	87,7	80,0	90,2	91,7	93,0
I	888,4	888,0	887,6	887,1	886,7	886,2	885,8	885,4	884,9	884,5
II	608,0	612,0	616,2	620,3	624,5	628,7	632,9	637,2	641,4	645,8
III	776,1	778,6	781,1	783,7	786,2	788,7	791,3	793,9	796,4	799,0
IV	1,126,9	1,125,8	1,124,7	1,123,6	1,122,5	1,121,5	1,120,4	1,119,3	1,118,2	1,117,1
V	1,254,6	1,256,3	1,258,0	1,259,7	1,261,4	1,263,1	1,264,8	1,266,5	1,268,2	1,269,9
VI	1,002,7	1,015,4	1,028,2	1,041,2	1,054,4	1,067,7	1,081,2	1,094,9	1,108,7	1,122,7
VII	1,186,6	1,199,5	1,212,5	1,225,6	1,238,9	1,252,3	1,265,9	1,279,6	1,293,5	1,307,5
VIII	785,9	795,8	805,9	816,1	826,4	836,9	847,5	858,2	869,1	880,1
IX	526,6	532,2	538,0	543,8	549,6	555,6	561,5	567,6	573,7	579,9
X	536,1	540,5	545,0	549,4	554,0	558,5	563,1	567,7	572,4	577,0
Total	8,690,5	8,740,8	8,791,5	8,842,4	8,893,6	8,945,1	8,997,0	9,049,1	9,101,5	9,154,3

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE K.

Showing the Population of Municipal towns according to the enumerations of 1868, 1875, and 1881.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
District.	Municipality.	Population by Census of			Percentage of increase and decrease upon population of 1868.	
		1868.	1875.	1881.	In 1875.	In 1881.
Dehli	Dehli	154,417	160,553	173,393	+4	+13
	Najafgarh	3,592	4,309	3,999	+20	+11
	Ballabgarh	6,281	6,671	5,821	+6	−7
	Farídábád	7,990	7,583	7,427	−5	−7
	Sunpat	12,176	13,637	13,077	+12	+7
	Total	*184,456*	*192,753*	*203,717*	*+5*	*+10*
Gurgaon	Rewári	24,503	25,190	23,972	+3	−2
	Fírozpur	9,156	10,536	8,235	+15	−10
	Palwal	12,729	13,553	10,635	+7	−16
	Farrúkhnagar	10,631	10,594	8,738	...	−18
	Total	*57,019*	*59,867*	*51,580*	*+5*	*−9*
Karnál	Karnál	29,007	24,015	22,528	−17	−22
	Pánípat	25,276	24,500	25,651	−3	+1
	Kaithal	14,848	15,799	14,754	+7	−1
	Púndri	4,749	5,433	4,977	+14	+5
	Kunjpura	5,162	5,049	4,725	−2	−8
	Total	*79,042*	*74,796*	*72,635*	*−5*	*−8*
Hissár	Hissár	14,133	14,162	14,167	...	...
	Hánsi	13,563	12,210	12,656	−10	−7
	Bhiwáni	32,254	33,220	33,762	+3	+5
	Fatahábád	3,175	3,084	2,992	−3	−6
	Rattia	2,745	3,120	3,212	+14	+17
	Tohána	3,533	3,445	4,155	−3	+18
	Total	*69,403*	*69,241*	*70,944*	...	*+2*
Rohtak	Rohtak	14,258	14,994	15,160	+5	+6
	Beri	8,723	9,205	9,695	+6	+11
	Bahádargarh	6,659	7,127	6,674	+7	...
	Kharkhauda	4,082	4,185	4,144	+3	+2
	Gohána	7,124	7,296	6,738	+2	−5
	Jhajjar	12,513	12,456	11,242	...	−10
	Total	*53,359*	*55,263*	*53,653*	*+3*	*+1*
Sirsa	Sirsa	11,000	12,807	12,292	+16	+12
	Fázilka	3,406	4,346	6,851	+27	+101
	Ellenábád	3,414	3,299	4,131	−3	+21
	Ránia	4,583	4,917	4,626	+7	+1
	Rori	2,723	2,728	3,063	...	+13
	Total	*25,126*	*28,097*	*30,963*	*+12*	*+23*
Ambála	Ambála	24,040	26,258	26,777	+9	+11
	Jagádhri	11,676	12,522	12,300	+7	+5
	Sádhaura	11,198	11,167	10,794	...	−4
	Rúpar	8,700	10,261	10,326	+18	+19
	Búriya	8,351	8,197	7,411	−2	−11
	Thánesar	7,929	7,111	6,005	−10	−24
	Sháhábád	11,678	11,660	10,218	...	−12
	Kharar	4,884	4,847	4,265	−1	−13
	Pihowa	3,675	3,569	3,408	−3	−7
	Rádaur	4,400	4,098	4,081	−7	−7
	Ládwa	4,316	4,121	4,061	−5	−6
	Total	*100,847*	*103,811*	*99,646*	*+3*	*−1*
Ludhiána	Lúdhiána	39,983	*40,385	44,163	+1	+10
	Jagráon	15,881	*16,321	16,873	+3	+6
	Raikot	9,165	8,262	9,219	−10	+1
	Máchhíwára	6,062	6,224	5,967	+3	−2
	Khanna	3,408	3,660	3,988	+7	+17
	Bahlolpur	3,369	3,059	2,842	−9	−16
	Total	*77,868*	*77,911*	*83,052*	...	*+7*
Simla	Simla	7,077	8,672	12,305	+22	+74
Jálandhar	Jálandhar	50,405	50,924	42,651	+1	−15
	Kartárpur	10,963	11,053	9,260	+1	−16
	Aláwalpur	5,075	4,836	3,802	−5	−25
	Adampur	2,862	4,153	2,572	+45	−10
	Banga	4,508	4,817	4,565	+7	+1
	Nawáshahr	4,947	5,351	4,960	+8	...
	Ráhon	14,394	12,914	11,736	−10	−18
	Philaur	7,535	6,251	7,107	−17	−6
	Núrmahál	7,866	9,025	8,161	+15	+4
	Mahatpur	6,374	6,853	6,011	+8	−6
	Nakodar	8,800	9,780	8,486	+11	−4
	Total	*123,729*	*125,957*	*109,311*	*+1*	*−12*
Hushyárpur	Hushyárpur	20,790	21,316	20,638	+2	−1
	Urmar Tánda	14,889	13,971	10,295	−6	−31
	Mukerián	5,678	5,125	4,110	−10	−28
	Dasúya	8,453	8,675	6,248	+3	−26
	Anandpur	6,887	6,405	5,878	−7	−15
	Hariána	7,785	7,802	6,472	...	−17
	Gardhíwála	3,611	3,874	3,438	+7	−5
	Una	4,379	4,908	4,389	+12	...
	Miáni	7,706	7,993	6,499	+4	−6
	Total	*80,178*	*80,069*	*67,973*	...	*−15*
Kangra	Dharmsála	2,802	2,058	3,839	−27	+37
	Núrpur	9,928	7,337	5,744	−26	−42
	Jawálámukhi	3,345	2,844	2,424	−15	−28
	Harípur	3,285	3,842	2,174	+17	−34
	Sujánpur	3,564	3,393	3,431	−5	−4
	Kángra	6,448	6,336	5,387	−2	−16
	Total	*29,372*	*25,810*	*22,999*	*−12*	*−22*
Amritsar	Amritsar	133,175	142,381	150,665	+7	+13
	Jandiála	6,979	7,037	6,535	+1	−6
	Majítha	6,608	6,004	6,053	−9	−8
	Rámdás	5,853	5,257	4,498	−10	−23
	Taran Táran	2,709	3,133	3,210	+16	+18
	Vairowál	6,520	5,958	5,409	−9	−17
	Total	*161,844*	*169,770*	*176,370*	*+5*	*+9*
Gurdaspur	Dalhousie	1,163	2,265	870	+95	−25
	Gurdáspur	3,287	4,137	4,513	+26	+37
	Batála	27,280	26,929	24,281	−1	−11
	Dinánagar	7,622	6,626	5,589	−13	−27
	Kalánaur	6,121	6,051	4,962	−1	−19
	Pathánkot	2,788	4,507	4,344	+62	+56
	Narot	5,331	3,944	3,706	−26	−30
	Sujánpur	7,177	6,557	6,039	−9	−16
	Nainákot	2,019	1,726	1,452	−15	−28
	Srígovindpur	5,482	5,531	4,247	+1	−23
	Bahrámpur	3,727	3,477	2,682	−7	−28
	Dera Nának	7,892	7,212	5,056	−9	−25
	Darmán	1,761	1,607	1,618	−9	−8
	Sukhúchak	3,408	3,246	3,355	−5	−2
	Fatahgarh	4,431	4,481	4,078	+1	−8
	Sháhpur	1,655	1,336	1,258	−19	−24
	Total	*91,144*	*89,632*	*78,950*	*−2*	*−13*
Siálkot	Siálkot	25,337	32,989	33,850	+30	+34
	Jámki	4,214	4,359	4,157	+4	−1
	Daska	5,524	5,401	5,525	−2	..
	Zafarwál	5,641	4,975	4,978	−12	−12
	Sankhatra	2,571	2,390	2,381	−7	−7
	Kila Sobha Singh	5,153	5,159	4,521	...	−12
	Pasrúr	8,527	8,276	8,378	−3	−2
	Nárowál	4,728	5,297	4,558	+12	−4
	Mitránwáli	3,430	3,095	3,730	−10	+9
	Total	*65,125*	*71,941*	*72,078*	*+10*	*+11*

* The published tables of the 1875 Census show Lúdhiána 36,955, Jagráon 6,893. But the figures are altered in all subsequent tables to those here given, which are obviously more correct; and it is probable that the figures were revised after publication, though no correspondence on the subject can be traced.

Municipal Towns.—Population for 1868, 1875, and 1881.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE K—*continued.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
District.	Municipality.	Population by Census of			Percentage of increase and decrease upon population of 1868.	
		1868.	1875.	1881.	In 1875.	In 1881.
Lahore	Lahore	117,107	128,441	138,878	+10	+19
	Kasúr	16,551	16,793	17,336	+1	+4
	Chúnián	7,355	6,469	8,122	−12	+10
	Sharakpur	4,162	4,425	4,595	+6	+10
	Patti	6,718	6,200	6,407	−5	−5
	Khudián	3,108	3,322	2,917	+7	−6
	Khem Karan	5,847	5,860	5,516	...	−6
	Total	*160,848*	*171,600*	*183,771*	*+7*	*+14*
Gújránwala	Gújránwála	10,381	20,362	22,107	+5	+14
	Wazírábád	15,730	15,346	16,462	−2	+5
	Rámnagar	8,598	...	6,830	...	−21
	Akálgarh	5,038	...	4,312	...	−14
	Eminábád	6,731	...	5,886	...	−12
	Pindi Bhatián	4,281	...	3,528	...	−18
	Háfizábád	2,292	...	2,453	...	+7
	Jalálpur	2,583	...	2,353	...	−9
	Sodhra	4,743	...	4,464	...	−6
	Kila Dídársingh	2,204	...	2,822	...	+28
	Total	*71,561*	*35,708*	*71,270*	*−50*	...
Firozpur	Fírozpur	20,592	15,168	20,870	−26	+1
	Muktsar	4,694	2,983	3,125	−36	−33
	Zíra	3,010	3,471	3,492	+15	+16
	Dharmkot	5,379	5,467	6,007	+2	+12
	Makhu	1,065	1,713	1,658	+61	+55
	Total	*34,740*	*28,802*	*35,152*	*−17*	*+1*
Rawalpindi	Ráwalpindi	19,228	20,802	25,442	+8	+33
	Murree	1,346	...	2,489	...	+84
	Attak	3,842	...	4,210	...	+10
	Hazro	7,280	7,950	6,533	+9	−10
	Pindigheb	8,240	...	8,583	...	+4
	Makhad	4,252	...	4,195	...	−1
	Total	*44,188*	*28,752*	*51,452*	*−35*	*+16*
Jahlam	Jahlam	5,148	*7,947	16,634	+54	+223
	Pind Dádan Khán	17,819	15,307	16,724	−14	−6
	Chakwál	5,767	5,674	5,717	−2	−1
	Talágang	5,647	5,659	5,915	...	+5
	Total	*34,381*	*34,677*	*44,990*	*+1*	*+31*
Gujrat	Gújrát	15,907	17,401	17,815	+9	+12
	Jalálpur	15,626	14,014	12,839	−11	−18
	Kunjáh	5,975	5,355	5,799	−10	−3
	Dinga	4,954	5,086	5,015	+3	+1
	Total	*42,462*	*41,856*	*41,468*	*−2*	*−2*
Shahpur	Miáni	6,857	6,158	8,069	−10	+18
	Sáhíwál	8,900	8,634	8,880	−3	...
	Khusháb	8,509	8,344	8,989	−2	+6
	Bhera	14,514	14,710	15,165	+1	+5
	Sháhpur	4,743	...	5,424	...	+14
	Girot	2,799	...	2,776	...	−1
	Total	*46,322*	*37,846*	*49,303*	*−18*	*+7*
Multan	Multán	45,602	50,878	57,471	+11	+26
	Shújábád	6,095	6,280	6,458	+3	+6
	Kahror	5,069	4,650	4,804	−8	−5
	Talamba	3,152	1,948	2,231	−38	−29
	Jalálpur	3,596	3,525	3,875	−2	+8
	Dunyápur	2,708	2,054	2,041	−24	−25
	Total	*66,222*	*69,335*	*76,880*	*+5*	*+16*
Jhang	Jhang	9,128	8,609	9,055	−6	−1
	Maghiána	10,854	13,618	12,574	+25	+15
	Chiniot	11,477	11,999	10,731	+4	−7
	Shorkot	3,156	2,478	2,283	−22	−28
	Ahmadpur	3,436	2,146	2,338	−38	−32
	Total	*38,051*	*38,850*	*36,981*	*+2*	*−3*
Montgomery	Montgomery	2,416	2,588	3,178	+7	+31
	Kamália	5,695	5,900	7,594	+3	+33
	Pákpattan	6,086	5,723	5,993	−6	−2
	Saiyadwála	2,854	3,437	3,389	+20	+19
	Dipálpur	3,628	3,407	3,435	−6	−5
	Total	*20,679*	*21,055*	*23,589*	*+2*	*+14*
Muzaffargarh.	Muzaffargarh	2,498	2,537	2,679	+1	+7
	Khángarh	3,717	2,802	3,417	−25	−8
	Shahr Sultán	1,698	...	2,132	...	+25
	Jatoi	2,253	...	2,035	...	−10
	Alípur	2,273	2,282	2,555	...	+13
	Khairpur	2,846	2,562	2,609	−10	−8
	Sítpur	2,199	...	2,035	...	−8
	Total	*17,484*	*10,183*	*17,462*	*−42*	...
Dera Ismáil Khán.	Dera Ismáíl Khán	19,575	19,954	18,988	+2	−3
	Kuláchi	9,921	7,856	7,834	−21	−21
	Bhakkar	5,554	4,709	4,402	−14	−21
	Leiah	5,446	5,689	5,899	+4	+8
	Karor	5,720	2,766	2,723	−52	−52
	Tánk	2,890	3,186	2,364	+10	−18
	Pahárpur	3,114	...	2,496	...	−20
	Total	*52,220*	*44,250*	*44,706*	*−15*	*−12*
Dera Ghazi Khan.	Dera Gházi Khán	17,164	19,133	18,935	+11	+10
	Jámpur	7,796	4,209	4,697	−46	−40
	Rájanpur	3,774	3,548	3,927	−6	+4
	Mithankot	3,659	3,347	3,353	−9	−8
	Dájal	†5,693	...	5,952	...	+5
	Naushahra	†1,478	...	1,961	...	+32
	Total	*39,564*	*30,237*	*38,825*	*−24*	*−2*
Bannu	Edwardesábád	3,178	3,896	4,900	+23	+54
	Lakki	2,740	4,406	4,068	+61	+48
	Isákhel	7,446	6,541	6,692	−12	−10
	Kálábágh	6,419	6,082	6,056	−5	−6
	Total	*19,783*	*20,925*	*21,716*	*+6*	*+10*
Peshawar	Pesháwar	58,555	58,430	59,292	...	+1
	Shankargarh	947	1,017	1,367	+7	+44
	Total	*59,502*	*59,447*	*60,659*	...	*+2*
Hazara	Harípur	4,800	4,477	4,884	−7	+2
	Abbottábád	1,035	1,194	1,371	+15	+32
	Nawáshahr	3,972	3,445	4,307	−13	+8
	Baffa	4,193	4,494	5,410	+7	+29
	Total	*14,000*	*13,610*	*15,972*	*−3*	*+14*
Kohát	Kohát	9,130	11,043	13,490	+21	+48
	Total	*1,076,726*	*1,931,766*	*2,033,809*	*−2*	*+3*

* Another Census of Jahlam Municipality was taken on 10th January 1878, which gave a population of 11,319.

NOTE.—These figures represent the population within Municipal limits. The figures for 1868 are taken wherever available from the report on the Municipal Census of 1875 (*Panjab Gazette* 17th August 1876, Part I, pages 379*ff*). They do not agree with those of the Census Report of 1868, as the latter are for towns and not municipalities; nor am I able to reconcile them with the figures in the Appendix to Table XIX, furnished by Deputy Commissioners from the records of the Census of 1868. The figures for 1875 are taken from the corrected figures published in the Supplement to *Panjab Gazette*, 1st February 1877, pages 57*ff*, and in some cases differ largely from those given in the Provincial Civil List, which have been commonly quoted as correct.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE L.

Showing annual death-rates per mille of population according to the registration of deaths from 1868 to 1881.

Persons.

Serial No.	Districts.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	Average.
1	DELHI	20	30	31	29	32	36	30	30	24	26	55	71	34	38	35
2	Gurgáon	15	30	19	20	23	18	15	27	20	19	68	81	23	29	29
3	Karnál	13	22	24	21	22	18	20	21	21	21	44	59	38	36	27
4	HISSAR	9	24	15	19	16	12	16	18	12	12	25	42	20	27	19
5	Rohtak	9	23	18	18	15	15	21	22	17	18	37	67	27	31	24
6	Sirsa	16	28	16	15	21	14	18	23	18	16	27	40	22	28	22
7	UMBALLA	11	20	22	24	23	17	20	22	27	16	29	42	30	34	24
8	Ludhiána	23	26	3*	19	28	16	19	26	28	22	45	34	26	30	27
9	Simla	10	16	14	12	13	14	12	22	18	15	21	30	24	22	17
10	JALANDHAR	23	31	31	26	30	25	22	32	58	24	72	34	25	30	33
11	Hoshiárpur	24	37	32	25	30	24	20	39	50	22	38	38	28	31	31
12	Kangra	22	29	21	18	24	19	17	26	25	20	22	32	34	29	24
13	AMRITSAR	18	38	21	19	28	28	22	37	41	26	45	43	29	50	32
14	Gurdáspur	22	36	29	23	29	23	17	42	35	21	29	35	28	29	28
15	Siálkot	24	28	38	26	31	26	17	28	40	17	23	23	23	28	27

Males.

Serial No.	Districts.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	Average.
1	DELHI	19	31	31	30	32	35	29	30	23	27	55	71	35	38	35
2	Gurgáon	16	31	19	20	23	18	16	28	20	20	71	80	25	29	30
3	Karnál	14	23	26	22	23	19	21	22	22	22	46	60	40	37	28
4	HISSAR	9	25	15	19	16	12	17	18	12	12	25	41	21	27	19
5	Rohtak	9	24	19	19	15	16	21	23	17	19	38	65	29	32	25
6	Sirsa	16	28	16	15	21	15	19	22	18	16	26	40	22	27	21
7	UMBALLA	12	21	23	25	24	18	21	23	27	17	30	44	31	34	25
8	Ludhiána	23	26	34	20	28	17	19	25	27	22	44	35	26	30	27
9	Simla	9	16	13	11	11	13	10	22	16	13	20	31	20	21	16
10	JALANDHAR	22	29	29	25	28	23	21	30	54	23	68	34	25	28	31
11	Hoshiárpur	23	36	31	25	29	23	20	38	49	22	37	35	28	30	30
12	Kangra	22	29	22	19	26	20	18	26	26	20	23	34	34	29	25
13	AMRITSAR	17	38	21	18	27	27	22	35	38	25	44	43	28	46	31
14	Gurdáspur	22	35	30	23	29	23	17	41	35	22	29	36	27	27	28
15	Siálkot	24	27	36	25	31	26	17	28	40	18	25	24	23	28	27

Females.

Serial No.	Districts.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.	1879.	1880.	1881.	Average.	Serial No.
1	DELHI	20	30	30	28	33	36	30	30	24	26	56	72	32	37	35	1
2	Gurgáon	15	29	18	19	22	18	15	26	19	18	64	81	21	28	28	2
3	Karnál	11	20	22	19	21	17	19	20	20	20	42	58	36	35	26	3
4	HISSAR	8	22	14	18	16	12	16	18	12	12	24	43	20	26	19	4
5	Rohtak	8	21	18	17	14	15	20	21	17	18	37	68	25	30	24	5
6	Sirsa	16	28	16	14	22	14	18	24	18	17	28	40	21	30	22	6
7	UMBALLA	10	20	21	22	22	16	19	20	26	15	28	40	29	34	23	7
8	Ludhiána	22	27	33	19	28	15	18	27	29	23	46	32	27	31	27	8
9	Simla	12	17	15	15	16	17	16	22	20	17	22	28	30	23	19	9
10	JALANDHAR	25	33	32	28	33	27	24	35	64	25	76	34	25	32	35	10
11	Hoshiárpur	24	39	33	25	30	24	20	41	50	21	39	34	28	31	31	11
12	Kangra	21	29	20	17	23	19	17	26	24	19	21	31	33	29	24	12
13	AMRITSAR	18	39	22	20	29	29	23	38	44	27	46	42	30	55	33	13
14	Gurdáspur	21	38	29	23	30	22	17	44	36	21	29	34	28	31	29	14
15	Siálkot	24	30	40	26	31	26	16	28	40	16	22	23	22	29	27	15

Death-rates.—Annual Death-rates for Districts from 1868 to 1881.

District																																														
16 LAHORE	16	30	21	20	36	31	23	31	35	27	46	41	31	41	31	17	30	21	20	34	31	23	31	34	27	45	43	31	40	31	16	29	21	20	37	32	22	31	36	27	47	39	31	42	31	16
17 Gujránwála	9	13	14	15	23	19	13	23	43	24	34	34	27	26	23	9	13	14	15	22	19	16	22	40	24	33	34	26	25	22	8	12	14	16	23	19	16	23	48	24	35	35	28	27	23	17
18 Ferozepore	11	20	20	15	20	18	16	18	24	16	43	26	23	30	21	11	20	20	15	21	18	13	19	24	16	44	29	24	29	22	11	19	19	15	20	18	13	18	23	16	31	23	22	32	20	18
19 RAWAL-PINDI	11	27	26	23	18	17	16	20	19	21	37	67	32	25	26	11	26	26	24	18	17	17	20	19	21	37	69	34	26	26	11	29	26	22	17	17	16	19	18	21	37	65	30	24	25	19
20 Jhelum	18	28	31	28	29	22	18	22	19	20	29	43	28	24	26	18	27	31	29	29	23	19	22	19	20	29	45	29	24	26	18	30	30	28	30	21	18	21	19	20	30	41	27	23	25	20
21 Gujrát	14	18	22	15	15	18	12	18	22	18	29	31	30	21	20	15	19	23	17	15	19	12	19	22	18	29	31	31	21	21	13	18	21	14	14	16	11	17	22	17	28	30	30	21	19	21
22 Shahpur	18	20	29	28	39	26	23	24	23	22	30	29	31	22	26	19	21	30	27	38	27	24	25	24	23	31	31	31	23	27	17	19	28	28	40	25	22	23	22	22	30	28	31	22	26	22
23 MOOLTAN	10	19	23	23	24	19	22	28	30	25	28	20	25	32	23	10	19	24	24	25	19	22	30	31	26	28	21	26	32	24	9	19	22	21	24	18	22	26	28	24	27	18	25	32	23	23
24 Jhang	9	16	18	13	17	18	14	18	16	13	12	13	19	18	15	9	16	18	13	17	18	15	18	16	13	12	13	19	18	15	8	16	17	13	18	18	14	18	16	12	12	12	18	19	15	24
25 Montgomery	19	32	19	19	25	22	18	31	23	21	30	21	20	28	23	18	32	20	20	24	21	17	30	24	22	29	22	20	27	23	19	33	18	18	26	22	18	32	22	21	32	20	20	29	24	25
26 Muzaffargarh	9	22	22	19	22	15	16	18	24	24	31	24	29	31	22	10	22	23	20	24	16	16	19	24	24	31	26	29	30	22	9	22	20	18	21	15	15	17	23	24	31	22	29	31	21	26
27 DERA ISMAIL KHAN	9	20	24	25	30	20	17	16	19	20	27	22	26	22	21	10	20	25	26	31	21	18	17	19	20	27	24	27	22	22	8	20	23	24	29	18	16	15	18	19	27	20	25	21	20	27
28 Dera Gházi Khan	7	13	16	11	12	9	12	13	17	14	18	14	18	18	14	7	14	17	12	13	9	12	14	17	14	18	15	19	18	14	6	12	15	10	11	8	12	12	16	13	18	12	17	17	13	28
29 Bannu	9	18	21	21	20	13	13	12	19	18	21	23	27	21	18	9	18	22	22	21	14	14	13	19	19	23	25	29	23	19	8	18	20	19	18	12	12	11	18	18	21	20	26	20	17	29
30 PESHAWAR	5	18	11	9	15	12	8	13	14	11	26	24	18	24	15	5	19	12	10	16	12	9	13	14	12	26	25	20	25	16	4	17	10	8	15	11	7	13	13	10	24	21	17	23	14	30
31 Hazára	9	21	18	15	12	11	14	16	17	13	25	24	16	20	17	10	23	19	17	13	12	9	17	17	15	30	27	17	21	18	8	20	16	14	11	11	7	14	16	12	21	20	15	18	15	31
32 Kohát	5	16	11	10	15	7	8	9	10	8	11	20	18	19	12	5	16	12	11	16	8	15	9	11	9	12	23	20	20	13	4	15	10	9	14	7	13	8	9	7	10	16	16	17	11	32
Total	15	26	24	21	25	20	18	25	28	20	36	38	27	30	25	15	26	24	21	25	21	18	26	28	20	36	39	27	29	25	15	26	24	20	24	20	18	25	29	20	36	37	26	30	25	

Sup. L

Death-rates: 186 to 1881.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE M.

Showing the distribution by age of every 10,000 males, females, and persons of all religions.

Serial No.	Districts.	Under 1.	1—	2—	3—	4—	Under 5.	5—	10—	15—	20—	25—	30—	35—	40—	45—	50—	55—	60 and upwards.	Serial No.
	PERSONS.																			
1	Delhi	301	149	143	204	226	1,023	1,214	1,210	984	1,034	940	876	481	705	330	542	144	516	1
2	Gurgaon	312	134	103	179	230	958	1,349	1,302	925	992	998	899	510	679	312	502	141	432	2
3	Karnál	321	150	150	229	264	1,114	1,296	1,169	986	999	932	837	480	706	327	512	148	493	3
4	Hissar	347	221	195	270	284	1,317	1,258	1,110	903	1,013	851	855	468	686	319	519	163	538	4
5	Rohtak	324	174	154	241	271	1,164	1,263	1,170	937	1,023	885	817	517	655	371	499	183	516	5
6	Sirsa	417	251	238	313	307	1,526	1,313	1,083	912	1,030	799	816	403	617	289	521	143	548	6
7	Umballa	319	144	182	236	275	1,156	1,300	1,166	937	959	928	830	505	686	351	474	178	530	7
8	Ludhiána	355	181	196	231	260	1,223	1,290	1,148	968	957	858	805	460	710	349	530	147	555	8
9	Simla	180	119	146	175	185	805	885	929	885	1,213	1,285	1,207	655	770	329	453	141	443	9
10	Jullundur	353	137	173	195	195	1,053	1,331	1,253	987	891	904	828	585	638	397	457	177	499	10
11	Hoshiárpur	310	140	202	247	235	1,134	1,358	1,224	935	845	910	799	597	617	369	468	166	578	11
12	Kángra	233	200	221	260	261	1,175	1,360	1,186	930	891	908	885	547	663	305	453	140	556	12
13	Amritsar	357	187	225	259	226	1,254	1,245	1,146	902	908	895	814	532	674	363	497	191	579	13
14	Gurdáspur	344	166	203	242	242	1,197	1,322	1,258	928	833	908	914	504	721	308	466	136	503	14
15	Siálkot	389	197	214	254	260	1,314	1,371	1,309	851	748	808	814	524	657	353	461	159	630	15
16	Lahore	384	217	247	269	258	1,375	1,280	1,141	946	907	857	802	495	624	356	453	182	582	16
17	Gujránwála	366	195	231	262	264	1,318	1,388	1,270	842	774	752	802	480	646	375	475	187	691	17
18	Ferozepore	421	239	231	256	262	1,409	1,356	1,149	942	929	877	758	497	561	346	421	213	541	18
19	Ráwalpindi	268	147	250	315	360	1,340	1,518	1,126	832	873	860	922	504	606	309	416	141	552	19
20	Jhelum	321	197	290	334	355	1,497	1,506	1,041	801	785	811	801	518	565	348	438	199	690	20
21	Gujrát	369	210	250	282	329	1,440	1,527	1,164	803	721	782	793	518	610	357	476	158	651	21
22	Shahpur	353	213	289	335	352	1,542	1,476	1,034	768	749	718	812	440	675	315	525	154	792	22
23	Mooltan	342	217	286	328	325	1,498	1,488	1,013	755	799	882	884	498	709	315	472	108	579	23
24	Jhang	377	228	325	356	370	1,656	1,609	1,018	695	684	723	791	443	659	303	516	138	764	24
25	Montgomery	378	248	331	352	337	1,646	1,500	1,051	728	794	759	824	409	677	310	494	141	667	25
26	Muzaffargarh	391	179	274	314	344	1,502	1,579	1,076	714	783	807	915	477	731	271	477	85	583	26
27	Dera Ismail Khan	285	236	286	346	353	1,506	1,497	980	704	808	804	1,012	405	789	247	510	115	622	27
28	Dera Ghazi Khan	373	207	295	348	376	1,599	1,546	989	677	803	751	929	468	741	300	468	111	618	28
29	Bannu	308	221	295	402	384	1,610	1,702	900	690	735	825	907	518	643	324	467	169	509	29
30	Peshávar	236	185	264	305	338	1,328	1,459	1,009	805	951	882	1,032	404	750	227	483	99	570	30
31	Hazara	291	183	275	324	396	1,469	1,675	1,144	860	906	761	1,019	385	635	191	363	76	514	31
32	Kohát	265	196	320	414	392	1,587	1,624	916	812	921	880	994	414	697	206	426	84	438	32
—	British Territory	335	186	225	273	287	1,306	1,392	1,147	873	876	860	855	496	665	328	475	154	573	—
—	Native States	303	211	207	254	271	1,246	1,285	1,081	875	908	875	872	508	709	346	524	172	599	—
—	Province	330	190	222	269	284	1,295	1,373	1,137	874	882	862	858	498	672	331	483	157	578	—
	MALES.																			
1	Delhi	286	146	139	191	227	989	1,215	1,276	988	1,013	952	881	503	677	345	518	156	486	1
2	Gurgaon	308	131	101	170	226	936	1,360	1,402	959	958	1,004	866	519	627	323	485	151	410	2
3	Karnál	307	142	145	214	256	1,064	1,305	1,250	1,040	997	931	813	474	654	341	502	159	468	3
4	Hissar	328	205	181	247	273	1,234	1,247	1,164	960	1,007	866	830	484	643	353	520	187	505	4
5	Rohtak	312	165	150	226	268	1,121	1,263	1,235	953	1,012	890	789	526	616	398	502	207	488	5
6	Sirsa	388	231	225	289	290	1,423	1,282	1,113	955	1,005	816	806	435	586	325	535	170	549	6
7	Umballa	300	137	166	215	263	1,081	1,288	1,243	974	955	935	831	504	666	353	472	182	516	7
8	Ludhiána	338	176	189	228	256	1,187	1,330	1,207	998	935	832	766	449	662	361	538	161	574	8
9	Simla	150	91	113	127	149	630	715	864	894	1,334	1,416	1,272	710	802	335	466	147	415	9
10	Jullundur	335	132	168	189	192	1,016	1,355	1,330	983	850	886	826	588	622	406	463	180	494	10
11	Hoshiárpur	299	135	194	236	233	1,097	1,360	1,297	945	813	891	781	617	600	390	465	179	565	11
12	Kángra	226	185	209	242	251	1,113	1,333	1,287	930	840	876	871	580	650	335	461	162	562	12
13	Amritsar	334	180	217	244	222	1,197	1,251	1,241	934	847	861	802	542	666	368	507	202	582	13
14	Gurdáspur	324	154	193	226	235	1,132	1,347	1,348	945	783	882	904	517	713	316	473	143	497	14
15	Siálkot	371	191	206	245	255	1,268	1,387	1,382	855	707	776	796	522	639	364	479	169	655	15

Age.—Distribution by age of every 10,000 Males, Females, and Persons in each district.

No.	District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	No.
16	Lahore	361	206	231	251	243	1,292	1,256	1,196	955	880	846	807	507	626	360	476	195	604	16
17	Gujranwála	348	187	222	253	252	1,262	1,388	1,337	850	724	721	782	472	634	383	509	198	740	17
18	Ferozepore	396	233	219	241	250	1,339	1,361	1,201	966	907	862	748	502	542	347	439	226	560	18
19	Ráwalpindi	250	139	229	294	345	1,257	1,486	1,178	821	860	870	947	527	596	313	427	147	571	19
20	Jhelum	303	180	275	319	344	1,421	1,529	1,107	793	771	795	812	523	552	345	444	204	703	20
21	Gujrát	358	204	242	275	327	1,406	1,555	1,233	803	688	748	771	499	588	355	498	167	689	21
22	Shahpur	336	203	272	323	340	1,474	1,493	1,073	769	732	696	799	427	656	325	554	163	838	22
23	Mooltan	314	199	263	304	305	1,385	1,459	1,082	771	776	873	893	518	701	336	501	119	586	23
24	Jhang	359	216	307	336	356	1,574	1,600	1,065	708	642	682	767	447	646	323	556	155	835	24
25	Montgomery	349	231	305	328	317	1,530	1,490	1,093	743	769	736	811	412	664	331	541	162	716	25
26	Muzaffargarh	369	163	252	299	329	1,412	1,594	1,155	713	712	765	917	501	730	297	514	96	593	26
27	Dera Ismail Khan	272	221	268	331	346	1,438	1,556	1,076	720	758	786	992	413	742	256	521	124	618	27
28	Dera Ghazi Khan	343	184	263	328	363	1,481	1,609	1,064	663	734	729	921	488	748	326	504	121	612	28
29	Bannu	288	203	262	374	370	1,497	1,738	985	733	727	814	890	527	611	325	475	177	501	29
30	Peshάwar	222	171	238	278	314	1,223	1,445	1,092	807	934	915	1,017	437	704	245	480	109	591	30
31	Hazara	283	168	244	297	375	1,367	1,693	1,260	848	811	733	1,019	412	637	208	382	81	548	31
32	Kohát	236	172	269	369	356	1,402	1,600	962	848	976	940	1,025	442	672	215	417	83	417	32
—	British Territory	317	175	212	257	277	1,238	1,394	1,217	887	847	847	845	505	644	340	485	165	579	—
—	Native States	291	199	194	236	263	1,183	1,278	1,145	910	889	862	851	521	678	368	530	190	595	—
—	Province	313	179	209	253	274	1,228	1,373	1,205	892	854	849	846	508	650	345	493	169	582	—

FEMALES.

No.	District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	No.
1	Delhi	318	153	148	217	227	1,063	1,212	1,133	979	1,058	926	871	457	737	313	570	129	552	1
2	Gurgaon	316	138	105	188	235	982	1,337	1,189	888	1,031	991	937	500	738	300	521	129	457	2
3	Karnál	336	160	157	246	273	1,172	1,286	1,072	923	1,002	932	864	488	766	310	523	136	523	3
4	Hissar	369	240	210	297	297	1,413	1,271	1,047	836	1,020	834	884	449	737	280	517	135	577	4
5	Rohtak	338	185	158	259	275	1,215	1,263	1,095	919	1,036	878	849	506	699	339	496	156	549	5
6	Sirsa	451	274	254	341	327	1,647	1,352	1,047	860	1,059	780	826	365	654	246	505	111	548	6
7	Umballa	344	153	202	262	289	1,250	1,314	1,071	891	965	920	829	506	709	348	477	173	547	7
8	Ludhiána	377	188	204	234	264	1,267	1,241	1,076	931	983	889	853	473	768	334	520	131	533	8
9	Simla	235	169	206	260	249	1119	1,189	1,047	868	996	1,048	1,090	558	711	317	432	132	492	9
10	Jullundur	374	143	178	202	198	1,095	1,302	1,161	990	941	927	831	581	656	386	450	174	506	10
11	Hoshiárpur	322	147	211	260	237	1,177	1,357	1,140	923	881	933	819	574	637	344	470	152	593	11
12	Kángra	241	216	235	279	272	1,243	1,389	1,076	930	947	943	900	511	678	272	444	117	550	12
13	Amritsar	384	197	235	276	231	1,323	1,237	1,031	863	982	937	830	520	684	356	484	178	575	13
14	Gurdáspur	373	178	214	260	251	1,276	1,293	1,152	908	891	939	926	490	731	297	458	127	512	14
15	Siálkot	411	205	224	264	268	1,372	1,352	1,226	846	794	844	835	525	678	340	438	147	602	15
16	Lahore	414	229	268	293	275	1,479	1,310	1,073	935	939	870	795	479	621	352	424	167	556	16
17	Gujránwála	386	205	248	276	279	1,394	1,387	1,192	832	814	790	827	491	661	367	437	174	634	17
18	Ferozepore	453	246	245	274	276	1,494	1,351	1,085	914	957	895	772	492	586	342	398	197	516	18
19	Ráwalpindi	290	157	276	342	378	1,443	1,557	1,063	846	888	848	892	477	617	303	403	134	529	19
20	Jhelum	342	215	306	350	367	1,580	1,480	966	810	801	828	790	514	579	350	432	194	674	20
21	Gujrát	385	217	261	289	332	1,484	1,495	1,087	802	759	819	817	538	634	357	451	148	609	21
22	Shahpur	373	224	307	349	365	1,618	1,456	990	768	767	743	826	453	696	304	494	143	742	22
23	Mooltan	375	239	314	359	349	1,636	1,523	928	735	827	894	874	472	720	289	435	94	572	23
24	Jhang	398	242	347	379	386	1,752	1,620	963	678	733	771	821	438	676	279	469	118	680	24
25	Montgomery	412	268	362	384	361	1,787	1,515	1,001	709	823	788	838	405	692	285	435	120	602	25
26	Muzaffargarh	418	200	300	331	362	1,611	1,562	983	714	866	858	913	447	731	240	433	72	570	26
27	Dera Ismail Khan	301	254	307	365	361	1,588	1,427	867	686	866	825	1,036	396	844	237	497	105	626	27
28	Dera Ghazi Khan	411	235	335	373	392	1,746	1,468	896	694	889	778	940	442	732	267	423	98	626	28
29	Bannu	331	241	333	434	400	1,739	1,661	801	641	746	838	926	508	681	321	459	160	518	29
30	Peshάwar	253	202	297	339	368	1,459	1,477	905	803	972	842	1,051	362	806	205	487	87	544	30
31	Hazara	301	201	309	354	420	1,585	1,654	1,010	875	1,017	794	1,019	354	634	171	342	71	474	31
32	Kohát	302	227	386	471	438	1,824	1,654	858	765	851	804	955	380	728	195	436	85	465	32
—	British Territory	356	197	242	292	299	1,386	1,386	1,064	856	911	874	867	485	689	313	463	141	565	—
—	Native States	329	225	223	271	280	1,328	1,294	1,006	834	931	890	896	493	745	318	512	150	603	—
—	Province	351	203	238	288	295	1,375	1,371	1,054	853	914	876	872	486	699	314	471	143	572	—

APPENDIX D.

INSTRUCTIONS ISSUED IN CONNECTION WITH THE PANJAB CENSUS OF 1881.

No.	Date.	Subject.	Page.
7	27th August 1880	Preliminary	522
A	31st " 1880	Demarcation of blocks and selection of agency	522—527
B	15th September 1880	House numbering and preparation of house-lists	528—531
C	23rd " 1880	Preliminary record	532—535
411	29th November 1880	Military census	536 & 537
70	12th January 1881	Railway "	538 & 539
107	15th " 1881	Boat "	539 & 540
D	20th " 1881	Final enumeration	540 & 541
E	2nd February 1881	Preliminary tabulation	541—543
508	14th " 1881	" "	543
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809	9th April 1881	"	543—545

Preliminary.

No. 7, dated Simla, 27th August 1880.

From—W. M. YOUNG, Esq., Secretary to Government, Punjab,

To—All Heads of Departments, Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners, and Presidents of Municipal and Cantonment Committees in the Punjab.

I am directed to inform you that the Government of India has decided that a census of the whole of India shall be taken on some one night in February 1881 which will be fixed hereafter. Each district will be divided into convenient sections for the purposes of enumeration and supervision; and the subsequent operations prior to compilation will include—(1) the formation of a list of houses and families, which will serve as a check-register and index; (2) a preliminary record of census entries, to be made shortly before the night fixed for the final census; (3) the final census, at which the preliminary record will be brought into agreement with the facts as they stand on the night of the census.

2. The first two of these operations will be conducted more or less at leisure, but the third operation must be performed over the whole province within a single night. It is manifest that the correctness of the final returns will depend in great measure upon the care with which the list o fhouses and families, and the preliminary record of census entries, are prepared, and upon the capability of the staff employed for making the final entries to revise the preliminary returns in accordance with actual facts. The staff will have to be trained and practised most carefully before the night of the census, to ensure their effecting with accuracy the final revision of the preliminary papers. This will have to be done by frequent rehearsals, by means of which the aptitude of the enumerators to take the final census should be thoroughly tested before the time comes for the final operation. The accuracy of the final returns will depend mainly upon the supervision exercised over the formation of the preliminary registers and records and over the experimental rehearsals.

3. The determination of the supervising agency is one of the most important questions connected with the subject. Every available officer in every department of Government who can be relied upon for efficiently conducting this supervision will be expected to render assistance; the whole of the district staff in the Revenue and Judicial Departments, the officers of the Police of and above the rank of sergeant, the superior officers of the Public Works, Educational, Medical, Forest, Registration and other departments of Government, should be freely utilised for this important duty; and heads of departments are requested to place the services of all such officers unreservedly at the disposal of the district officers for this purpose, so far as may be compatible with the conduct of necessary business. The ranks of the enumerators will likewise be filled by capable persons, who can be supplemented from all departments of Government: only the rank and file of the Police are not to be employed in enumeration. It is anticipated that no difficulty will be experienced in performing both the supervision and enumeration by means of unpaid agency. The occasion is one on which the district officers may reasonably expect to be assisted by all well-wishers of the Government, whether enjoying any rank or privileges at the hands of the Government or not; and, in accordance with this principle, it is expected that all honorary magistrates, jágírdárs, members of municipal committees, rural notables, European and Native gentry, as well as salaried officers of Government, will readily render such assistance as they are able in carrying out the operations of the census. It will probably be convenient that some gazetted officer of Government should be placed in charge of each tahsíl or local sub-division. Next to him will come the superintendents and supervisors taken from the superior ranks of the Government service, with the addition of such unpaid agency as may be available for this employment. Finally, the enumerators, each in charge of a block which can conveniently be traversed within the time available for the final revision. These will mainly consist of subordinate officers of Government, supplemented also by unpaid agency. The whole of this staff should be appointed at an early date, and should proceed to the compilation of the preliminary registers and records; after which they should be practised in their several duties by frequent rehearsals and experimental enumerations. Further details regarding the size of the supervisors' and enumerators' circles, and the precise mode in which the rehearsals should be conducted, are left to the special officers charged with the conduct of the provincial census. The Deputy Commissioner should lose no time in explaining thoroughly to all whose services may be required the great importance of the subject, and in determining the persons by whom every branch of the operations will be conducted.

4. It is evident that, with the vast population we have to deal with, many of the actual enumerators will be not of a high type of intelligence. I am therefore desired to impress upon all district officers the absolute necessity of the most active and incessant supervision over the whole of the proceedings. Where the superior officers are constantly moving about the district, inspecting, instructing, explaining and encouraging, the census will be well done; where they are not, it will be done badly. The Lieutenant-Governor is fully aware that a very considerable amount of extra labour will be imposed upon all concerned in census operations. But these operations recur only after long intervals; they form part of a scheme extending over the whole of the British Empire; and it is all-important that no effort should be spared to ensure their successful performance. His Honor confidently reckons upon the hearty efforts of all officers to secure this end; and he desires that, so far as is necessary to it, and especially at the taking of the final census, census duties should be considered paramount.

5. Mr. Denzil Ibbetson, C.S., has been appointed Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations for the Punjab, in direct subordination to the Local Government, and, eventually, to the Imperial Census Commissioner; and he will correspond with you direct on all matters falling within the scope of these general instructions. All communications issued by him relating to the census should be regarded as proceeding from the Government; and as the time which intervenes before the final enumeration is not more than sufficient for due preparation, all references on census matters should be disposed of with the utmost promptitude.

General Letter A, dated Simla, 31st August 1880.

From—DENZIL IBBETSON, Esq., Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations, Punjab,

To—All Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab.

The Punjab Government, in its Circular No. 7, *Census*, dated 27th August 1880, has laid down the broad outlines of the method which will be followed in taking the census of 1881, and has sketched the nature of the agency to be employed. Detailed instructions as to the work of enumeration, including both the preliminary record and the actual census itself, will be issued hereafter. But much has to be done before the preliminary record can be begun; and the first step necessary is to sub-divide each district into convenient units for enumeration and supervision, and to select the agents to be employed for these purposes. It is with respect to these two operations that I now have the honour to address you;

Demarcation of Blocks and selection of Agency.

and I would venture to remind you, at this early stage of census operations, that all detailed instructions are issued on one general plan for the whole Province,—in many respects, indeed, for the whole Empire,—and that it is absolutely essential that they should be scrupulously followed; for figures, unless so collected that each kind of unit has identically the same meaning throughout, are worse than useless, since they are misleading. On many points a discretion is necessarily left to the local officers who are responsible for the arrangements necessary to give effect to the instructions; but any point which can in any way affect the nature of the entries in the census schedules, and therefore the uniformity of the returns from different districts, and on which the instructions are not explicit, or are unsuited to local peculiarities, must be referred for further instructions.

2. Census nomenclature.—The following nomenclature has been prescribed by the Government of India for the sub-divisions into which each district, or rather each tahsil, must be broken up, and must be strictly adhered to:— The area of which the final enumeration will be performed on the night of the census by a single *enumerator* is to be called a *block*; these blocks will be grouped into *circles*, each of which will be under a *supervisor*; and the circles, again, will be grouped into *charges*, with a *superintendent* over each.

3. Size of sub-divisions.—The Census Committee appointed by the Government of India recommended that each block should not contain more than 60 families or 300 souls; and that a circle should not include more than 10 blocks, while the supervising agency should be strengthened for the final enumeration. At the last census each block included 100 families (then called houses), and each circle 20 blocks in towns and 10 to 15 in scattered village areas. In fixing these units, some discretion must be left to district officers, as the agency available and the distribution of the people will vary greatly: but the limits for a block prescribed at the last census should not ordinarily be exceeded; while the supervisors should be appointed as nearly as possible on the scale recommended by the Committee. The size of each block must be such that a single man can easily visit and correct the entries for every house in it in the course of one night, and must be fixed with regard to the operations on the night of the census itself, and not to the work of preliminary record. And it must be remembered that distance is an important element in the work of enumeration, and that, where the houses lie close together and are easily accessible, the blocks may safely be larger than where opposite conditions exist. Similar considerations will apply to the grouping of circles into charges, and four circles will probably be found as much as a single superintendent can manage.

4. Basis of rural sub-divisions.—The results of the sub-division into blocks, circles and charges will, when complete, be shown in the enclosed Census Form A, which will be called the index-register, and must be prepared separately for each tahsil. In no case must any block, circle or charge include lands situated in more than one tahsil. The index-register will be based, in the first instance, upon the *mauzawár* (not *mehálwár*) lists which you have in your record offices. The sub-division must be one of *area*; that is to say, it will not be sufficient merely to divide off the towns and village sites; but the land attached to them must also be divided off, so that every square yard of ground in the district shall be included in some one enumerator's block. In the rural portions of the district, village boundaries will form the primary sub-divisions; and all outlying hamlets (*dákhili mazrah*), and all squatters' huts of which the occupants contemplate a stay of two or three months or longer, should be shown in column 6 opposite the name of the village, subject, however, to the instructions contained in paragraph 7 below. This point becomes of special importance where the villages really consist of a number of small scattered hamlets without any main homestead. Where two villages have a common homestead, they must be bracketed together. When the index-register, excepting columns 8, 9 and 10, is complete for any tahsil, it must be carefully checked, to ensure that every village and town is entered in it. Uninhabited village areas must be included in appropriate blocks and entered in their proper places.

5. Definition of town.—As it is important to distinguish urban from rural population, all towns, cantonments, and civil lines, will be entered separately from the villages in the lands of which they are situated. In the last census a population of 5,000 or more was held to constitute a town; and this rule will still be adhered to. Moreover, all municipalities will be classed as towns, whatever their population. It is, however, possible that there may be cases falling under neither of these rules where the population is really urban rather than rural. Wherever the population does not essentially consist merely of a village community, with its attendant menials and traders, but also includes a considerable extraneous society drawn to the spot by the presence of a shrine of peculiar sanctity, by the existence of a centre of local commerce, or by other reasons, it should, if the whole population be of considerable magnitude, be treated as a town. District officers should therefore carefully consider all such cases, and report the names of all towns with a population of less than 5,000, not being municipalities, and the grounds on which they propose to class them as such. It must, of course, be remembered that a town must consist of a more or less coherent group of houses; and that five separate and distinct hamlets of 1,000 souls each, though they might be all included in a single village area, would not constitute a town.

6. Demarcation of urban limits.—The limits of each town, cantonment and civil lines, must be carefully defined. The area so marked off should include not only the ground actually occupied by buildings, but also the waste land immediately surrounding and attached to the town, and corresponding with the *goirah deh* in villages, and also all land upon which people found residing on the night of the census would properly be included in the urban population; for instance, encamping-grounds. In the case of municipalities the municipal limits will ordinarily suffice. But there may be suburbs which, though lying beyond these limits, really form, as regards their population, an integral portion of the town; and such must be included with it for purposes of census. So, on the other hand, there may be cases, as at Jullundur-Mahitpur, and at Urmar-Tánda in Hoshiárpur, where groups of houses bearing distinct names are included within the same municipal limits; and in such cases it will be necessary to consider whether these groups virtually constitute distinct towns, or whether the distinction is one of name only. If the latter is the case, the two should be treated as one, their names being bracketed together. It will probably be possible to discover, from the records of the last census, what limits were then adopted for each town; and if it becomes necessary, in consequence of the above instructions, to alter those limits in such a manner as materially to affect the comparison between the populations of 1868 and 1881, a report should be made specifying the reasons for, and the exact nature and extent of, the alteration. As regards the boundaries of cantonments, there can be no difficulty; nor should the determination of the limits of civil lines be difficult. Great care should be taken that the limits fixed in all cases are clearly defined on the spot by roads, or some such unmistakable lines.

7. Entry of areas and homesteads in the index-register.—These limits having been determined, the village areas mentioned above in paragraph 4 must be taken to be exclusive of any land falling within such limits. Thus, if a town has a revenue-paying area attached to it, and is entered as a *mauzah* in your records, the area beyond the town limits, together with any hamlets, &c., it may contain, must be entered under a separate number from that of the town itself,—the two being distinguished by the words "village area" and "town limits" after the name of the *mauzah*. A careful study of the sample entries in the enclosed Form A will, I hope, make these instructions clear. Their object is to secure that every block of area, together with each distinct homestead or coherent group of houses which it contains,

shall be shown separately, for the purpose of checking the house-lists, and, through them, the books of enumerators' schedules.

8. Method of sub-division.—Having fixed these limits, I would suggest that you should take a map of each tahsíl showing the different villages, and write under each the estimated population. Ordinarily the figures of the last census will suffice; but, where there is reason to believe that there has been any exceptional increase, a rough estimate should be made allowing five souls to each family. With the aid of this map it will be easy to decide upon the limits of the respective charges and circles, in fixing which, established boundaries, such as those of police thánahs and zails, should be followed as far as convenient. The blocks, too, can be decided upon at once in all cases where they do not involve the sub-division of single villages or towns. Where this is necessary, the exact limits of the blocks cannot be finally fixed till lists of the houses are made out; but they should be roughly marked out, and the *number* of blocks which will be needed ascertained. Their limits should in all cases follow streets, roads, and the like; and in towns each muhallah or other sub-division should contain only complete blocks.

9. Census agency in special cases.—The census of all public institutions, such as jails, police lines, dispensaries, lock-hospitals, poor-houses, asylums, and the like, should be taken through the officers in charge; similarly, the census of all actual regimental lines will be taken by the officers commanding. These will be numbered as single houses in the house-lists, and need not be shown separately in the index-register; but, in framing blocks, allowance should be made for the fact that the enumerator will not have to take their census. So, too, the railway census will be taken through the railway officials; and all of your sub-divisions should be held to exclude any railway premises situated within their boundaries. The returns of resident railway population and of travellers by rail will be made separately; and at the bottom of your index-register for the sadr tahsíl you should enter two railway blocks, as in the sample form enclosed. You will probably find it convenient to arrange that the enumeration of all separate populations immediately under official supervision, such as resident gangs of workmen on a canal, and the like, shall be taken under the direction of the local officers in charge; and in this case they should be formed into separate blocks. Special instructions for the census of travellers by boat will be issued hereafter. Meanwhile each recognised ferry or mooring-place on rivers or navigable canals should form a separate block, and have an enumerator of its own, unless it is very insignificant, and so situated that it can conveniently be included in, and visited by, the enumerator of a village block. In fixing the limits of blocks, full allowance must be made for large *serdis*, encamping-grounds, and the like, which may involve much labour on the census night, as no preliminary record can be prepared for them. On the other hand, private schedules, where numerous, will considerably lighten the work of final enumeration.

10. Private schedules.—Private schedules are loose census forms given to householders to fill up themselves and return to the enumerator on the night of the census. It will lie with the district officer (or, in cantonments, with the president of the cantonment committee) to decide to what householders this privilege should be extended. It should be extended only to those as to whose thorough capacity to fill up the schedules correctly there can be no possible doubt, or, in the words of the Government of India, to only "highly-educated people, and members of the European community;" for it has been found at previous censuses that these schedules are very often filled in most incorrectly. Schools and other institutions of the sort will be most conveniently treated in this way; and police, forest, customs, and other outposts should be so treated, the chief officer in charge of the post being immediately responsible for the census. The public institutions, too, mentioned in the last paragraph, will be conveniently included under the heading of private schedules. Officers concerned should decide at an early date how many private schedules will be granted, as the separate forms will have to be indented for, and lists will have to be furnished to the supervisors.

11. Two classes of agency needed.—Together with the sub-division of the district, the question of agency must be most carefully considered. It will possibly be found difficult, in some cases, to provide for each block a separate enumerator who will be available for all the preliminary work as well as for the actual census; and it may therefore become necessary in such cases that the preliminary record should be made by one person, and the actual census by another. But this should be done only where absolutely unavoidable; and the supplementary staff of enumerators, &c., will have to be carefully trained by both precept and practice during the few days immediately before the night of the census. In such cases it will be necessary to provide for two classes of agency,—first, those who will perform all the preliminary work as well as take part in the final enumeration; and secondly, a supplementary staff of enumerators whose services will be required only during the few days previous to, and on the night of, the census itself. The *whole* of the regular supervising staff on the scale indicated in paragraph 3 above must, of course, invariably belong to the first class; though they, too, will be supplemented on the night of the census by supervisors drawn from the second class.

12. Supervising Staff.—Each tahsíl and each large city should be made over, if possible, to some gazetted officer, who should retain census charge of it throughout the whole of the operations. The tahsíldár will exercise general supervision over the operations in his tahsíl as an assistant to the officer just mentioned, and had better not be appointed to any specific separate charge. The superintendents of charges will be generally drawn from the náib tahsíldár, qánúngo, girdáwar, and superior office staff; and deputy inspectors of police, chief muharrirs of schools, and officers of the Medical, Forest, and other departments should also be utilised. The supervisors, after the sources already mentioned have been exhausted, will consist of the subordinate office staff, the most intelligent of the patwáris and zaildárs, district schoolmasters and postmasters, sergeants of police, and the like; care being taken to appoint those officials who can least easily be spared from their ordinary duties to those charges and circles which lie nearest to their head-quarters. The census in municipalities and cantonments (excluding regimental lines) should be conducted through their respective committees and their establishments; while, as already remarked, that of public institutions will be made under the direction of the officers in charge,—it being understood, however, that *all* census operations in the district, with the two exceptions of regimental lines and railways, are under the control of the deputy commissioner, who is responsible for them. It will be advisable that the whole of the supervising staff should, as a rule, be officials, or at least semi-officials, such as zaildárs, honorary magistrates, members of committees, and the like, as their capacity for the work is better known, and they are more amenable to discipline than non-officials. At the same time, when district officers are fully assured of the intelligence, activity, and willingness to work hard of any non-officials who may be ready to assist, such as pensioners, *umedwárs*, relations of officials, and so on, there can be no objection to their employment; but too much stress cannot possibly be laid upon the capital importance of an intelligent and vigorous supervision. Although the preliminary record will be made in the first instance by enumerators, yet every single entry in it will have to be rigorously scrutinized on the spot by the supervising staff, as it is upon the correctness of this record that the success of the census primarily depends; and the whole instruction of the enumerators will practically devolve upon the same staff. Especial care should be taken that no patwári is appointed as supervisor who is not thoroughly competent, as there may be a tendency in the tahsíls to save the tahsíl establishment by throwing the work upon the patwáris. It will probably be found that the assistance which other departments not subordinate to the district authorities will be able

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to render will be, in many cases, chiefly confined to the second class of agency, which will be available for the final enumeration only.

13. Subordinate agency.—In the villages the preliminary record will probably have to be prepared for the most part by the patwáris and their assistants, supplemented by intelligent lambardárs, monitors of schools, servants of *jágírdárs* and large landholders, and any other non-official agency that may be available. Complimentary letters should be addressed to *nawábs, sardárs*, and the like, explaining to them the objects of the census, and calling upon them to render all the assistance in their power. In the towns little difficulty should be felt, as the ordinary municipal staff can be largely aided by *muhalladárs, chaudhris*, and the like. It is with regard to the final enumeration that the greatest difficulty will be experienced, as it is essential that enumerators should be able to read and write the character in which the preliminary record is originally written, for translation would infinitely increase the danger of error. Here non-official agency must be freely resorted to, such as village headmen, *dharwáis* or *malbabardárs* and other banyas, and the classes already mentioned. Other departments, too, must be called upon to assist to the utmost of their power Letters of commendation should be promised to those who render valuable assistance. It will be necessary to select a few extra enumerators in each charge to act as "emergency men" in case of the illness of the regular enumerator at the time of the census; and the available agency should not be wholly exhausted in the first instance, as some of the men originally selected will probably turn out incapable when brought to the test of actual work. Natives of the neighbourhood should be preferred to strangers, as they will be more familiar with the facts which they will have to record. The Government of India has directed that the rank and file of the police should not be used for census purposes; and this rule must be strictly observed. The attendance and assistance of the village headmen should be insisted upon throughout census operations, whether actually employed on the staff or not, as their presence will give confidence to the people, while their local knowledge will often be invaluable.

14. General agency available.—The local heads of departments, not subordinate to the district officials, should be addressed at once with reference to the Government circular, distinguishing the two classes of agency which will be employed, and inquiring what assistance can be afforded, and in what localities, under each class. Meanwhile, the available local agency should be carefully revised, and the demarcation of units and the selection of agents carried on *pari passû*. The record of the arrangements made for the census of 1868 will often be of great assistance; and the following figures show that no difficulty in procuring suitable agency should ordinarily be felt, at any rate as regards the work preliminary to the actual census. Allowing for an increase of 12 per cent. since 1868 we have—

	No. of souls per unit.	Rural census.	Urban census.
Total population	1	17,500,000	2,200,000
Blocks and enumerators	500	35,000	4,400
Circles and supervisors	5,000	3,500	440
Charges and superintendence	20,000	875	110

To meet these demands there are 32 districts and their superior staff, 126 tahsíldárs and their naibs, 420 qánúngos and girdawárs, 570 superior officers of police, and some 7,600 patwáris, besides municipal and cantonment establishments, the judicial, educational, police, postal (district) and miscellaneous revenue staff, non-official agency, and such aid as other departments can afford. And for the final enumeration there is an immense body of semi-official and private agency which can be drawn upon. In districts where a settlement is in progress, census operations should be especially easy, as the necessary withdrawal of the patwáris will set free a considerable portion of the settlement supervising staff. Settlement operations are urgent and expensive; and care must be taken not to interfere with them more than is necessary. But census operations are still more urgent; and settlement operations must give way to them in all respects necessary to the thorough training of the census staff and performance of census work. Deputy Commissioners and settlement officers should consult together as to the manner in which the settlement staff, including patwáris, may best be utilised. The staff, when employed on census work, must be held to be directly subordinate to the district authorities, who will issue their orders direct to them; otherwise endless confusion and delay will result. The same rule, too, must be observed in the case of officials lent by other departments.

15. Report on preliminary arrangements.—As the preliminary arrangements are completed for each circle or charge, the index-register[1] should be filled up, with the exception of columns 8, 9 and 10, which must await the completion of the list of houses, regarding which instructions will reach you immediately. The blocks should be lettered continuously through each circle, and the circles numbered continuously through each tahsíl. An extract from the register should be given to each supervisor and superintendent; and a sketch-map showing village boundaries, the exact limits of towns, cantonments or civil lines, the boundaries of the circles and charges, and the limits of the blocks, approximate or final, should accompany it. As soon as the preliminary arrangements for the district are complete, and without waiting for the final demarcation of the blocks in towns and large villages, or for answers to references regarding any special points, an abstract in the form annexed should be forwarded to me. If necessary, a note should be added stating that an estimated population of so many souls has been excluded from the return, as special arrangements have to be made for them. This abstract should be accompanied by a brief report upon the general nature of the arrangements made, especially as regards supervision, noting in what respect you have been obliged to deviate from the general lines laid down in this letter, with the reasons which necessitated your doing so. The arrangements made for the census of large towns should be specially described, and the degree of assistance promised or afforded by other departments should be noticed.

16. Exceptional cases.—There will probably be some exceptional tracts for which special arrangements will have to be made, such as the hill-districts of Kángra and Simla; and it is possible that in some of these a synchronous enumeration of the people will be impossible. These cases should be very carefully considered, and a report made as to the method in which their census can best be taken. But great care should be taken to confine the area over which a synchronous enumeration will not be attempted, and the time over which it is proposed that the census shall extend, within as narrow limits as possible. It is believed, also, that in some of the *Bár* and *Thal* districts of the Punjab there is a considerable migrating population; and there may be in other districts special cases which will require to be specially dealt with. All such cases should be carefully considered, and the arrangements proposed reported If it is, in any case, proposed to make use of paid agency, an estimate of its number and cost must be framed, and very clear grounds shown for the necessity, as Government does not contemplate any but the very smallest expenditure under this head. Proposals necessary under this paragraph should be considered and reported upon *at once*, as special instructions will have to issue. A separate report regarding fairs has already been called for; meanwhile, no special arrangements for them need be considered till the date of the census is fixed.

[1] A small number of vernacular translations of the sample form of index-register accompanying this letter will follow immediately The full supply will accompany the instructions to supervisors, to be issued presently.

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17. Summary of reports called for.—Thus, I have at present to ask all Deputy Commissioners for—

(1) A report on any tracts or populations which may call for special measures (paragraph 16). This should be sent in with as little delay as possible—as soon as you have decided upon the special measures needed.

(2) A report upon the general arrangements made by you for enumeration and supervision (paragraph 15). This should be forwarded as soon as the general preliminary arrangements for your district are complete.

(3) A report upon any town which you may propose to treat as such, not falling within the municipal or population tests laid down in paragraph 5; and upon any alteration which you may contemplate in the limits of urban areas followed at the last census (paragraph 6). This should be despatched as soon as you have decided upon the points in question.

I shall be obliged by your keeping these three reports separate; and, in case you should have no special report to make under any one of the heads, by your informing me of the fact in a separate letter, so that I may know that no report on this subject is to be awaited from you.

Census Form A.

INDEX-REGISTER.—TAHSIL BARSAT, DISTRICT BARSAT.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
DETAIL OF VILLAGES AND TOWNS.						DETAIL OF BLOCKS AND ENUMERATORS.						CIRCLES AND SUPERVISORS.		
Census No.	No. collectori of Mauza.	Name of Mauza or Qasba.	Population of 1868 or estimated.	Subsidiary parts. No.	Subsidiary parts. Name.	Letter of Block.	Boundaries of Block.	Serial No. of houses in Block.	Total Number of families in Block.	Name and occupation of Enumerator.	Character written by Enumerator.	No. and name of Circle.	Name and occupation of Supervisor.	REMARKS.
					Charge No. 10.—HUSSAIN BAKHSH, *Superintendent.*									
201	37	Bhainswál	115	1	Abádi	A	Village boundaries excluding *pardo.*	1-17	29	Hasnu, Patwári.	Nágri.	41 Sultánpur.	Prem Singh, Girdáwar.	One private schedule for police chauki. So much of the Sultánpur *pardo* as lies in Bhainswál is excluded from the block.
202	97	Rahimpur Kheri.	378	1	Main Abádi.	...		1-86	91					
				2	Garhi Ahírán	...		1-9	8					
									128					
203	{ 127	Sultánpur Khurd.	621	1	Main Abádi.	B	Village boundaries including *pardo.*	1-79	117	Násir-ud-dín, Patwári's assistant.	Nágri.	...	...	The two villages have a joint abádi. One private schedule for police thána.
	{ 128	Sultánpur Kalán.	...	2	Huts of herdsmen from Hissár.	...		1-5	6					
				3	*Pardo* and its buildings.	...		1-7	2					
									125					
&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.
214	27	Barota	317	1	Abádi	J	Village boundaries, and all Barsat village area west of Budhanpur and Baldhi road and beyond town limits.	1-36	67	Bhagwána, álá lambardár.	Nágri.			
215	107	Ghogripur	123	1	Abádi	...		1-19	27					
				2	Asthal Bairágián.	...		1	2					
216	7	Barsat village area.	150	1	Garhi Khajúr.	...		1-5	6					
									102					
				2	Faridpur Khera.	A	All Barsat village area east of Budhanpur and Baldhi roads and beyond town limits; and Barsat town between Galli Zargarán and the main road.	1-11	26	Mohamdu, patwári.	Persian	42 Barsat town.	Aladád Khán, Member of Committee.	
217	7	Barsat town limits.	6,315	1	Muhallah Jatán.	...		1-62	82					
									108					
						B	All between Galli Zargarán, Nawábganj and the river.	68-127	113	Rahim Bakhsh, Jamadár.	Persian.			
						C	The rest of the muhallah.	128-201	137	Nának Chand, Chaudhri.	Nágri.			
				2	Muhallah Báinán.	D	All east of the river and south of Salárganj.	1-49	126	Parmeshri Sahái, Assistant Municipal Clerk.	Persian.			
						E	The rest of the muhallah up to the Grand Trunk Road.	50-113	131	Gobind Parshád, Banya.	Nágri.			
				3	Sabzi Mandi	F	All west of the Grand Trunk Road within town limits.	1-48	97	Hursukh Rai, álá lambardár.	Nágri.			
				4	The ghát and ferry.	G	The ghát premises and the river bank within town limits.	1-3	7	Ahmad Bakhsh, ferry contractor.	Persian.			
&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.		&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.			

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INDEX-REGISTER.—Tahsil Barsat, District Barsat—*continued.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Detail of Villages and Towns.						Detail of Blocks and Enumerators.						Circles and Supervisors.		
Census No.	No. collectori of Mauza.	Name of Mauza or Qasba.	Population of 1868 or estimated.	Subsidiary parts. No.	Subsidiary parts. Name.	Letter of Block.	Boundaries of Block.	Serial No. of houses in Block.	Total Number of families in Block.	Name and occupation of Enumerator.	Character written by Enumerator.	No. and name of Circle.	Name and occupation of Supervisor.	Remarks.
218	...	Barsat civil lines.	500	1	Civil lines	A	Civil line limits	1-50	103	Karm Chand, clerk.	English	43, Barsat civil lines and cantonments.	Rádha Kishn, Assistant Surgeon.	30 private schedules in this block, including jail, police lines and dispensary.
				2	Cantonment.	B	Cantonment east of the Mall.	51-127	153	Anandi Parshád, cantonment clerk.	English	...	...	42 private schedules in this block, including lines of 21st Native Infantry.
						C	Cantonment west of the Mall, excluding Sadr Bázár.	128-189	137	Kesho Dutt, English clerk.	English	...	...	39 private schedules in this block, including lines of 3rd Bengal Cavalry.
						D	Sadr Bázár	190-256	121	Parma, bázár chaudhri.	Nágri.			
						&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.				
219	...	...	...	...	...	A	Railway premises for resident employés.	...	...	...	...	44, Railway.	...	Census to be taken by Railway officials.
						B	Railway road and station for travellers.	...	...	...	...	...	...	Ditto ditto.

ABSTRACT OF INDEX-REGISTER, ______________ DISTRICT.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
				Detail of Supervising Staff, with average number of Villages or Muhallahs, Area, and Population to each.												
					Average per Superintendent.				Average per Supervisor.				Average per Enumerator.			
Name of Tahsíl, Town, Civil Lines or Cantonments.	Population of 1868 or estimated.	Area in Acres.	No. of Villages or Muhallahs.	Number of Superintendents.	Number of Villages or Muhallahs.	Acres.	Population.	Number of Supervisors.	Number of Villages or Muhallahs.	Acres.	Population.	Number of Enumerators.	Number of Villages or Muhallahs.	Acres.	Population.	Remarks.
Total District: Urban.																
Total District: Rural.																

Note.—Each Town, Civil Lines and Cantonments should be shown separately; and after them the remainder, or rural portion, of each Tahsíl after deducting the above.

Preparation of House-Lists.

General Letter B, dated 15th September 1880.

From—DENZIL IBBETSON, Esq., Deputy Superintendent, Census Operations, Punjab,
To—All Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab.

In paragraph 8 of my General Letter A, dated 31st August 1880, I pointed out that the final demarcation of certain blocks could not be made till the house-lists were drawn up. I have now the honour to enclose instructions regarding the numbering of houses, and the preparation of the lists of houses and families upon which the actual enumeration must be based. No pains should be spared to render these lists absolutely correct and complete, as they will form one main check upon the completeness of the preliminary record.

2. **Supplementary instructions to be issued by district officers.**—There are several points upon which supplementary instructions will be needed; but, as these will refer only to special local peculiarities, or to large towns, over all operations in which a much closer personal supervision will be both necessary and possible than in the case of villages, I do not burden the general instructions with details which will be without meaning to a large majority of the persons to whom they are directed, but leave local officers to issue such special orders as are necessary.

3. **Rule 4: Definition of "house" and "family."**—Ordinarily speaking, the outer door leading into the street will be the sign of a house, which will include all the dwellings to which that door leads. Each house thus defined will be distinguished by a separate number; and it is important that this numbering should be done very carefully, and on one uniform system, as the census will be by houses, and the instructions to enumerators will define a house merely as a building or locality which bears a separate number.

In villages the definition will probably give no trouble; detached houses at wells or elsewhere will be numbered separately; and the "road or street" will of course include blind-alleys upon which several separate dwelling-houses open. But it is believed that, in some of the large cities, there are huge caravanserais, courts, or collections of quarters entered by a common gateway, respecting which some doubt may be felt as to whether they should be treated as single houses, or broken up into several houses. It is impossible to lay down profitably any general rule respecting these and similar buildings; and each case must be dealt with on its merits. On the one hand, the house, as now defined, no longer possesses any great statistical importance, and is, in fact, little more than a convenient unit to serve as the basis of enumeration. On the other hand, just because it is that unit, and because the enumerators will merely be told that a house is a building separately numbered, it is extremely important that each house so separately numbered and recorded in the house-lists should be very clearly demarcated. Thus, where the definition given in the rule leaves it open to doubt what should be taken to constitute a house, or where the letter of the definition would give an unmanageably large house, the following are the chief considerations by which you must be guided:—

(1) That the house should be clearly defined by obvious existing boundaries, so that there may be no possibility of mistake as to what it does or does not include.

(2) That it should not include an unwieldy number of families, as its doing so might lead to great complication in the actual enumeration. Thus, the ordinary *serái* would be treated as a single house; while where a very large number of separate dwelling-houses opened upon a single yard or court, they would be numbered as separate houses, although the court might have a gateway common to them all, and leading on to the road or street proper.

Doubtful cases of this sort must be carefully considered; and supervisors of circles in which they are likely to occur should be specially warned and instructed on the subject, and directed to apply for orders wherever they feel the least doubt. The definition of a family should present no difficulty.

4. **Rule 5: Sketch-map of dwelling-sites.**—These maps should be mere diagrams without any pretence to accuracy, and merely showing the relative positions of the houses and the number of each. In some districts, maps of village sites already exist, and will be of great assistance. But great care must be taken that they are not adopted as they stand, but are merely used as the basis of *new maps*, which shall embody all changes that may have taken place since the old maps were made.

5. **Rule 6: Houses to be numbered.**—This is a most important rule, and should be carefully explained, and strict adherence to its provisions enforced. The reason of the first part of the rule will be made apparent by a perusal of paragraphs 9 and 10 of General Letter A. The object of the latter part of the rule is, to ensure that every locality included within the area of the block in which people are likely to be found on the night of the census, whether technically speaking it be a house or not, shall be included, first in the house-list, and then in the enumerator's schedules at the preliminary record, so that there may be no danger of its being overlooked in the hurry of the final enumeration. The greatest care must be taken that the sketch-map does really include everything that, under this rule, it should include, before further steps are taken. It will be productive of great confusion if houses have to be added after the house-list is once made out and the house-numbers affixed.

6. **Rule 7: Final demarcation of blocks.**—This rule will only refer to blocks of which the exact limits have been left undetermined under the circumstances described in paragraph 8 of General Letter A. You will have previously decided upon the number of such blocks to be formed in each village or *muhallah*, and will have roughly indicated their boundaries; and their final demarcation may ordinarily be left to the supervisors, with the aid and under the control of their superintendents. But where there is likely to be difficulty, and generally in large towns, you should direct that the proposed blocks be submitted to the principal officer in charge of the tahsíl or town, for approval, before the final numbering is begun, as it would be most inconvenient to have to alter the limits of blocks after the numbering was completed.

7. **Rule 8: Serial numbering.**—It is possible that, in some large municipalities, numbering by streets has already been effected, and in some districts the old census numbers still exist in the villages, cut on the doors of the houses. If this numbering agrees in principle with that now prescribed—that is, if its unit corresponds with the house as now defined—it may be adopted; care being taken to add isolated houses and localities, such as are described in rule 5, at the end of the series. But some gazetted officer must satisfy himself by actual inspection that the agreement in principle is real before sanction is given to the retention of the old numbering, remembering that what was called an enclosure in 1868 is now called a house, and what was called a house is now called a family.

8. **Rule 9: Numbering of houses.**—In some districts the numbers at the last census were cut by the village carpenter on the lintels of the entrance-doors of the houses. This seems a good plan where it can be arranged for. Of course, it cannot be followed for the numbers of temporary houses. The method of marking the numbers is left open in the rule, and district officers must issue orders on the subject.

9. **Rules 10 and 12: Correspondence of index-registers and house-lists.**—The superintending staff must

take great care that the index-registers and house-lists agree in all details that are common to both. Each will act as a check on the other; and any item omitted from one and appearing in the other should be carefully added in the former.

10. Rule 10: Entry of families.—An accurate and complete record of the families in each house is almost as important, as a check upon and aid to the enumeration, as is the record of the houses themselves, for there is a danger that any family omitted from this list may escape enumeration also.

11. Rule 11: Public institutions and private schedules.—Paragraphs 9 and 10 of General Letter A should be referred to in this connection. The question of the granting of private schedules should be settled as soon as possible, as no list of families need be prepared in houses for which they are granted. So, too, it should be decided at once in what public institutions and other cases under the above paragraphs of General Letter A the census will be made by the officials in charge. In all these cases the census must be taken on exactly the same broad lines as the general census. But in jails, dispensaries, and the like, where few or no distinct families reside, a separate house-list may be dispensed with; while in the case of gangs of workmen residing on large works, though a house-list must be prepared, yet it will be better to defer its preparation till nearer the time of the actual census, as the people to be enumerated are constantly changing, and the establishment available for the work will be comparatively numerous and intelligent. The lists referred to at the end of rule 11 should be carefully made out for each circle and given to the supervisors. They must include all cases in which the actual enumeration will not be made by the general census staff of the district.

12. Rule 14: Census diaries.—Inspecting officers should see that the diaries prescribed in this rule are kept up; they are especially useful as a check upon the supervising staff.

13. Consideration of general instructions in committee.—All important general instructions, such as these, should be verbally explained and discussed by district officers, and the tahsildárs, superintendents, and other superior officers collected together; as this is the only effective way of ensuring that the officials concerned thoroughly understand the instructions, and that no difficulty or doubtful point has been overlooked. So, too, the superintendents should explain all general instructions, in the first instance, to their subordinates collected together, and not separately.

14. Weekly progress-reports.—Finally, I would remind you of the necessity of a well-considered scheme of check upon the progress of this and all subsequent census operations. The work has to be done within a limited time which is not more than sufficient for its efficient performance, and periodical progress-reports, probably weekly, should be sent by each subordinate to his immediate superior for the area under his charge. Reports of this nature are often much delayed by having to pass through several grades of supervising officers; to avoid this it will be well that the supervisors should, when reporting to their superintendents, send copies of their reports direct to the tahsildár or officer in charge of the tahsíl, who would thus be kept punctually informed of the progress of the work.

15. Vernacular instructions.—A translation of the instructions and of Census Forms A and B, or the index-register and house-list, will follow immediately.

(Enclosure to General Letter B.)

PART I.—NUMBERING OF HOUSES AND PREPARATION OF HOUSE-LISTS.

1. Appointment of Supervisor.—You have been appointed supervisor of circle No. , under superintendent of charge No. , to whom you are immediately subordinate, and to whom you should refer in all cases of doubt. You have been supplied with a map of your circle showing the village boundaries and the limits, either approximate or final, of the blocks included in it, and also with a copy of so much of the tahsíl index-register as refers to your circle, showing the villages and minor homesteads included within it.

2. Entry of all homesteads in the index-register.—Your first business is to see that you know the exact boundaries of your circle. You must then make yourself acquainted with the whole of it, and see that no homesteads are omitted from columns 5 and 6 of the index-register. All temporary homesteads, such as huts of herdsmen, *banjáras*, gipsies, and other squatters, must be included where the occupants intend a stay of three months or more: where they do not, their huts need not be shown. You must add any homesteads that may have been omitted from the index-register, and inform the superintendent, that he may alter his index-register and have the tahsíl copy corrected. The position of each homestead should be marked on the village-map which has been given you.

3. Preparation of the house-list.—The next step is to fix the enumerators' blocks where this has not been already done, and to prepare a house-list in the annexed Form B for each block. The manner of doing this is explained in the following rules.

4. Meaning of the words "house" and "family."—The word "house," wherever used in census instructions, means any group of dwelling-houses, whether one only or many, which have a common separate principal entrance from the road or street, however many families it may include. The word "family," wherever used in census instructions, includes all the people, whether one only or many, who eat together at one common table (*chúlha*), together with such of their servants as reside with them and any visitors staying with them.

5. Maps of homesteads.—A *rough* sketch-map must be made for each separate homestead shown in column 6 of the index-register, or in towns, for each muhallah. The map should not be drawn to scale, and should be of the roughest possible description, as all that is wanted is a diagram which will show the relative positions of the houses. In these maps must be shown each house, as defined in rule 4, which is used for human occupation, whether by day only or by both day and night, and even though it be but a hut or shed; but any dwelling that may be included within the same house should not be separately shown, for the map is to be one of "houses," not of buildings. Ruined buildings, cattle-pens, stables, out-houses, godowns, and other buildings not occupied by man, need not be shown; but dwelling-houses fit for habitation, but temporarily vacant or under construction, and at all likely to be completed by the end of February, must be entered. The houses should be numbered on the map in pencil in the first place, in the order in which it will be most convenient to visit them on the night of the census; and as the map is being made, a rough list of the houses should be prepared showing the number of resident families in each. In towns, civil lines and cantonments the map must include all land lying within the town limits fixed by the Deputy Commissioner. In villages the map of each homestead should include the *goirah deh*, or outskirts of the homestead, and also all localities mentioned in the next rule. These maps and rough lists may be prepared in the first instance by any of your subordinates under your orders.

6. Houses to be numbered.—When the papers above mentioned are complete, you must satisfy yourself on the spot that no house in the area has been omitted from them. Railway premises, however, are excluded from your circle, and should not be shown in any of your statements. All other public institutions, such as office-buildings, jails, police lines, dispensaries, and the like, should have one single number for each premises, however many separate buildings they may include. So, too, the lines of each regiment in a cantonment should bear a single number. (See rule 11 below.) Besides the houses proper described in rule 4, each encamping-ground and each ghát or mooring-place for boats included in any block should have a number to itself; as also should any well, garden, &c., that is a usual resting-place for travellers at night, and a number should be added at the end of each block or homestead for the *goirah deh* of the block if it includes any. In short, all localities which are well defined, so that they can be shown on the map, and in which travellers or others are likely to be found on the night of the census, must be treated as houses and bear separate numbers, even though there may be no buildings on them.

House numbering and preparation of House-lists.

7. **Final demarcation of blocks.**—When you have satisfied yourself that all the houses and other localities that are to bear numbers are shown and numbered on the map, you must fix the exact limits of any blocks which may have been only roughly marked out as yet. You must take special care that the limits of all the blocks in your circle taken together include the whole area of the circle, and not only the actual dwelling-sites; for every portion of the ground in the whole circle must be included in some one block or other, otherwise people camping at a distance from the village on the night of the census might not belong to any enumerator at all, and so might be left out altogether. The boundaries of blocks must in all cases follow streets, roads, and similar well-marked lines about which there can be no mistake; and in towns the whole of each block must lie within the same muhallah. The point to be considered in fixing the size of your blocks is the number of résident families shown in the rough list mentioned in rule 5, together with the number of travellers that may be expected to be on the spot on the night of the census. It is not enough to consider the number of houses only, for many of them may be schools, shops, &c., which are not occupied at night; while some of them may be large serâis, and so forth, each of which will contain a large number of people. The limits of each block, when fixed, must be shown clearly on your map.

8. **Fixing the house-numbers.**—The next step is to see that the numbering on the map corresponds with the blocks, altering it, if necessary, till it does so. Each separate homestead, large or small, must have a series of numbers to itself running right through it, except where a town is divided into muhallahs, in which case each muhallah will have its own series. Where the homestead or muhallah includes more than one block, the houses of each block must be numbered consecutively: for instance, if block D is the first block in the homestead, it will include houses 1 to 67; block E will include houses 68 to 131, and so on, till all the blocks are numbered. In all cases the houses should be numbered in the order in which they lie, and in which it will be most convenient to visit them on the night of the census. In streets the numbers should run up each side separately, and not pass alternately from one side to the other.

9. **Numbering the houses, and preparing the house-list.**—When the numbers are fixed, the house-lists should be filled in from house to house in the annexed Form B; at the same time, the numbers given in column 5 should be entered on the map in ink, and should be painted in red ochre (*geru*) or cut on the lintel of the outer door, in such a position that the enumerator may easily see it, and that it may not be washed off by rain. A separate house-list must be prepared for each block, as it will have to be given to the enumerator.

10. **Entries in columns of house list.**—Columns 1, 2 and 3 of the house-list must correspond with columns 1, 3 and 6 of the index-register. In column 6 the sort of building should be entered. In columns 7 and 8 should be shown only such families as actually live in the house; for instance, in the case of a serái, only those families which permanently reside in the serái should be entered. In the case of schools, shops used only in the day-time, encamping grounds, and the like, these two columns will ordinarily be empty; but if a school-master, chaukídár, &c., actually lives in them and has no separate home where he eats his meals or sleeps, he will be entered as a family. So too, in the case of mosques, *khángáhs*, temples, &c., where there is a resident *faqír* or priest, he will be entered as a family.

(*a*) 11. **Public institutions and Private schedules.**—Rule 10 will also apply to the public institutions mentioned in rule 6, and to houses for which the Deputy Commissioner has sanctioned private schedules; all the resident families being entered in each case, but prisoners, patients, and the like not being shown as separate families. You should note in column 9 that the officer in charge of the institution will take its census, or that a private schedule has been sanctioned for the house, as the case may be. Columns 7 and 8 should be left blank for regimental lines, of which the officer commanding will take the census; and a note to this effect should be made in column 9. You will be furnished with a list of all houses falling under this rule from the district office.

12. **Completion of index-register, &c.**—When the house-list is complete, you should fill in columns 8, 9 and 10 of your index-register, and should enter in the column of remarks the number of houses falling under rule 11, as in the annexed sample index-register Form A, specifying the public institutions included in them. When you have thus completed your index-register, you should take it to your superintendent, that he may fill in his own copy and may have the tahsíl copy filled up. And you should make an extract from it and from your maps for each block, and fasten them to the house-list of the block for the use of the enumerator.

13. **Care to be taken of census papers.**—Understand, once for all, that the very greatest care must be taken of these and all other maps and statements connected with the census. The loss of any one of them will cause the greatest trouble and confusion; so all census officials should always give and take written receipts for any such paper when they pass from one to another.

14. **Diaries of census officials.**—Every census official must keep a diary in book form, in which all orders or instructions given or received, all inspections made or undergone, all papers received or despatched, should be noted day by day, as well as the work done on each day. Whenever an inspection is made, the inspecting officer must himself note the fact in the subordinate's diary, and enter in it any instructions that he may to give him. If any official is called away to head-quarters or elsewhere, he should get the officer who sent for him to enter the dates of his arrival and departure, and the reason of his being sent for, in his diary.

Census Form B.

HOUSE-LIST OF BLOCK OF THE CIRCLE NO. TAHSIL DISTRICT

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Census No. of village or town shown in column 1 of the index-register.	Name of village or town shown in column 3 of the index-register.	Name of hamlet, *muhallah*, or other subsidiary part shown in column 6 of the index-register.	Name of street or locality.	Serial No. of house.	Nature of house—whether dwelling-house, shop, school, temple, encamping-ground, &c.	Serial No. of resident family.	Name and occupation of head of resident family.	REMARKS.
582	Mehdípur	Main ábádi	Bázár	1	Dwelling-house	1 2	Bhagwant, lambardár Genda, zamíndár	
			,,	2	Shop	..		Only used by day.
			,,	3	Chopál	...		Not inhabited by any one.
			,,	4	Dwelling-house	1 2 3	Piári Lál, dukándár. Makhan Lál, do. Ishq Lál, do.	

(*a*) Substituted for the old rule. See No. 267 of 16th November 1880.

House numbering and preparation of House-lists.

Census Form B—*contd.*

HOUSE-LIST OF BLOCK OF THE CIRCLE NO. TAHSIL DISTRICT—*contd.*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Census No. of village or town shown in column 1 of the index-register.	Name of village or town shown in column 3 of the index-register.	Name of hamlet, *muhallah*, or other subsidiary part shown in column 6 of the index-register.	Name of street or locality.	Serial No. of house.	Nature of house—whether dwelling-house, shop, school, temple, encamping-ground, &c.	Serial No. of resident family.	Name and occupation of head of resident family.	REMARKS.
582	Mehdipur .	Main ábádi .	Bázár .	5	School . .	1 2	Ahmad Bakhsh, schoolmaster. Har Bhajan, chaukídár.	
			„ .	6	Police chauki .	1	Pír Muhammad, police sergeant.	Private schedule.
			&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c. &c. &c.	
			Goirah deh	87	Asthal . .	1	Mohan Dás, Mahant .	Private schedule.
			„ .	88	Thákurdwára .	1	Tota Rám, pujári.	
			„ .	89	Goirah deh . .			
			Barwalla kúa	90	Bágh Prem Singhwála.	...		Resting-place for travellers on main road.
		Garhi Chháju .	. . .	1	Dwelling-house .	1	Kanheya, cultivator.	
				2	„ .	1	Kehar, „	
				3	„ .	1 2	Bhagwána, zamíndár . Chen Sukh, „	
				4	„ .	1	Parsa, chamár.	
				5	Goirah deh . .	...		
583	Dhádaulu .	Kundghát muhallah.	Galli Meowáli.	1	Dwelling-house .	1	Huseni, fisherman.	
			Ditto .	2	Shop . . .	...	. . .	Only occupied by day.
				3	Dwelling-house .	1 2	Mohamda, fisherman. Ala Dya, greengrocer.	
			Ditto .	4	Ditto .	...		Being built.
			Ditto .	5	Serái . . .	1	Chandan Lál, thekadár.	
			Ditto .	6	Dwelling-house .	...		Temporarily vacant.
			Ghát .	7	Kundghát . .	1	Mohana, chaukídár.	
			„ .	8	River bank above the ghát.	...		Usual mooring-place for boats.

Preliminary Record.

General Letter C, dated 23rd September 1880.

From—DENZIL IBBETSON, Esq., Deputy Superintendent, Census Operations, Punjab,

To—All Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab.

I have the honour to enclose copies of instructions for the guidance of enumerators, and also of instructions to supervisors regarding the preliminary record. I do not think it necessary to frame separate instructions for superintendents; but they must explain the rules to the supervisors, and put them through a preliminary course of filling up practice-schedules, just as supervisors are directed to do with their enumerators in rule 17 of their instructions. The officer in charge of each tahsíl or town must satisfy himself that every superintendent and supervisor thoroughly understands the rules before he is allowed to begin the instruction of the enumerators.

2. You will notice that paragraph 17 of the supervisors' instructions does not contemplate the existence of any enumerators who will not make their own preliminary record. If there are any such (see paragraph 11 of my General Letter A), it should be explained that this rule does not apply to these men.

3. Blank enumerators' schedules will be supplied to you, together with vernacular instructions and schedules filled up by way of example. These will have to be stitched up into books, one for each block according to the requirements of each. Rough bindings will be supplied to you, together with the forms, and a few sample books will also accompany them.

4. The only columns the entries in which present the least difficulty are those for religion, caste and occupation. Our object is to collect information in these columns *in the greatest possible detail*. So little is really known about the religious, tribal and industrial divisions of the people, that no selection is possible in the first instance. Thus the entries in the schedules cannot be in too minute detail in these respects. It will be easy to reject what is unimportant when we come to tabulate, but it will then be most difficult to obtain details which may not have been recorded in the first instance. The instructions on the subject of religion and occupation are sufficiently clear; and it will only be necessary to see that they are carried out exactly.

5. It is perhaps impossible to frame instructions regarding the three sub-columns of column 7 which shall apply exactly to all cases. It is hoped that the numerous examples given in the sample schedule[1] will help to explain what is wanted, but it is probable that further directions will be needed in some districts regarding the mode of entry of specific tribes. While care must be taken that the great caste or tribe, as a whole, to which each person belongs, and not merely his local clan, is shown in the first sub-column, it is by no means intended that mere theories or traditions of tribal origin should be acted upon. A *Tiwána* or a *Siál* is actually a Rájpút, and should be entered as such; but a Khatri, whatever be the origin of the tribe, is not recognised as a Rájpút, and should be shown as Khatri. So, again, an Arora should be entered as such, and not as a Khatri. It is believed that in the Western Punjab the word Jat is often used to include almost all Mahomedan agriculturists of Indian origin who are not Rájpúts, and that the name Gujar is similarly applied to shepherds, of whatever caste. The term Hindki, too, is often used in a very loose and indefinite way, as if it were the name of a separate caste. Care must be taken that these words are not carelessly used in their general sense, but that the real caste of each person is asked for and entered. It should be noted that the clans meant to be entered in the second sub-column are locally more extensive than, and include several of, the *gots* or septs which are to be entered in the third sub-column: no sub-division lower than the *got* is needed. It may be necessary to guard against a tendency of the enumerators to fill up all three sub-columns, whether the corresponding sections of the caste exist or not. The second sub-column will probably be empty for most menial castes; and for Jats, Gújars and Rájpúts in most of the Eastern Punjab.

6. It is during the preparation and subsequent scrutiny of the preliminary record that personal supervision on the part of superior officers will be most essential. During this time the whole of the district staff should be incessantly moving about from village to village, explaining, correcting and supervising.

7. Translations of the instructions to supervisors, and a few copies of the enumerators' rules and schedules, will follow immediately without waiting till the mass of the forms are ready.

(Enclosure to General letter C.)

Instructions to Enumerators.

PART I.—PRELIMINARY RECORD OF ENTRIES.

1. Beginning from 27th December 1880, you will enter in this book all the people living in your block, except those for whom private schedules have been sanctioned.

2. You must write very distinctly in black ink, and the lines must be far enough apart to leave room for corrections. Where no entry is to be made in a column, you must draw a line, and not leave the column empty. Wherever you use the word "ditto" you must write it in full, and you must *never* use it at the top of a page.

3. Each house, with its number, has already been fixed for you and entered in the house-list and map. Every house must be separately entered in the schedule, even though it be empty. If you find any dwelling-house in your block which has not been numbered, you should at once report to your supervisor and leave a sufficient space blank for its entries.

4. The first person entered in each family should be the head of the family, whether male or female; then the other members of the family; then their servants; and last of all visitors. When one family is complete, you should draw a line across column 2 and go straight on to the next family, if there is another living in the house, and so on till all the residents of the house are entered.

5. When the house is finished you should leave a blank space sufficient for the additional people who may be expected to be in the house on the night of the census. Under this space you must draw a line right across the form; and below this write the number and description of the next house before beginning to enter its inhabitants.

6. You will enter all persons living in or taking their meals from the house at the time when the form is filled up, whether as permanent residents or as visitors. You will not enter any persons absent on journeys, or temporarily living elsewhere; but you will enter persons who are sleeping outside, or are out of doors, fishing, or working in the fields, or, like yourself, away from home for some hours only, on business; but in hotels, dák-bungalows, *seráis*, encamping-grounds, and the like, you will at first enter only families permanently residing there, and will not enter travellers till the night of the census.

7. Column 1.—In this column give a separate number to each person, whether the name is shown or not. Begin with No. 1 for each house.

[1] The sample schedule will follow presently.

Preliminary Record.

8. **Column 2.**—Enter here the names of all males, and of females also if there is no objection to telling them. If there is any objection, or if a child has not yet been named, write "female" or "baby" in this column, filling in all other particulars as usual in the other columns.

9. **Column 3.**—Persons who have been married, and who have a wife or husband living and not divorced, should be entered as married, though they may not yet have begun to live with their wife or husband, and though the living wife or husband may be by a second marriage.

Persons who have been married, but who have no wife or husband living and undivorced, should be entered as widower or widow. If a woman is stated to have been married, the statement must be accepted without any further inquiry.

10. **Column 4.**—Here write the figure 1 opposite each person in either the male or female column, according to sex.

11. **Column 5.**—In the case of infants under one year of age, write the number of months of their age in *words*, not numbers, with the word "months" after it. In all other cases write in *numbers* the number of years attained on the *last* birthday. If any person cannot tell his or her exact age, you must give it as nearly as you can, judging for yourself if the person is before you, or inquiring from the other members of the family. You are forbidden to ask to see any female.

12. **Column 6.**—Here show the religion of each person, as Hindu, Sikh, Musalmán, Christian, Jew, Pársi, Buddhist.

If a Hindu belongs to any sect, write the name of the sect under the religion. The main sect should be shown, as *Bairági, Gusáin, Sarógi, Bishnoi, Jain, Sádh, Bráhmo,* &c. *Sampardahs* and other sub-divisions are not wanted, except that *Kanphatte Jogis* should always be separately shown as such.

Under Sikhs enter *Kúka* or any other Sikh sect to which the person may belong.

Under Musalmán enter *Shíah, Sunni, Wahhábi, Farási,* as the case may be.

Under Christian distinguish each person as Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Baptist, Wesleyan, American Church, Greek Church, Syrian Church, and others.

The religion must be entered as the person states it; if a *Bhangi* says he is a Hindu, he must be entered so.

If any native cannot state his religion, he should be entered as Hindu, without any sect. Young children should be entered of the same religion as their fathers.

13. **Column 7.**—This column is divided into three sub-columns.

In the first of these must be shown the *original* caste or tribe of each person, as Bráhman, Rájpút, Gújar, Biloch, Pathán, Chamár, &c.

In the second must be shown that great primary section of his caste to which the person belongs, if the caste is divided in such sections, as *Gaur, Sársút,* &c., for Bráhmans; *Tiwána, Siál,* &c., for Rájpúts; *Agarwál, Oswál,* &c., for Mahájans; *Rind, Lashári,* &c., for Biloches; *Jafneri, Tehanpuri,* &c., for Saiyads; and so on.

In the third must be shown the *got* of each person, or, if he have no *got*, that secondary section of his tribe to which he belongs, as *Bháradwáj, Sándlas,* &c., for Bráhmans; *Chauhán, Túnwar,* &c., for Rájpúts; *Dehia, Ghatwál,* &c., for Jats; *Huseni, Músvi,* &c., for Saiyads; and so on.

If the caste or tribe is divided into *gots* only and has no other sub-divisions, no entry should be made in the second of these columns.

14. **Column 8.**—In this column enter the language ordinarily spoken in the household of each person's parents, whether or not it be that of the place where he or she is living at the time of the census.

15. **Column 9.**—Here write the name of the district in which each person was born. If not in the Punjab, add the name of the province. If the place of the birth is out of India, only the name of the country should be given. Pay attention to the footnotes printed on the schedule.

[1] 16. **Column 10.**—The occupation of every male who is of age to do work should be entered, or, if he has no occupation, the source from which he chiefly derives his income, as pensioner, jágírdár, &c. If he has several occupations, that one should be shown from which his income is chiefly derived. But if he combines agriculture with any other profession or trade, such as that of vaqíl or money-lender, carpenter or smith, &c., both occupations should be shown. Persons who are really engaged in agriculture should be shown as such, even though by caste they may be smiths, potters, fishermen, &c.

Agriculturists should be described by terms indicating the nature of their connection with the land, such as *biswahdar, muzairah, sajji, adhjogia, kamera, káma,* &c.

General terms, such as servant, workman, shopkeeper, trader, &c., must be avoided: the particular service or trade or handicraft should be mentioned.

Women who follow the occupation of their family, such as working in the fields, weaving, &c., should be shown as agriculturists, weavers, &c., like the head of their family. Those who earn their livelihood by some special employment of their own, as grinders, spinners, grasscutters, &c., should be so recorded.

Those who are chiefly employed in domestic work should have no entry made against them in this column.

In every case the occupation must be expressed by the vernacular term by which it is commonly known.

Boys at school, girls, and small children should not be entered in this column. When persons are temporarily unemployed, enter their last or ordinary occupation.

17. **Column 11.**—Against those under instruction enter "learning." Against others who can both read and write enter "knows." For those who cannot read or write, or can only read and not write, or can only sign their names, and who are not learning, make no entry.

18. **Column 12.**—Enter as "lepers" only those who suffer from *real* leprosy (*juzám* or *kohr*); not those who have mere leprous discoloration of the skin (*phúl bahri*). Enter as "deaf-mutes" only those who have been both deaf and dumb from birth. Enter as "blind" only those who are blind of both eyes.

PART II.—FINAL ENUMERATION.

19. On the 17th February 1881, as soon as the lamps are lit and the cattle have come from the jungle (about 8 P.M.), you will take this book, with the entries filled in, and will visit every house in your block in order.

20. If any persons entered in the book are dead, or are no longer living in or taking their meals from the house, you will score out their names and all the entries made against them.

21. If any persons, not as yet entered in this book, have been born or have arrived at the house, and are, at the time of the census, living in or taking their meals from it, you will enter their names, with all particulars according to rules 7 to 18, in the blank space at the foot of the house, or, if that should be insufficient, at the end of the book. In doing so, you must follow the provisions of rule 6. Do not forget to enter your own name, if not already entered, in the book.

22. Generally you must alter or add to the entries in accordance with any change which may have taken place since they were made; but you must not alter any entry where no change has occurred.

23. You must write all your corrections and additions made on the night of the census in red ink.

24. When you have done what is above prescribed, you will go to all the encamping-grounds, *goirah deh*, and other resting-places for travellers that may be in your block, and enter any travellers you may find there. You must also enter all squatters and all pilgrims or travellers who may be passing the night on the roads or elsewhere within your block. But you

[1] Substituted for the old rule. See No. 264 of 17th November 1880.

must not enter railway travellers who have left the rail the same night. If there is no house number fixed for the place where these squatters or travellers are staying, enter the description of each such place, without any number, at the head of the entries belonging to it.

25. You are not to ask to see any female, nor to persist in asking her name if there is any objection to giving it. All persons are bound to give you such information as is necessary to enable you to fill up the forms; but you are not to ask for any information beyond this. Anybody employed on census work and detected in extorting money on any pretence connected with it will be punished under the Census Act and Indian Penal Code.

Questions for the use of Census Enumerators.

[NOTE.—These questions are intended to show the enumerators the main points to be inquired about. But enumerators must study the above instructions carefully; and if the answers first given to these questions do not contain the information required in the instructions, they must not record those answers, but must ask further questions till they obtain the desired information.]

PART I.—PRELIMINARY RECORD.

1. Who is head of this family?
2. **Column 2.**—What is your name?
3. **Column 3.**—Have you ever been married? If so, have you any wife (or husband) now living and not divorced?
4. **Column 5.**—How many years old were you on your last birthday?
5. **Column 6.**—What is your religion; and which sect of that religion do you belong to?
6. **Column 7, part 1.**—What is your original caste?
7. **Column 7, part 2.**—If your caste is divided into any great sections besides *gots*, to which of them do you belong?
8. **Column 7, part 3.**—What is your *got?* If you have no *got*, to what secondary section of your caste do you belong?
9. **Column 8.**—What language was spoken in your father's household?
10. **Column 9.**—In what district were you born; and if it is not in the Punjab, in what Province is it? If you were not born in India, give the name of the country in which you were born.
11. [1] **Column 10.**—How do you get your living? If you get it from the land, are you an owner, a tenant, or what; and have you any other occupation besides agriculture? If you have several occupations besides agriculture, which is the principal one?
12. **Column 11.**—Can you read and write? If not, are you learning?
13. Now tell me the names of all who are living or taking their meals with you at present: first, other members of your family in order of age; then servants; then any visitors who may be staying with you.
14. Now answer each question from No. 3 to No. 12 about each of these people.
15. [1] In answering question 11 about a woman, or a boy of age to do work, say whether he or she is chiefly occupied otherwise than in household duties. If so, what is the occupation?
16. Is any of these people of unsound mind, or deaf and dumb from birth, or blind of both eyes, or a leper?

PART II.—FINAL ENUMERATION.

17. Listen while I read out the names of the persons entered as living in your house.
18. Is any of these persons dead?
19. Has any one of them gone away, so that he is not at present living or taking meals with you?
20. Is anybody living or taking meals with you who has been born or has come to the house since these entries were made, and is not included in them?
21. If so, answer each question, as in questions 15 and 16, about each such person.

(Enclosure to General Letter C9)

Preliminary Record.

INSTRUCTIONS TO SUPERVISORS.

PART II.—PRELIMINARY RECORD.

15. **Instructions for enumerators.**—Together with these instructions are a copy of instructions to enumerators, and of a schedule filled in by way of specimen, both of which you must carefully study.

16. **Enumerators' books of schedules.**—The preliminary record of census entries will begin on 27th December 1880. Before that date, you will be supplied by your superintendent with a book of schedules for each of your enumerators' blocks. He will also give you some loose schedules, and if there is not enough room in any of the books, you must open the stitching and add as many more schedules as are needed at the end of the book. Two or three extra blank pages must be left at the end of each book in case they should be wanted for the final census. Remember that there must be one separate book for the whole of each block.

17. **Preliminary practice of enumerators.**—A week before the preliminary record is to begin, you must get together all your enumerators, and, taking them with you, you must make the preliminary record for a part of the village or town where your head-quarters are. When the enumerators have seen you fill in several schedules, you must make each man fill in several more himself under your own eye, so that, by the 27th of December, each one may be ready to go to his block and begin its preliminary record. All this preliminary practice must be done, not in the books, but on loose schedules, which must be kept to practise the final enumeration upon.

18. **Supervision of preliminary record.**—The preliminary record must be finished by the 25th January 1881. While it is going on, you must incessantly move about your circle inspecting and correcting the enumerators' work. You must take care that the enumerators thoroughly understand and act upon their instructions, and are not content with merely asking the prescribed questions and recording the first answers given, whether they give the information wanted or not. Each entry must be tested by you on the spot; and, by the 7th of February at the latest, you must have satisfied yourself that the preliminary record is complete, and every entry in it correct, for the whole of your circle.

19. **Completion of preliminary record.**—All corrections in the preliminary record must be in black ink; red ink is for the actual census only. Any schedule that is very much cut up by corrections should be taken out of the book and replaced by a fair copy. When you have satisfied yourself as to the correctness of the entries on any page, you should sign it at the top and foot, as in the specimen schedule. When the preliminary record of any block is complete, and you have satisfied yourself of its

[1] Substituted for the old question. See No. 264 of 17th November 1880.

Preliminary Record.

correctness, you should number the pages of the book, and write the total number of pages, with your signature, on the label outside the cover.

20. Filling up schedules.—The instructions to enumerators will show you how the schedules are to be filled up. But you must pay great attention to the following points :—

21. Entries for separate villages and homesteads.—When a block includes more than one village, the entries for each village must be finished before those for another are begun. A blank leaf should be left at the end of each homestead or village. If there are several homesteads in the same village, the name of the homestead must be shown in the heading of each page along with the name of the village.

22. Entry of each house in the schedule.—*Every* house must be entered separately in the enumerators' book. If a private schedule has been sanctioned for it, or if it is a shop, school, or the like, used only by day, and with nobody living in it, the fact must be noted under it as in the specimen schedule. If the entries for a house occupy more than one page, the word "continued" should be added after the number of the house at the top of each page after the first.

23. Blank spaces.—Care must be taken that enough blank space is left at the end of each house under rule 5 of the enumerators' rules.

In the case of hotels, dák-bungalows, *serdis*, village rest-houses, encamping-grounds, *goirah deh*, and the like, several pages will often be needed for each.

24. Entry of chelas, sadhus, and fakirs.—If any Hindu is a *chela* of any sect, his sect should be shown in column 6, though he may not be a *sádhu*. If he has retained his original caste, his caste, *got*, &c., should be shown in column 7. But if he have abandoned his caste, whether he be a *sádhu* or *faqír*, or whether he be married, his sect should be entered in the first sub-column of column 7, as well as in column 6, and the other two sub-columns should have no entry. The word *faqír* should never be used in either column 6 or column 7, but the sect, if any, and the sort of *faqír*, should always be given instead. See the last few entries in the specimen schedule.

Take care that Hindu and Sikh women are not entered as belonging to the sect of their husbands, unless they also have actually entered the sect. Take great care that *kanphatte Jogis* are distinguished from others.

25. Entry of caste, clan, and got.—Particular attention must be paid to the filling up of the three sub-columns of column 7. The sample schedule should be carefully studied, and on doubtful points you should refer to your superintendent.

In the case of tribes of Musalmán origin, Patháns, Biloches, Saiyads, Mughals, and the like, the tribe must be entered in the first sub-column, the principal section of it in the second, and the sub-division of that section, if there is one, in the third.

In the case of tribes of Hindu origin, the original caste (unless it has been abandoned, as in rule 24) must be shown in the first sub-column; thus Tiwánas and Siáls must here be shown as Rájpúts, and Kashmíri Pandits as Bráhmans. In the third sub-column the *got* must always be shown. If the person belongs to a local section of the caste, distinct from the *got*, *e.g.*, Tiwána or Siál, this must be shown in the second sub-column. If there is no such section, the second column will have no entry.

In the case of Native Christians, the caste, &c., which must be that of the father, should be shown in column 7, the word "Christian" being entered in column 6 only.

Shekhs must always have the sort of Shekh shown in the second sub-column of column 7, as *Qureshi*, *Sidqi*, *Parácha*, &c.

[1] **26. Entry of occupation.**—Pay great attention to the rules about entries in column 10, and especially see that the occupation of the father is not entered against any women or boys of the family except those who really do work other than household duties.

Great care must be taken that the special branch of a general occupation followed by a person is shown. The word *zamíndár* must not be used, nor the word *mazdúr*; the sort of *mazdúrí* should be specified, as coolie, cobbler, &c.

In the case of natives the vernacular terms for their occupations must always be used, and not the English equivalent, even when the schedules are being filled up in English.

[1] Substituted for the old rule. See No. 264 of 17th November 1880.

Tahsil *Village* *Circle No.* *Block Letter* *Name of Enumerator*

1	2	3	4		5	6	7			8	9	10	11	12
						Religion, Caste or Tribe, Clan, Got, &c.								
Serial No. of inmate.	Name.	Condition, *i.e.*, whether married, unmarried, widow, or widower.	Male.	Female.	Age last birthday.	Religion and Sect.	Original Caste or Tribe.	Clan.	Got or Sept.	Mother-tongue.	[1 2 3] Place of birth.	Occupation of men; also of those boys and females whose work is brought regularly to market.	*Education.* (1) Not under instruction, but can read and write. (2) Under instruction.	*Infirmities.* (1) Unsound mind. (2) Deaf-mutes from birth. (3) Blind. (4) Lepers.

[1] If a European British subject, add British subject.
[2] If a foreigner, state of what country.
[3] If of mixed European and Asiatic parentage, add Eurasian.

Military Census.

No. 411, dated Lahore, 29th November 1880.

From—DENZIL IBBETSON, Esq., Deputy Superintendent, Census Operations, Punjab,

To—All Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners, Punjab.

I have the honour to enclose a copy of Secretary to Government's No. 410, of this date, to all Generals Commanding Divisions, and its enclosures, and to request that, in accordance with paragraph 3 of the above letter, you will place either yourself, or the Cantonment Magistrate, or a European Assistant Commissioner, as may be most convenient, in special communication with the military authorities in your district. The officer selected will exercise such supervision over the operations, and will so far test the papers prepared, as may be necessary to ensure uniformity. The points which will specially call for attention are—the entry of castes, tribes and clans of natives; the record of persons living in the lines but temporarily absent on duty; and the omission of persons not living in the lines, but temporarily present within them on duty. The ordinary supervising staff must not be allowed to interfere in any way with the military census.

2. I would direct your particular attention to paragraph 3 of the Government letter to Generals Commanding Divisions. The limits within which the military authorities will take the census should at once be determined, as directed in paragraph 6 of the rules.

3. When the military indents for forms for the whole district have been received, a consolidated indent should be forwarded to me. Every effort should be made to furnish this indent at as early a date as possible. The enumerators' books for military census will be supplied by me ready made up.

No. 410, dated Lahore, 29th November 1880.

From—W. M. YOUNG, Esq., Secretary to Government, Punjab and its Dependencies,

To—The General Officer Commanding the

I am directed to forward, for your information, a copy of Government of India's No. 418 C., dated 8th November 1880, together with a copy of the rules to which that letter conveys sanction, and a copy of letter No. 501 S. E. from Secretary to Government of India, Military Department, to the Adjutant-General, and of its endorsement, No. 20-405, dated 8th instant. A brief memorandum of detailed instructions for the guidance of the subordinates who will actually take the census within military limits in the Punjab is also appended for reference. You will doubtless already have received a communication from the Adjutant-General in India, in pursuance of the letter of the Government of India, Military Department, quoted above.

2. I am directed by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor to inform you that, at the instance of the Imperial Census Commissioner, the Deputy Commissioners of all districts in the Punjab have been requested to place a European officer selected from their district staff in special communication with the local military authorities in each cantonment. This officer will advise the military authorities on all points connected with the census, and will exercise such general supervision over the operations as may be necessary to ensure that the scheme laid down for the census of the Empire is adhered to in the military census.

3. I am further to inform you that, in order to reduce the burden thrown on the military authorities within the narrowest possible limits, it has been determined to take the words "purely military limits" in paragraphs 1 and 2 of the rules in the strictest sense. Thus, while the census of regimental lines, quarters, barracks, or other premises in which troops or others subject to military discipline are quartered, will be taken by the military authorities, that of regimental and sadr bázárs, and of all parts of cantonments excepting the quarters just mentioned, will be taken by the civil authorities, acting through the Cantonment Magistrate.

4. I am desired to invite your attention to the provisions of sections 5 (*a*), 7, 8, 9 and 11 of the Indian Census Act (printed at the end of the enclosures for convenience of reference), which, while defining the responsibility of officers in command of troops with regard to taking their census, at the same time invest them with the authority necessary to enable them to carry out the duty thus imposed upon them.

5. Finally, I am to request that the local military authorities may be directed to forward their indents for census instructions and schedules, prepared in accordance with paragraph 9 of the rules, to the Deputy Commissioners of their districts with as little delay as possible, in order that arrangements may be made for the necessary printing. It is hoped that, if in any way possible, only English and Hindústáni papers may be indented for, as printing in the Sanskrit and Gurmukhi characters entails much trouble and delay.

6. I send a sufficient number of copies of this letter and its enclosures, to enable you to distribute them to the officers under your command without the necessity of reprinting; and I shall be happy to supply more copies if I should have under-estimated your requirements.

Rules for the Census in Cantonments and of Troops on the March.

The census in so much of each cantonment as lies beyond regimental lines, or other purely military limits, will be taken by the civil authorities working through the Cantonment Committee. It will be made in precisely the same manner as that outside cantonments, and therefore no special instructions are needed.

2. The census within regimental lines, or other purely military limits, will be taken by the military authorities.

3. This census will include all persons, of whatever sex, age, race or profession, who are on the night of the census living, either temporarily or permanently, within the above limits. Thus, it will include all persons who, though ordinarily living elsewhere, may on the night in question have their temporary residence within the limits, and also all persons who, while actually living at the time within the limits, may be temporarily absent on night duty, or the like.

4. The census entries will be written in printed schedules, which will be supplied to the military authorities, together with detailed instructions for filling them up. The schedules will be filled up by way of preliminary record some days before the night of the 17th February 1881, which has been fixed for the actual census; and on that night this preliminary record will have to be gone over, entry by entry, and corrected and added to where necessary, so as to bring it into agreement with the facts as they actually stand on that night.

5. To prevent mistakes or double enumeration it will be advisable that all military limits should be cleared, between sunset and sunrise on the appointed night, of all persons who are not temporarily or permanently living within the limits,

Military Census.

either as officers of any grade, fighting men, non-combatants attached to the regiment, the servants of the above, regimental followers, or visitors or members of the families of any of these.

6. The civil and military authorities, who should act in concert throughout in all matters relating to the census, should at once determine the limits within which each, respectively, will be responsible for the census, under paragraphs 1 and 2.

7. The census of regiments on the march, and of detachments of troops on duty within the limits of the Province, will be taken by the officer in command. This census will include all persons, of whatever sex, age, race or profession, who are marching with the troops. Officers in command of troops who will be marching within the Punjab on the date of the census, should be provided with schedules and copies of the instructions by the military authorities of the cantonments from which they start.

8. If the regiment or detachment is travelling by rail on the night of the census, the census should be taken at the first place at which they alight. Such troops will not be enumerated in the railway census.

9. The military authorities of each cantonment should, as soon as they are in a position to estimate their needs, indent upon the Deputy Commissioner of the district for instructions and books of schedules, stating the number of copies of each they will require in each of the following languages and characters :—

English in the *Roman* character ; *Hindústáni* in the *Persian* character, *Panjábi* in the *Gurmukhi* character ; *Hindi* in the *Sanskrit* character.

One copy of the detailed instructions and one book of schedules will be required for each enumerator[1].

10. As soon as the final enumeration is complete, the schedules should be carefully scrutinised and tested ; and when the local authorities have satisfied themselves of their correctness, they should be packed up separately for each regiment or detachment. The schedules for detachments on the march should be forwarded to the head-quarters of their regiment in the Punjab ; the schedules for regiments on the march should be forwarded to the military authorities of the cantonments they were last stationed at. All schedules filled up, or received as above, by the military authorities of any cantonments, should be sent by them to the Deputy Commissioner of the district in which the cantonments are situated, who will arrange for their compilation, together with those of the civil portion of the cantonments.

11. Soldiers on leave, or travelling otherwise than with a regiment or detachment, and beyond military limits, will be enumerated together with the civil population of the place at which they may happen to be on the night of the census.

[1] See para. 1 of detailed instructions below.

Detailed Instructions for the Census of Military Lines, &c.

1. Appointment of Enumerators.—All the census papers of each regimental lines or other separate military premises must be kept quite distinct. For each an enumerator must be appointed, who will take its census ; or if it contains more than some 600 inhabitants, so that one man cannot conveniently go round it on the census night, it should be divided into blocks, and a separate enumerator appointed for each.

2. Preparation of house-lists.—The first thing to be done is to prepare a house-list of all buildings within the limits which are used for human habitation. This list should be in the Form B, given at the end of these instructions. If the lines have been divided into blocks, a separate list should be made for each block. If any building is very large and contains many separate dwellings occupied by distinct groups of people, each of these dwellings should be entered as a separate house. In columns 3 and 4, only those families should be entered who reside *as families* in the buildings. Single individuals living alone and without servants, such as unmarried privates, should not be shown as separate families.

3. Numbering of the houses.—The number which is given to each house in the house-list should then be painted upon the building in a conspicuous manner, so that it may be easily seen on the night of the census.

4. Preliminary record.—About a week or ten days before the final census, which will take place on the night of the 17th February 1881, each enumerator must go round his block and enter all its inhabitants in the book of schedules which will be supplied him, taking the houses one after another in order of their numbers. The schedules must be filled up exactly in accordance with the instructions which will be found at the beginning of the book. Some loose schedules will be supplied in addition to the books ; and if there is not room in a book, it must be unstitched and more schedules stitched in at the end. Care must be taken that plenty of blank space is left for the entry of any new-comers who may be within the limits on the night of the census, but who were not entered in the first instance. The whole of these entries must be most carefully checked and corrected if necessary by a responsible officer, who should initial each page when he has satisfied himself of its correctness, and enter the number of pages on the label outside the book. All this work must be done in black ink, red ink being reserved for the night of the census itself.

5. The actual census.—On the night of the census, that is of the 17th February 1881, after gun-fire, each enumerator must go round with his book to each house entered in it, and alter the entries already made wherever any change has occurred ; that is to say, he must cut out all the entries regarding persons who are not living at the time within the limits, and must add all people who may then be living within them, and have not already been entered, filling in all the columns carefully for each of such persons. All alterations and additions made on this night must be made in red ink. Next day the alterations must be carefully tested, so that the schedules may contain an accurate record of the population of the limits as it stood on the night of the census.

Census Form B.

HOUSE-LIST OF THE IN THE CANTONMENT OF

Serial No. of House.	Nature of house ; *e.g.*, barrack, guard-room, &c.	Serial No of resident family.	Name and occupation of head of each resident family.	REMARKS.

Railway Census.

No. 70, dated Lahore, 12th January 1881.

From—DENZIL IBBETSON, Esq., Deputy Superintendent, Census Operations, Punjab,

To—

I have the honour to enclose for your information a copy of the rules issued by the Government of India for taking the census within railway limits; and to communicate the following remarks upon certain points which need explanation.

Paragraph 2.—The words "railway premises" used in this paragragh should not be construed too strictly. Thus the mere fact of a gang of labourers employed on the line having pitched their camp a few yards outside the limits of the railway, instead of inside them, does not render it less necessary that their census should be taken by the agency who has collected and employs them. So, on the other hand, it may be convenient in some cases that isolated signallers, gatemen, &c., should be enumerated by the enumerators of the village in which their posts lie. In all such cases the railway and district authorities should decide in concert who shall take the census.

Paragraph 3.—As the number of people living in the various houses and buildings included within railway limits may vary considerably, it is well to point out that no block should include more than about 600 souls. It is essential that no two stations should ever be included in the same block; as they may lie in different districts or even provinces, in which case their populations will have to be included in separate returns. It may be well to arrange, where it can be done conveniently, that the same enumerator who will enumerate the passengers on the night of the census, shall also enumerate the resident railway population.

Paragraph 4.—The list mentioned in this paragraph should be sent to me for the whole of the Punjab, including all Native States, such as Bahawalpur, which are attached to the Province. Three papers will be needed instructions to enumerators, ordinary schedules, and private schedules mentioned in paragraph 6. It is presumed that, in accordance with the recommendation at the end of rule 3, these papers will be required in English only; but the two first can be supplied in vernacular also, if necessary. One copy of the instructions will be needed for each block; one ordinary schedule for every 20 persons to be enumerated; and one private schedule for every house where one is to be left. I shall be glad to have your indents as soon as possible.

Paragraph 5.—The native servants of Europeans who have private schedules should be enumerated by the ordinary enumerators and entered in their preliminary record, and should not be included in the private schedules.

Finally, I would draw your attention to the following passage in the Resolution by which the Government of India sanctioned these rules:—

"**Rule 6.**—At the instance of the Agent of the East Indian Railway Company and the Census Commissioner, the preliminary census has been foregone in the case of all European and English-speaking railway employés, who will be permitted to fill up their own schedules once for all. In making this concession, which, it is believed, will save the railway authorities a considerable amount of time and trouble, it has been borne in mind that the population in question is practically of an official character. The superior officers and employés will therefore be held responsible that this relaxation of rule shall not interfere with the accuracy of the returns; and they should strongly impress upon their subordinates the necessity for filling up the schedules fully and with great care."

I will address you again at an early date on the subject of the census of the passenger population.

I enclose a sufficient number of copies of this letter and the rules to enable you to distribute them at once to your subordinates.

Rules for taking the Census within railway limits.

1. The population to be enumerated by the railway authorities consists of two classes: I—the railway population, properly so called, and II—the population travelling by rail on the night of the 17th February.

I.—THE RAILWAY POPULATION PROPER.

2. The railway population is composed of—

(1) permanent employés of the railway company, with their families and servants, residing on the railway premises, and temporary visitors staying in their houses;

(2) labourers or others employed on railway work, by contractors or by railway officials, if sleeping within the railway premises.

Subject to the provisions of rule 15, persons who work on the railway, whether by day or night, but habitually return to their own homes outside the railway premises in their non-working hours, are not to be counted among the railway population, but in the villages or blocks where their homes are situated.

3. The houses and buildings situated in the railway premises should be divided into blocks and circles. Each block should contain on an average from 60 to 100 houses or buildings, and each circle shall contain from 10 to 20 blocks. As a rule, each station should be considered a separate block; but if too large to be enumerated by one person, it should be sub-divided into blocks containing the usual number of houses or buildings. There should be an enumerator to each block and a supervisor to each circle, who should be appointed by the chief railway authorities. These enumerators should, as far as possible, be unpaid, and it will be an advantage to utilise the services of English-speaking Natives, or of Europeans where the population to be enumerated is mainly European. The supervisors should in all cases be railway officials of position and standing.

4. The Agent for each line of railway, or such officer as he may depute to the special charge of the census operations, should consult, on all main points and on all matters affecting general arrangements, with the Deputy Superintendent of the Census in each Province, if any; in Mysore he should consult the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner; in Ajmir, the Commissioner in the Native States through which the line may pass, the Agents to the Governor-General or the Residents. Any point which cannot be decided by these officials should be referred to the Census Commissioner. As regards minor local details, he should consult with the Collectors or Deputy Commissioners of British districts, or the Political Officers of Native States. He should prepare and send in to the Deputy Superintendents of Census or other officials designated above a list showing the number of railway blocks in each Province or Native State, the number of forms required for enumeration, and the language in which they should be printed; and these forms should be supplied to him without delay.

5. Unavoidable extra expenditure will be sanctioned by the Government of India in the Home, Revenue and

Agricultural Department. Such expenditure will consist of the remuneration to enumerators, where paid officials cannot be found to perform this duty, extra payment for overtime night work on 17th February, and the cost of contingencies on account of stationery, oil, &c. Estimates of such expenditure, distinguishing these three heads, should be drawn up by the Agent on each line of railway and forwarded to the Census Commissioner, who will submit them to the Government of India in the Department named above.

6. The enumerators should be instructed to leave, on the 15th February, private schedules in English at the houses of all European or English-speaking employés, who should be requested to fill them up for their own families including all visitors in their houses, and any European servants, in accordance with the facts existing on the night of the 17th February.

7. The enumerators should make a preliminary enumeration of all Native employés of the railway residing on the railway premises. This enumeration should be completed by the 1st February. It should be conducted in all respects in the same manner as the enumeration of the Native population outside of the railway premises, and the same instructions to enumerators will apply in both cases.

8. The supervisors should commence testing the schedules on the 1st February, and should test as many as they can of the entries made by the enumerators in the forms for the Native population before the 15th February. It will not be necessary to test the private schedules dealt with under rule 6.

9. The enumerators commencing at 9 P.M. on the night of the 17th February should take the final census of all the Native population previously enumerated by themselves, correcting the entries according to the facts as found to exist on that evening. On the morning of the 18th, they should go round and collect from the different heads of houses the private schedules distributed under rule 6. These schedules should be signed and dated by the enumerators; and handed by them to the supervisor, who should satisfy himself that the number is complete.

10. Railway employés, who are on duty on the night of the 17th, but are not travelling with any train, should be recorded as present in the houses in which they were entered in the private schedules, or at the time of the preliminary enumeration, as the case may be.

II.—The population travelling by rail on the night of the 17th February.

11. There should be a special enumerator appointed at each railway station, whose duty it will be to count the travelling population on the night of the 17th February. No preliminary enumeration is possible in this case.

12. Between 9 P.M. of the 17th and 6 A.M. of the 18th this enumerator should count every traveller by rail at the station where he alights on arriving at his destination. He should first ask the traveller if he has already been counted by any enumerator on that night, and if he says that he has, the enumerator should accept this answer and let him pass. If he says he has not, the enumerator shall enter the traveller's name and all particulars regarding him in the prescribed schedule, and should give him a check-ticket (forms for which will be provided) to show that he has been included in the returns; and the traveller should produce this ticket if any one tries to count him again.

13. All passengers found in the train at 6 A.M. on the 18th February, who, on inquiry or otherwise, appear not to have already been counted on the foregoing evening, should be counted at the first considerable station at which the train stops at or about that hour. A place should be chosen where the train is timed to stop for a sufficient period, which might, if necessary, be slightly prolonged. No check-tickets need be given on this occasion.

14. In the case of 1st and 2nd class passengers, and Europeans travelling 3rd class, private schedules should be distributed to them by the guard of the train on the evening of 17th February, and they should be requested to fill up the particulars for themselves and any members of their families travelling in the same train, but not for Native servants travelling with them. These schedules should be collected at the station where the train stops at 6 A.M., and the enumerator (who should be a European) should see that they appear to be correctly filled up. He should also himself fill up the schedule if, in any case, the passenger has omitted to do so.

15. Railway employés on duty on the night of 17th February who are travelling with any train and who have not been counted before on that night, should be enumerated, if they finally leave the train before 6 A.M. on the 18th February, at the station where they alight under rule 12; otherwise, they should be enumerated with the passengers under rules 13 and 14.

16. Troops travelling by rail are not to be enumerated, but this exception does not extend to any Native servants who may be travelling with them.

17. When the returns, both for the railway and the travelling population, are complete, they should be forwarded by the supervisors to the District Officer or Political Agent for compilation.

Boat Census.

No. 107, dated Lahore, 15th January 1881.

From—Denzil Ibbetson, Esq., Deputy Superintendent, Census Operations, Punjab,

To—All Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab.

In paragraph 6 of my General Letter A it was laid down that each recognized ferry or mooring-place on rivers or navigable canals should form a separate block, unless it was very insignificant and so situated that it could conveniently be included in and visited by the enumerator of a village block.

2. With respect to this latter class of mooring-places, no special instructions are needed. They will have been numbered as houses in the house-list under rule 6 of the instructions to supervisors; and it will be sufficient for the enumerator to visit them once in the course of his rounds.

3. I have the honour to append rules for the census of the larger ghâts, which have been made into separate blocks. When there is a bridge across the river, it will probably be most convenient for one enumerator to take both sides of the stream; and the population in question is so small that this course will be unobjectionable, even where the two ends of the bridge lie in different districts. It would be best for the enumerator to be appointed from that bank on which the bridge establishment has its quarters. This point must be settled between the Deputy Commissioners concerned in each case; but where one enumerator is appointed at each end, each should enumerate only the boats on his bank and the travellers crossing from his shore.

4. The object of keeping the enumerator at his post on the 18th is to pick up any boats which may have escaped enumeration during the night by being moored or stranded at a distance from any ghât.

5. You will notice that no special boat schedules will be issued, the ordinary schedules being used. Boat tickets and translations of these rules will be furnished to you immediately.

Rules for the Census of boats and ferries.

The enumerator of the *ghát* or ferry will go to his post at 9 P.M. on the night of the 17th February, and will enumerate in the usual manner all persons spending the night in boats moored at the *ghát*, and also all persons camped for the night at the *ghát*, so far as it lies within the limits of his block. Boatmen who spend the night on shore beyond the limits of his block, or who have spent the day at home and are absent for the night only, should not be enumerated by him.

2. He will remain at his post all night if there is a bridge there, and enumerate all travellers passing over the bridge who do not appear from their statements to have been already enumerated at their homes.

3. He will further remain at his post during the whole of the 18th up to 8 P.M., and will enumerate the persons in any boats which may arrive at the *ghát*, unless they already have a boat ticket, or unless they appear from their statements to have been already enumerated on shore during the night. But he will not enumerate any travellers by land who pass over the ferry on the 18th.

4. For every boat which he enumerates, whether on the night of the 17th or on the 18th, he will give to the head boatman a boat ticket filled in and signed by himself,—a ticket being given for each boat, whether it contains people or not.

5. The tickets should be numbered in the order in which the boats are enumerated; and in the schedule "Boat No. so and so," should be written instead of "House No. so and so;" and the name of the head boatman and of the place to which the boat actually belongs should be given instead of the kind of house, each boat being entered just like a separate house.

Final Enumeration.

General Letter D., dated Lahore, 20th January 1881.

From—DENZIL IBBETSON, Esq., Deputy Superintendent, Census Operations, Punjab,

To—All Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab.

I have the honour to enclose a copy of Part III. of instructions to supervisors, containing directions for the final enumeration on the night of the 17th February. Translations of these instructions, and also of this letter, will follow immediately.

2. **Special cases.**—You should satisfy yourself that by at least ten days before the night in question, the preliminary record in jails and similar public institutions and on large construction works (paragraph 9, General Letter A. paragraph 11, General Letter B). in railway premises (my No. 70 of 12th January) and military lines (my No. 411 of the 29th November 1880), and in civil lines and cantonments, is complete, and has been thoroughly tested and corrected, as well as that for your district in general.

3. **Boats.**—You should see also that arrangements for the boat and ferry census are complete, and special enumerators told off for this work (my No. 107 of 15th January 1881).

4. **Travellers.**—You should arrange that travellers passing along main lines of road between 9 P.M. and 6 A.M. on the night of the 17th February should be enumerated at fixed points on those roads, turnpikes and police posts being utilised for this purpose. The rank and file of the police may be used for census purposes in this instance, if necessary. Blank schedules should be provided; and only those travellers should be enumerated who appear from inquiry not to have been already enumerated at their homes, and who are really travelling, and not merely coming home from the fields along the road. You should direct the police to give the enumerators information about squatters, as indicated in rule 3 of the instructions. In the *bár* tracts, special inquiries should be made as to whether the camps of graziers (*jhoks* or *rahnas*) have moved since the preliminary record, so that the enumerators may have no difficulty in finding them.

5. **Private schedules.**—You should see that the lists of houses to which private schedules are to be given are complete, and the schedules themselves ready for distribution with the headings filled in (my No. 64 of 12th January 1881). Commanding officers of regiments might be asked to speak to the officers under their orders on the evening of the 17th, pointing out to them the importance of filling in their private schedules properly; and it would be well if these schedules could be returned through the Commanding Officers. Where there are many private schedules to collect from Europeans, a European should be appointed for the duty.

6. **Red ink.**—Where, as will often be the case, red ink is not procurable in the villages, the supervisors should be supplied with it and instructed to distribute small quantities to their enumerators. It is important to use it on the final night, otherwise it will be impossible to distinguish the part of the work which has still to be tested. The common aniline magenta dye (*shíshah ká rang*) is inexpensive, goes a long way, and can be obtained in the *bázár* of any considerable town.

7. **Proclamation.**—A proclamation should be issued requesting the people to stay at home, as much as possible, on the night of the census, and telling them that the head of each house should remain awake and keep one lamp burning till the enumerator has visited the house. The night will be moonlight, and no other light should be needed. The village headmen and watchmen should be warned that they must accompany the enumerator in his rounds.

8. **Sarais and encamping-grounds.**—Special provision should be made for the census of large *saráis* and *paráos*, additional enumerators being held in readiness to assist, if necessary, in the event of travellers being present in unexpected numbers.

9. **Supervision.**—The Superintendents should pay special attention to large and difficult blocks on the census night, and the supervising staff should be strengthened throughout as much as possible. In large towns especially active supervision will be both necessary and possible.

(Enclosure to General Letter D.)

Instructions to Supervisors of Census.

PART III.—FINAL ENUMERATION.

27. **Instruction of enumerators.**—If there should be any blocks in your circle of which the preliminary record has been made by some person other than the enumerator himself, those persons must if possible take the enumerators over the ground and go through the preliminary record with them, house by house, a few days before the night of the census, so that they may find no difficulty on that night.

28. Distribution of private schedules.—Three or four days before the census night, private schedules, with the headings properly filled up, must be distributed to all the houses in your circle for which they have been sanctioned.

29. Encampments of vagrants.—During the few days immediately preceding the census, your enumerators must inquire from the police and the *lambardárs* whether any new settlements of gypsies, herdsmen, or the like, have been made within their blocks since the preliminary record was made; and if so, these people must be added to the preliminary record. If any such people included in the preliminary record have shifted their quarters, the position of their new camp must be ascertained.

30. Preliminary inspection.—You must visit or send for each enumerator in your circle on either the 15th or 16th February, and satisfy yourself that he has his complete preliminary record and is ready to take the census on the night of the 17th. You should at the same time see that he has some red ink for use on that night.

31. Supervision on the Census night.—During the night of the census, you should, where possible, visit all the enumerators of your circle; or, if distances are too great for this, you must visit as many of them as you can; and especially all the large villages with miscellaneous population, and those on frequented roads where many travellers may be expected to stop.

32. Sarais and paraos.—If there are any large *saráis* or *parάos* in your block, it will be well to ascertain, first of all, on the census night, whether an unusually large number of travellers has arrived; as, if so, it may be necessary to put on a special enumerator to take their census. Early on the morning of the 18th February the enumerator should again visit all *saráis*, *paráos*, and dák bungalows, and find out whether any travellers have come in since he took the census of the place. If so, they should be added to the schedules, unless it appears that they have been already enumerated elsewhere during the night.

33. Collection of private schedules.—On the morning after the census (18th February), each enumerator must collect all the private schedules in his block. As he takes each, he must examine it carefully and, if he sees reason to doubt its correctness, must make enquiry from the person who has filled it up, and satisfy himself before finally accepting it that the entries have been properly made.

34. Final testing.—On the morning of the 18th February, you must start on a visit to all your blocks. As you come to each, you must examine the enumerator's book, test the new entries, and see that all necessary additions and erasures have been correctly made. Especially, you should take care that, where a person's name has been scratched out as dead or absent, all the entries against him are scratched out too. If you are quite sure, from inquiry, that any person has been left out or entered wrongly during the night, you must make the necessary corrections. But do not alter the entries about anybody not on the spot unless you are *quite* sure what should be written. You must examine the private schedules carefully; and when they are complete and correct, you should stitch them in at the end of the enumerator's book, and note the number of pages so added on the label outside the cover.

Preliminary Tabulation.

General Letter E., No. 395, dated Lahore, 2nd February 1881.

From—DENZIL IBBETSON, Esq., Deputy Superintendent, Census Operations, Punjab,

To—All Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab.

I have the honour to enclose Part IV. of Instructions to Supervisors containing instructions for preliminary tabulation of the census figures, and for the arrangement of the enumerators' books of schedules.

2. Translations of the instructions will immediately follow, together with a specimen abstract filled in by way of pattern, and blank abstracts. Each supervisor should be provided with a specimen abstract, and with blank abstracts sufficient to allow one for each block in his circle, and one for each inhabited village in any block containing more than two such villages. The index-register will show how many are required for each circle.

In the villages the abstracts should, as a rule, be prepared by the patwáris, as the enumerators will not be sufficiently intelligent. In towns it will probably be most convenient for the enumerators to fill up their own abstracts. But in no case should the enumerator have his abstract given him to fill up till his book of schedules has been finally tested, corrected and completed. Commanding officers and railway companies will not be asked to prepare these abstracts. Those for military lines should be prepared by the cantonment census agency, while railway blocks will be disposed of by the tahsíl establishment.

3. A number of translations of this letter will be sent you for distribution to your tahsíls. Immediately upon receipt of these orders, and without waiting for the schedules to be completed or the abstracts made, the village abstract in the appended Form C should be got ready in each tahsíl.

All the villages of the tahsíl should be entered in it in the order of the revenue record number (*No. collectori*); and after them, cantonments, civil lines, towns which have no revenue number, and railway stations. Columns 3 and 4 should be filled up from the index-register (Form A), and the population of 1868 should be entered in column 9.

4. As soon as the books of schedules and abstracts of any circle come in to the tahsíls, columns 5, 6, 7 and 8 should be at once filled in from the block-abstracts, as shown in the specimen form.

5. As soon as Statement C has been filled up for any circle, the abstracts and house-lists of each block should be put inside the book of schedules, and the books for the whole circle packed up together, along with the supervisor's extract from the index-register for the circle. All other papers, such as house-maps, should be kept carefully in the tahsíl. I will presently address you regarding the further disposal of the books.

6. It is most important that this work should be pushed on vigorously so as to be complete by the end of February, as till it is finished the work of compilation cannot be commenced.

(Enclosure to General Letter E.)

Instructions to Supervisors.

PART IV.—PRELIMINARY TABULATION AND ARRANGEMENT OF SCHEDULES.

35. These instructions are accompanied by an abstract filled up by way of specimen, and by blank abstracts. One of these blank abstracts must be filled up for each block, and where there is more than one inhabited village in any block, a separate abstract must be made for each village in the block.

36. As soon as any enumerator's book has been completely tested and ascertained to be complete, you should fill up, or cause to be filled up, the abstracts for it in accordance with the specimen form. In every case you must examine and sign each abstract.

37. If the census of any block has been made in any other character except English or Persian, it must be copied out into Persian, and the copy and original tied up together. But if a Nágri book is well written and legible, it need not be recopied, though if there is a Persian copy existing, it should be carefully compared with the Nágri, and after correction, if necessary, sent with it. In all cases when a copy is made or compared, the man who wrote the schedules must himself read them out to the copyist.

38. When the books of schedules and the abstracts are complete for your circle, you should bring them into the tahsíl together with all the census papers relating to the circle.

This work should be entirely finished off, and all the papers brought into the tahsíl before the end of February.

Preliminary Tabulation.

Census Form E.

Village Abstract for Tahsil *District*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
No. collector of Revenue Record Office.	Village or Towns.	Census Division.		Detail of present population of each block.			Total population of each Village or Town.		Remarks.
	Name.	No. of circle.	Letter of block.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Census of 1881.	Census of 1868.	
1	Ahírgarh	4	B	156	141	297	297	231	
2	Bábarpur	27	F	276	265	541	...	...	
		27	G	239	226	465	...	...	
		27	H	301	303	604	1,610	1,294	
3	Bahrámpur	16	A	59	51	110	110	...	Newly settled.
4	Bichpuri	16	A	101	93	194	194	586	Partly cut away by the river.

N. B.—Each page should be totalled separately, and a Grand Total given at the end.

BLOCK ABSTRACT.

District , *Tahsil* , *Village* , *Circle No.* , *Block letter* .

[*Note.*—This statement must be filled up separately for each block, and if there is more than one inhabited village in the same block, a separate statement must be prepared for each inhabited village. But all the homesteads of one and the same village must be included in the same statement. In Parts I., II., III., the number of people are to be shown; in Parts IV. to VII. only the words entered in the various columns are to be shown.]

I.—No. of houses { Occupied . . . 65; Unoccupied . . . 7 }

II.—No. of families 88

III.—No. of persons.

Column 4	Males	170	Column 10	Persons whose occupation is entered. Males	120
	Females	150		Females	45
	Total population	320			
Column 3	Married	160	Column 11	Can read and write	17
	Unmarried	135		Learning to read and write	5
	Widowed	25	Column 12	Suffering from infirmities	3

IV.—Religion and Sects (Column 6).

Hindu.	*Sikh.*	*Musalmán.*	*Christian.*	*Other religions.*
Bairági.	Kúka.	Sunni.	Church of England.	Jew.
Gusáin.		Shíah.	Roman Catholic.	Jain.
Bishnoi.				

V.—Mother-tongue (Column 8)—Panjábi, Urdu, Pashto, Persian.

VI.—Birth-place (Column 9).

In the Punjab.	*In other Provinces of India.*	*Other Countries.*
Ferozepore.	North-Western Provinces.	Afghanistan.
Lahore.	Oudh.	Persia.
Gurgaon.	Bengal.	England.
Hazara.		France.

VII.—Names of occupations (Column 10).

Agricultural.	*Commercial.*	*Domestic.*	*Artisan.*	*Other occupations.*
Owner.	Money-lender.	Khidmatgár.	Blacksmith.	Water-carrier.
Tenant.	Grain-seller.	Bearer.	Carpenter.	Coolie.
Adhjogia.	Cloth-seller.		Cobbler.	Pandit.
Sajji.	Druggist.		Weaver.	Muharrir.
Káma.				
Kamera.				
Herdsman.				

Examined, (Signed)

Supervisor. *Enumerator.*

Preliminary Tabulation.—Towns.

ABSTRACT OF CASTE, CLAN AND GOT ENTERED IN COLUMN 7.

[NOTE.—*The names of Caste, Got, &c., must be written very clearly.*]

Original Caste or Tribe.	Clan.	Got or family.	Number of people. Male.	Female.	Total.	Original Caste or Tribe.	Clan.	Got or family.	Number of people. Male.	Female.	Total.
Bráhman	Sársút	Gautam	2	2	4						
Ditto	Ditto	Bashisht	1	...	1						
Ditto	Ditto	Bháradwáj	7	5	12						
Ditto	Gaur	Ditto	3	4	7						
Banya	Agarwál	Mital	7	6	13						
English	British subject.	...	2	1	3						
French	...	...	1	...	1						
Eurasian	British subject.	...	4	5	9						
TOTAL						TOTAL					

Examined. (Signed)

Supervisor. *Enumerator.*

No. 508,—Dated Lahore, 14th February 1881.

From—DENZIL IBBETSON, Esq., Deputy Superintendent, Census Operations, Punjab,
To—All Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab.

In his No. 157, dated 12th January 1881, to all Heads of Departments in the Punjab, of which a copy was forwarded to you with his No. 158 of the same date, the Secretary to Government directed that officers in camp should send their private schedules to the Deputy Commissioner in whose district they were encamped on the night of the census.

2. It has been decided that the people in camp with any officer who enumerates his own camp in a private schedule, shall be included in the population of the block in which that officer's head-quarters are situated; and that if a joint camp of two officers is enumerated jointly, the camp shall for this purpose be taken as the camp of the senior officer. Thus, a Tahsíldár's camp will ordinarily be included in the population of the tahsíl head-quarters; but if it has been enumerated together with that of an Extra Assistant Commissioner on whom he is in attendance, the whole camp will be included in the population of the station where the Extra Assistant Commissioner is posted. These, like all other private schedules, should be carefully stitched into the book of the block to which they belong under this ruling, and care should be taken that they are included in the number of pages noted on the label and in the details of population given in the block abstract.

3. In paragraph 3 of my General letter E, I directed that railway stations should be separately shown in Census Form C (village abstract). I have requested the Railway authorities to enumerate residents and passenger railway population separately. A separate block abstract should be made for each class; and the two should be shown separately in Form C against each railway station: in the column of remarks the name of the village should also be noted in the area of which the railway station is situated. This will enable me to separate the resident from the floating population, and allot the former to its proper locality.

4. So, too, where gangs of workmen employed upon canals or similar large works have been separately enumerated, they should be shown separately at the end of Form C, and the name of the village in the area of which it is located shown against each in the column of remarks. Of course labourers who live in neighbouring villages and go home at night will have been enumerated at their houses, so that these entries will represent floating populations only.

Towns.

No. 189, dated Lahore, 2nd November 1880.

From—DENZIL IBBETSON, Esq., Deputy Superintendent, Census Operations, Punjab,
To—All Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners, Punjab.

With reference to paragraph 6 of my General letter A, I am directed by the Imperial Census Commissioner, with the permission of the Punjab Government, to explain that, in fixing urban limits for municipalities, the municipal boundaries should, as a rule, be followed, even though they may differ from the limits adopted at last census; and that they should be departed from only where special circumstances, such as are described in the paragraph quoted above, render such departure necessary.

2. Where, owing to alteration in municipal boundaries, or other causes, the urban limits of the past and present census do not coincide, it will be necessary to mention the difference when forwarding the returns for the district, and to give separately in the forwarding report the present population of any suburbs now for the first time excluded from or included in these limits, so that it may appear how much of the apparent increase or decrease in the population of the town is due to mere alteration of boundaries.

No. 809, dated Lahore, 9th April 1881.

From—DENZIL IBBETSON, Esq., Deputy Superintendent, Census Operations, Punjab,
To—The Deputy Commissioner of

Under the orders of Government I have the honour to enclose a copy of the correspondence (noted in the margin) with the Census Commissioner, and also a list, in English and vernacular, of the places within your district which it is proposed to treat as towns, and of the subsidiary parts of each for which it is proposed to show separate figures. The population figures are taken from the

Census Commissioner's Circular N., dated 19th March 1881.
My No. 809, dated 9th April 1881.

Towns.

preliminary abstracts prepared by the enumerators. Paragraphs 5 and 6 of my General letter A are printed below for convenience of reference.

2. I shall be obliged by your scrutinising this list very carefully, and returning it to me, through the Commissioner of the Division, as speedily as possible, pointing out at the same time any alterations or additions which seem to you necessary, with your reasons for them.

3. The points which require special attention are as follows:—

(1) Is the list of towns complete; or, are there other places which either fall within the term of the rule, or which you think should be classed as towns without regard to the rule, their population being of an urban rather than of a rural character?

(2) In the case of municipalities, cantonments and civil lines, does the detail given in column 2 include all the separate suburbs or distinct villages lying within the limits of the municipality, cantonments or civil lines, respectively? And where distinct villages are included, are there special reasons why any of them should be excluded from the urban population (*cf.* paragraph 4 of my letter to Census Commissioner).

(3) Do any of the towns entered in the list, not being municipalities, civil lines, or cantonments, consist of more than one separate and distinct *ábádi* such that the limit of 5,000 souls is reached only by including them all under one name, since no single *ábádi* includes that number of inhabitants; and, if so, should the place be treated as a town or as a village (*cf.* paragraph 5 of my letter to Census Commissioner)?

4. I also have the honour to request that you will inform me whether the limits of the various towns, adopted for the purposes of the census of 1868, excluded any suburbs or other groups of houses now included in the towns, or included any which are now excluded. This information, which is necessary in order to enable a reasonable comparison to be made with the figures of preceding censuses, should be given, in the case of municipalities, with regard to the census of 1875-76 as well as to that of 1868.

Circular N., dated 19th March 1881.

From—W. Chichele Plowden, Esq., Census Commissioner for India,
To—The Deputy Superintendent of Census for the Punjab.

It is necessary, I find, to issue explicit instructions for the guidance of officers in classifying, as is proposed in Form I and elsewhere, the population of villages and towns.

2. The difficulty to be met is that of determining what constitutes a town as distinguished from a village.

3. The rule hitherto has been this: Every separately named locality having 5,000 or more inhabitants has, for tabulation purposes in reporting the census results of former years, been treated as a town. With a population below 5,000 the locality has been considered a village.

4. This has been so elastic a system that, in the reports dealing with the census figures, places have been treated as towns which are nothing more than a collection of separate villages—in some instances bearing an identical name, in others not even possessing this pretext for such treatment.

5. It has also happened that, under existing local laws, either for municipal or for police purposes, villages have been grouped together into unions, and in those cases where the population has amounted to or has exceeded 5,000, the locality has been entered as a town in the census records.

6. It is essential that such mistakes shall not be repeated on the present occasion.

7. I request, therefore, you will ascertain the views of the Government in this matter, and that you will let me know whether the following suggestions will provide for such difficulties as may possibly arise.

8. It will probably be necessary to define, with some attempt at precision, what is a town, in contra-distinction to a village. It seems to me the accompanying definition would meet all requirements:

"Where the population is not less than 5,000, and resides in one assemblage of houses, the houses being either in juxtaposition or only separated by streets, or by spaces surrounded on all sides by houses, or by gardens or spaces, whether cultivated or not, distinctly appertaining to the houses in question, such assemblage of houses, if bearing one common name, shall be considered a town."

9. This definition, however, if accepted, will not take in all those cases where the population may fairly be considered urban; on the other hand, it will embrace cases where, though the population is not less than 5,000, the place is a village, and the inhabitants purely agricultural.

10. I know of cases where an ambitious dependant, or high officer of a former Mogul Emperor, has built a small walled town on land belonging to an agricultural village, and has settled traders in it. The lapse of years, perhaps centuries, has found this a flourishing centre of trade, the population purely urban, but not numbering 5,000 inhabitants, though but little short of that figure. I know, too, of cases where a population purely agricultural has been included in the town population of a province (the inhabitants of the village being more in number than 5,000).

11. It may be thought desirable to treat such cases specially, excluding the purely agricultural population from the town, and including the purely town population under its appropriate heading, without regard in either case to the number of inhabitants. If there are such cases, they must be well known to district officers, and, on your representing them, and giving reasons for treating them exceptionally, I shall be willing to deal with these instances as may appear most appropriate.

No. 809, dated Lahore, 9th April 1881.

From—Denzil Ibbetson, Esq., Deputy Superintendent, Census Operations, Punjab,
To—The Census Commissioner.

I have the honour to inform you that I have laid your Circular N. of 19th March before His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. The rules on the subject of the discrimination of towns from villages which have been issued in the Punjab will be found in paragraphs 5 and 6 of my General letter A. of 31st August 1880, of which I enclose a copy.

2. You will observe that the Punjab Government proposes to treat all municipalities as towns, whatever their population; as a municipal constitution is, as a rule, granted only when the population is very largely urban in its composition.

Towns.

3. Similarly, it would include all cantonments and civil lines in the list of towns, as their population is always essentially urban.

4. It would appear that the rule formulated in paragraph 8 of your letter would exclude from the urban population any suburbs of a large town, separated from it by an open public space, and the separate population of which did not reach 5,000. Sir Robert Egerton would prefer to include in the population of a municipal town all persons enumerated within municipal limits, except in the very exceptional case where these limits might include several distinct villages, inhabited by populations distinctly rural. And this, because it is, in his opinion, important for the purpose of comparison between successive censuses that the limits of each town should be very clearly ascertainable. At present it is very doubtful what limits were followed in the case of many of the Punjab towns at last census. The exceptional cases just referred to would of course be the subject of special inquiry and treatment. And in all cases it will be well to show separately the details of population for the main town and its several suburbs in the nominal table of towns.

5. For similar reasons the limits of the *mauzah* would ordinarily be taken as the boundaries of the town where there was no municipality. The village tables in the Punjab will be based upon the *mauzawár* lists of the revenue office; and this will in most cases render impossible such an error as is alluded to in paragraph 4 of your Circular. In the hilly tracts, however, the *mauzah* often includes a large number of separate petty hamlets; while it is just possible that some of the villages of the Western Punjab, which often consist of mere congeries of wells, may attain the limits of 5,000 souls. To guard against these cases special precautions will be necessary.

6. The Lieutenant-Governor is also of opinion, with reference to paragraphs 9 and 10 of your Circular, that every conterminous collection of houses which contains 5,000 souls should be treated as a town without further inquiry as to the nature of its population. Places of this importance, even when held by a cultivating community, always form centres of local trade, and include a very considerable urban population. It may be said generally that it is often difficult to decide in respect of any given place whether its population is rather urban or rural in its composition; and an arbitrary rule of the sort proposed seems both necessary and unobjectionable.

7. On the other hand, there are, as pointed out by you, places which, though falling short of the 5,000 limit, are essentially towns and not villages, and should be treated as such.

8. To meet the various difficulties of the case, His Honour has directed me to send to each district a list of the places which, on the grounds stated above, it is proposed to treat as towns; and to request the District Officers to report on any which should be struck out, and on any places which they think should, on special grounds, be added.

Extract, paras. 5 and 6, of General letter A., dated 31st August 1880, from D. IBBETSON, Esq., Deputy Superintendent of Census, Punjab, to all Deputy Commissioners in the Punjab.

5. **Definition of town.**—As it is important to distinguish urban from rural population, all towns, cantonments and civil lines will be entered separately from the villages in the lands of which they are situated. In the last census, a population of 5,000 or more was held to constitute a town; and this rule will still be adhered to. Moreover, all municipalities will be classed as towns, whatever their population. It is, however, possible that there may be cases falling under neither of these rules, where the population is really urban rather than rural. Wherever the population does not essentially consist merely of a village community, with its attendant menials and traders, but also includes a considerable extraneous society drawn to the spot by the presence of a shrine of peculiar sanctity, by the existence of a centre of local commerce, or by other reasons, it should, if the whole population be of considerable magnitude, be treated as a town. District Officers should therefore carefully consider all such cases, and report the names of all towns with a population of less than 5,000, not being municipalities, and the grounds on which they propose to class them as such. It must, of course, be remembered that a town must consist of a more or less coherent group of houses; and that five separate and distinct hamlets of 1,000 souls each, though they might be all included in a single village area, would not constitute a town.

6. **Demarcation of urban limits.**—The limits of each town, cantonment and civil lines must be carefully defined. The area so marked off should include not only the ground actually occupied by buildings, but also the waste land immediately surrounding and attached to the town, and corresponding to the *goira deh* in villages, and also all land upon which people found residing on the night of the census would properly be included in the urban population; for instance, encamping-grounds. In the case of municipalities, the municipal limits will ordinarily suffice. But there may be suburbs which, though lying beyond these limits, really form, as regards their population, an integral portion of the town; and such must be included with it for purposes of census. So, on the other hand, there may be cases, as at Jullundur-Mahítpur, and at Urmar-Thánda in Hoshiárpur, where groups of houses bearing distinct names are included within the same municipal limits; and in such cases it will be necessary to consider whether these groups virtually constitute distinct towns, or whether the distinction is one of name only. If the latter is the case, the two should be treated as one, their names being bracketed together. It will probably be possible to discover, from the records of last census, what limits were then adopted for each town; and if it becomes necessary, in consequence of the above instructions, to alter those limits in such a manner as materially to affect the comparison between the populations of 1868 and 1881, a report should be made specifying the reasons for, and the exact nature and extent of, the alteration. As regards the boundaries of cantonments, there can be no difficulty; nor should the determination of the limits of civil lines be difficult. Great care should be taken that the limits fixed in all cases are clearly defined on the spot by roads, or some such unmistakeable lines.

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ROUGH VERNACULAR INDEX.

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